

THE
WESTMINSTER
REVIEW.

JANUARY AND APRIL,
1878.

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

SHAKSPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe setzt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.
GOTHE.

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THE

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FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY 1, 1878.

ART. I.—DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE.

Democracy in Europe: a History. By Sir THOMAS ERSKINE MAY, K.C.B., D.C.L. In 2 vols. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

Philosophie de la Science Politique et Commentaire de la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme de 1793. Par le Professeur EMILE AOLLAS. Paris: A. Maresque, Ainc. 1877.

IN spite of the efforts of all the political logicians, from the time of Aristotle to that of Sir George Cornwall Lewis, there is no term which has been so laxly used and mischievously abused as *democracy*. Nor can it be said that Sir Thomas Erskine May, the great expositor of English parliamentary usage, has, in his somewhat voluminous treatise on "Democracy in Europe," done much to clear up popular confusion or to restrict the vagaries of political thought. Sir Thomas Erskine May has indeed given a cursory and fairly accurate, as well as agreeable, sketch of the history of most European nations, and of some Asiatic ones, from the earliest times; and the general outcome in every case is shown to be that popular claims have advanced at the expense of monarchical or aristocratical pretensions; that this result has been obtained not without violent

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collision of interests and classes ; and that it has been obtained at the best most imperfectly, uncertainly, and irregularly, and, indeed, not without occasional reaction and retrogression.

These products of Sir T. E. May's inquiry are undoubtedly valid as far as they go, the only deduction from their value being due to the fact that they coincide with the common stock knowledge of the veriest dabbler in political philosophy and history. Nor is this want of fruitfulness in historical investigation made up for by any remarkable lucidity in apprehending the true lineaments of the object in pursuit. It is not at all clear whether Sir T. E. May likes *democracy* such as he conceives it to be, or dislikes it, or, personating the candid student or artist, is morally and politically indifferent to it. Thus, in his introductory chapter, amidst a series of other desultory observations, of only too familiar a kind, on the common antecedents of political progress, he reviews the "physical causes of freedom," and notices that "whenever cities and large towns have grown up, the inhabitants have inclined more to *democracy* than their fellow-countrymen in the provinces." "They have been left under the influence of social and physical causes adverse to the development of freedom." "They have been able to combine more readily for the attainment of common benefits ; and association and discussion have trained them for the political duties of citizens." Here *democracy* is obviously used in an euphemistic sense, and in this sense would be held by almost every one to be convertible with general political improvement. So, again, in the same chapter, Sir T. E. May points out that the "raising of enormous standing armies," and a "costly military organisation," have resulted in "arresting the development of *democracy* ;" and that the great military monarchies of *Europe* have thus opposed themselves to the progressive spirit of the present age. And so, again, in the course of reviewing the history of Switzerland, Sir T. E. May writes as if *democracy* might mean nothing but good. He says that the Swiss Confederation "affords one of the most instructive studies of democracy to be found in the history of European States." "In its past history and in its present political life we may find illustrations of all the virtues and vices of democracy." On the other hand, when describing recent political changes in England, Sir T. E. May seems to use the term *democracy* in what is for him an unfavourable sense, and to oppose it to and contrast it with some ideal which is never absent from his mind, and which he designates by some such expression as a "constitutional government" or a "constitutional State." For instance, in speaking of the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867, and the Ballot Act of 1872, Sir T. E. May says, "These successive

changes, having been made with a view to increase popular influences in the government of the State, have been advances towards democracy." "But can it be affirmed that the traditional bounds of English liberty have been transgressed? Can it be said that democracy has usurped the place of settled constitutional government?" "Such has been the liberal and progressive policy of England during the last fifty years. But moderation and equity have distinguished all the measures of the Legislature. Private rights and property have been respected; the recognised principles of a constitutional State have been maintained." In a later passage Sir T. E. May speaks of the government of England as "one of the rarest ideals of a democracy in the history of the world;" and, in proof of this, he adduces the alleged facts that the "State enjoys all the securities of an ancient monarchy, of old-established institutions, and of a powerful and well-organised society;" that "rank, property, high attainments, and commercial opulence have maintained their natural influence in society and in the State;" that loyalty to the crown is associated with patriotism and a respect for law and order of which the "crown is at once the symbol and the guarantee;" and that this loyalty "has survived all the advances of democracy" (the term here being used, it would seem, simply in a bad sense). Indeed, the colouring of the "ideal democracy" here grows warm under the painter's hand,— "The nobility, augmented in numbers, still enjoy an influence little less than feudal in their several counties. The country gentlemen, united with them in interests and sympathies, have become far richer and more powerful than in the time of George III., while they have advanced still more conspicuously in culture and accomplishments. Trained in the public schools and universities, the army, and the inns of court, they are qualified as well for their high social position as for the magistracy and public affairs."

Thus, according to Sir T. E. May, democracy is a necessary and invariable consequence in all European countries of a number of assignable and well-recognised antecedents; and, in fact, is only another term to express the downfall of privilege and the diffusion of liberty. But this same democracy is a bad thing, and a thing much to be feared when it seems likely to come into conflict with a thing a great deal better than itself, that is, the English constitution. And, on the other hand, it turns out that the English constitution, in its present form, is an idealised exhibition of democracy itself, and supplies a ready type by which the goodness or badness of democracy may be measured. Thus the upshot of Sir T. E. May's two volumes is to show to what extent and in what way some of the essential

and most beneficial features of the English constitution have been progressively assimilated in the constitutions of other States. Sir T. E. May has already written a "Constitutional History of England," commencing at the time at which Hallam leaves off; and the present work is little else than a comparative historical study serving as an illustrative excursus to the former one.

Indeed, had Sir T. E. May possessed a clear conception of *democracy* in any one strict and consistent use of the term, and had not his political vision been blurred and cramped by a veneration for the English constitution of the uncritical kind familiar in the utterances of Burke and Blackstone, it would still be doubtful how far his historical method could ever have been prolific of any fruitful results. Using democracy in the simplest and most consistent of the senses which Sir T. E. May himself puts on the term,—that of the broadening and diffusion of liberty, personal and political,—it proves very little to show that liberty has been in fact broadened and diffused in France, Italy, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and England, from a variety of causes so different from each other in the several countries, that the story is in each case full of the most unexpected dramatic situations and startling surprises. It is, indeed, the very variety of the tale in each case that makes much of the reading in Sir T. E. May's work so interesting, familiar and well-worn as happens to be almost every foot of the ground traversed. In fact, Sir T. E. May's narratives go no further than to show that there is somewhere an historical and political problem of some sort to be solved. They do nothing towards solving it, and the drapery of detail in which he luxuriates makes the problem seem even more difficult or hopeless than it really is. If an approximately identical result has been reached in the historical evolution of a number of States, this identity is produced by what is common, and not by what is diverse in the historical antecedents. It may be indeed that what appears to a superficial eye as diverse will on a closer scrutiny prove to be common. For instance, it might perhaps be shown that the revolt of the Netherlands, the original league of the Swiss cantons, the French Revolution of 1789, and the English expulsion of James II., were preceded by identical intellectual or moral changes in the different countries concerned, and that like changes may always be expected in like circumstances to produce like consequences, and in the like circumstances to produce consequences proportionate in character and intensity to the character and intensity of the antecedent changes. Dr. Draper, in his "Intellectual Development of Europe," M. Comte, Mr. Buckle, and Dr. Lecky, have all, with various amounts of success, pursued this line of investigation,

and their exertions have not been unproductive of reward. Had Sir T. E. May persevered in the same path, some more adequate exposition of the meaning and prospects of democracy might have been attained than is contained in the trite commonplaces which form his introductory chapter. As it is, his work suggests a problem, and implicitly states some of the elements of it; but the problem itself is most inadequately conceived, and scarcely any progress whatever is made towards its solution.

M. de Tocqueville, in his very different work on "Democracy in America," has not only imparted to the term *democracy* a definite and consistent meaning, but has indicated the sort of political problem which it seems to have been the hidden intention of Sir T. E. May to discuss. In fact, America exhibits, on the clearest field and the broadest scale, what democracy really means; while the political vicissitudes and crises of the last hundred years in that country indicate the sort of political anxieties which the progress of democracy may naturally excite in the mind of the philosophic statesman. It may be, indeed, that M. de Tocqueville was not always successful in his prognostications of the future of democracy in America, and the short-sightedness of so sagacious a prophet may well teach circumspection and diffidence to less singularly gifted men when approaching problems far more intricate and multifarious than any presented by the tolerably simple and uniform conditions of American life. An inquiry into democracy in Europe, either as a retrospect or an anticipation, means the search after a phenomenon sometimes latent under the strangest possible disguises, struggling into sight through all sorts of impediments and interruptions, presenting brilliant but momentary coruscations here, scarcely discoverable by any ingenuity there, and elsewhere presenting itself with a steady uniform glow, giving forth light as well as heat.

But what, after all, is this democracy, which certainly has as definite a meaning for modern times as it had for those in which it was first introduced to express a special variety of republican government occasionally manifested in the Grecian states? The meaning has indeed altered by all the width of change which separates New York from Athens, and the Greek Ecclesia from a modern House of Representatives, Chamber of Deputies, or House of Commons. But, under all casual modifications of the term, democracy ever means the intervention of the people—as a whole, and as contrasted with any section or individual constituent of the people—in government. The more direct, constant, and decisive is this intervention, the more adequately is the idea of democracy in its strict meaning satisfied. Thus annual parliaments are more democratical than triennial parlia-

ments, and biennial than septennial, because the intervention of the people is more directly and constantly exercised the more frequent are the intervals at which constituents can change or freshly instruct their representatives. Minority representation is less democratical than an absolute representation of numerical majorities, only because thereby the will of a smaller proportion of the people is to that extent made to prevail over the will of a greater proportion. All class privileges, exemptions, or burdens are counter to democracy, which ever favours equality, even where the conditions of economical or social existence seem to place insuperable obstacles in the way of its actual attainment. Hence, when Sir T. E. May speaks of the government of England being one of "the rarest ideals of democracy," and in proof of this allegation adduces the loyalty of the people to the crown, the enthusiastic affection of the people for the Prince of Wales (as manifested during his illness in 1871), not to say for George IV., and the influence of the nobility and the landed gentry; the fact that the "professional classes, enlarged in numbers, in variety of pursuits, and in social influence, have generally associated themselves with the property of the country, with which their fortunes are identified;" the fact that the "employers of labour, anxiously concerned in the safety of their property and interests, and irritated by the disputes of their workmen, have looked coldly upon democratic movements; and the fact that great numbers of persons in the employment of public companies and commercial firms may be included in the ranks which give stability to English society;"—Sir T. E. May really means by all this, not that the government of England is a democracy in any sense, still less the "rarest ideal of democracy," but that there are in the country a number of institutions, good, bad, or indifferent, which, by elevating special classes or persons in the community above the rest, may be held to act as a counterpoise to democratical progress. It may or may not be that the English constitution is a good one, and that the existing social and political forces in the country are at the present moment advantageously distributed. This is a question which admits of an indefinite amount of discussion, and of very considerable variety of opinion. But if democracy means government by the people as such, in the sense above explained, it cannot be a rare ideal of such a government that a very small proportion of the male population have any concern in controlling the action of government; that this control, such as it is, is most indirectly and intermittently exercised; that a variety of special classes of the people are, partly by social situation and partly by political mechanism, lifted above the heads of the people in such a way as to prove effectual barriers

to the accomplishment of the popular will ; and that, only after endless compromises with all sorts of class interests and personal claims, and all sorts of delays and obstructions, can the clearly ascertained wishes of the vast majority of the population obtain a stunted promise of partial satisfaction.

We have never ignored the inherent dangers of democracy, and we should be the last to profess that an unbridled career of democracy afforded in itself any sufficient guarantees for personal liberty or general political improvement. Nor are we unaware of the special advantages which some of the elements of the English constitution and of English society present for the purpose of breaking or correcting the impetus of democratic progress, whenever or wherever that impetus is to be feared. And it is also true that in England, as in other European countries, in spite of the inadequate system of parliamentary representation, democracy, in its true sense of the actual intervention of the whole people in the affairs of government, is, through a variety of channels more or less direct, making rapid way. All we complain of is, the mischievous confusion which calls the checks and bridles of democracy the ideal of democracy itself, and which, glorifying all that which happens to exist, and is tolerable only because familiar, transmutes every social injustice and inequality, with which an ancient society like that of England is sure to abound, into so many achievements of political wisdom towards the end, not of resisting but of developing, and in fact inaugurating, a true democracy. The confusion is perhaps too patent to be really misleading, but in politics an otherwise pardonable looseness in the use of terms may, in the hands of the unthinking or unconscientious, some day lead to practical results or argumentative positions seriously to be deplored.

Keeping in view the true meaning of democracy, the first question suggested by such a treatise as that of Sir T. E. May is whether the nations of Europe are so situated in respect of each other that it is probable that, by a study of the phenomena in each nation, any general propositions whatever might be arrived at which would substantiate and elucidate the fact that the people are everywhere obtruding themselves into the affairs of government. A second question relates to the value of the sort of historical method pursued by Sir T. E. May, or of any other more promising historical method. This latter question has already been partially answered, and it may be answered further by observing that the only sort of historical inquiry which is likely to be in any way serviceable is one which starts with a series of known causes common to all the different countries, and which traces their operation through the various circumstances affecting each till they terminate in a

common goal. It will be found, probably, that in some countries the goal has been reached sooner and the race run more expeditiously and uninterruptedly than in others. In some countries, again, the final achievement, though reached perhaps more slowly, was better and richer in kind. In others, again, the race has been so circuitous or broken that the final event is of the most ambiguous description. Thus it might result from the inquiry that whereas in France, Switzerland, Holland, Italy, Germany, Spain, and England, monarchical and aristocratical tyranny, intellectual and commercial progress, alternate religious obscurity and enlightenment, have all and equally operated as predisposing causes to those popular movements or insurrections by means of which government by the people has forced its way upward, yet in England the process has been steady, continuous, and yet imperfect in achievement; in France and Holland the impulse has been spasmodic and finally decisive; in Switzerland the substance of popularity has not always been responsive to the form; whereas in Germany and Spain (two countries wholly omitted out of Sir T. E. May's panorama), the structure and form of government seems as yet anything but responsive to the known amount of democratic sentiment to be found among the people.

These are but tentative and somewhat haphazard illustrations of the sort of results which might follow from the pursuit of a rigid historical method for the purpose of ascertaining the real condition on which the progress of democracy depends. The essence of the method is its comparative character; and it is curious that Sir T. E. May should have entirely lost sight of that part of the work before him on which the success and value of the whole must entirely depend. It is not of the slightest service to tell first the story of France and then that of England, unless it be shown wherein the circumstances of France and England really differed, whereby democracy was earlier developed in one country than in the other, or, when developed, differed in character, extent, or degree. The true nature of democracy in its bearings on the future of European life could never be ascertained from Sir T. E. May's method. In fact, the information his method conveys is ludicrously scanty and proportionably disappointing. A true comparative method, fully and honestly carried out, might abound with results of the utmost importance for the guidance of political action.

As to the first question previously adverted to, whether any general propositions could be reached applicable to democracy as a common phenomenon manifested in all the European States, it may confidently be answered in the affirmative. Though most of the trite and antiquated facts so assiduously

aggregated together by Sir T. E. May are only remotely relevant to any practical inquiry, yet there can be no doubt that an attentive study of some of the more recent political phases of the several States of Europe must disclose truths in reference to the character and prospects of democracy well worthy of further consideration. During the present century, and chiefly during the past quarter of it, a series of common influences have made themselves felt to an unprecedented extent in different parts of Europe, and the populations of different countries have been operating in a variety of ways on each other, with a novel efficacy which cannot be mistaken. Indeed, the whole course of European history, from the time of the outbreak of the first French Revolution, is in nothing more conspicuous than in the fact that any strong moral or political impulse generated in any one country instantly propagated its waves of influence into other countries, both neighbouring and remote. It may be said that the propagandism of the French Republic and of the First Empire was only an accident of those political institutions; that the doctrines propagated in each case needed violence to plant and support them; and that they did not survive the institutions which had called them into existence. This, no doubt, is formally true, and yet the essential notion which entered so largely into French republicanism, that political truths which were good for France were good for other nations equally trampled upon by rulers and privileged classes, and that a moral duty lay upon those who had freed themselves to free those about them, was a new creation. In the hands of Napoleon Bonaparte this cosmopolitanism might have been and was a thin disguise of imperial selfishness and personal ambition, and in those of the Holy Alliance a reckless usurpation and a senseless panic. In the hands of the revolutionists of 1848, insurrectionary movements were conducted in one State after another with a singular amount of unanimity and sympathy. Since that time it has proved to be almost impossible for an absolutist government to subsist in the midst of neighbouring States enjoying representative institutions. Indeed, it is the most noticeable trait of all conspicuous political progress, from the time of the American Declaration of Independence, that ideas broad as humanity itself have, either explicitly or implicitly, been conjoined with claims for specific reforms. In proof of this, it is not necessary to adduce the close historical concatenation of the terms and the publication of the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The whole failures as well as the successes of French politics, from the year 1789 to the present time, have been due as much to aspirations for general well-being reaching beyond the nation itself, and some-

times leading to Quixotic interference in the affairs of other States, as to the peculiar dynastic rivalries which have at once engendered successive revolutions and yet favoured the growth of a strong republican spirit equally hostile to every monarchical pretender. On the whole, perhaps England has of late been the most self-contained State, and Englishmen less concerned than the population of other countries in spreading their own institutions and in inspiring foreigners with a zeal for what they so loudly profess to value among themselves. The insular position of the country, the freedom enjoyed during the present century from Continental complications, and the absence of all novelty or sudden surprises in English political acquisitions, are sufficient to account for a comparative weakness of sympathy among English people for the political struggles of the citizens of other States. Nevertheless, even in England there have always been found large classes of the people, and these among the best instructed, who have exhibited a genuine fellow-feeling, often leading to a practical co-operation, with the oppressed populations of neighbouring countries striving to make themselves free. If the English sympathy with Greece had much in it which was merely of a romantic type, the support in one quarter and another found in England for Italian freedom, whether as vindicated by Mazzini, Garibaldi, or even by Victor Emmanuel, has been of the most genuine sort. The same may be said of the widespread sympathy among the working classes for the Poles and the Hungarians.

It may, then, be broadly laid down as one of the characteristic marks of modern political action, as contrasted with that of former times, that even among a population commonly the most selfish and apathetic, a concern for political reform at home is found associated with an interest in the progress of like reforms abroad; and the result is, that if any one country advances, it is no long time before other countries are forced to follow in its steps. The ever-increasing facility of communication and locomotion, the practical effects of the commercial doctrine of free trade, bringing about a constant transit to and fro of capital and of labourers, the activity of newspaper correspondence, and other like circumstances of a novel sort, all operate in the same direction. Political aspirations in any one country instantly spread themselves on every side; political gains anywhere are eagerly and restlessly longed for everywhere; institutions or laws condemned by the progressive instinct of one people are already doomed all over Europe.

One result of this growing political sympathy between the populations of different countries must be the gradual production of an uniformity in political institutions to which the past

affords no parallel. It may be long before this uniformity becomes noticeable, and formal differences will probably long distinguish the political systems of different states. The outward framework, of government, especially on its administrative side, often long survives not only persons and dynasties, but even the most radical changes of spirit and practical operation. It may be long before Germany ceases to be an empire, Italy a kingdom, Holland, Belgium, and England "limited" or "constitutional" monarchies; but long before that period is reached, if it ever is, in every one of these countries the will of the aggregate mass of the people, that is, of the effective majority, may have not only become supreme, but may have become empowered to vindicate its supremacy, almost from moment to moment, with all the flexible power of control once exercised by the Athenian populace. Whether such a period will ever arrive for all those States, or at what rate it is approaching for any one of them, it is not needful here to inquire. It is sufficient to assert that the prospects of democracy present an European problem as much as a national one, and, in fact, these prospects cannot be rightly estimated if the area of vision be confined within the limits of any single State.

A further reason for holding that general propositions applicable to democracy in all European countries are capable of being framed, is that the great political movements of modern times, that is, from the date of the Declaration of Independence, agree in one point in which they differ from most of the more celebrated movements of earlier times; that is, that they have started from the advocacy of some principle or principles of universal cogency, and are not bounded in their application to the accidental situation of a particular State at a particular moment. This is a mere commonplace so far as the American War of Independence and the first French Revolution are concerned; but the truth of the observation will be equally apparent if the more recent movements of a revolutionary kind which have occurred not only in France and America, but in such more sedate or less practised countries as Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Spain, and even England, be carefully scanned. In each of these countries the actual party which advocated what have been called "extreme opinions," that is, opinions for which the bulk of the population was not prepared, may have been relatively small, though it has never been insignificant. These opinions have, on the whole, coincided with some form of what is popularly known as "republicanism," though, in the mouths of different leaders, and these belonging to different nationalities, the scheme of government recommended has been of very various types. Nevertheless, whether the spokesman of

the cause has been Kossuth, Mazzini, Castelar, Louis Blanc, Gambetta, or John Stuart Mill, the principles of government enforced have been such as are not more suitable to one country than to another. They are principles which, if true at all, are true always and everywhere. It may be that this proceeds from their negative character, and is one proof of their practical insufficiency. This may well be so, and yet these negative principles, as far as they have gone, have proved most powerful engines for storming the most obdurate fortresses. It may seem, now and here, not very new or very startling to announce that government is to be by the people as well as for the people; that taxation and effective representation ought to go together; that the executive should be responsible to the people; that laws should be equal and equally administered for all classes; that the punishment of crimes should be adapted to their prevention and not be vindictive; and that the best possible securities should be obtained for free speech, freedom from police interference, a free press, freedom of corporate association, and a free right of public meeting. Yet, trite and stale as these claims sound, there is no country in the world, not even England and America, in which all these claims are even plausibly satisfied. In most countries of Europe, that is, all countries with the exception of England, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland, hardly any of them are even professedly satisfied as yet; and even in the four excepted countries, some of these claims are habitually and grossly violated, not only by the administration but by the constitution. It may be assumed then that, apart from or in anticipation of all ulterior visions of political regeneration, the advanced political reformers of every country of Europe treat the plenary satisfaction of every one of these claims as an indispensable *sine quâ non*. A brotherhood of aspiration and resolution thus springs up, and unites not only the political leaders in each country, but those who are led. So far as success crowns effort anywhere, that success imparts fresh energy, courage, and hopefulness everywhere, and thus success multiplies itself. It is obvious, then, that there are a number of forces at work, all tending to beat into a common shape all the primary political institutions of the different countries of Europe. Equality of effort, unity of object, harmony of spirit, conscious or unconscious rivalry and imitation, are all tending in one direction—that of reproducing over and over again all over Europe identical institutions for conducting the mechanism of government. It need not be stated that the general form of this mechanism can only be democratical. So far as the movements in question are purely negative—and they are limited to this from the necessity of conciliating friends and fighting anta-

gonists on a clearly understood issue—they can be democratical in the simplest sense, and nothing else. The people must be opposed to particular classes among the people, common right to privilege, popular will to legislative or executive caprice, and, in a word, the claims of many to the claims of a few. The question is now not how to get the best government, but how to withstand and destroy the worst; not how to distribute power most beneficially, but how to clutch it most surely out of the hands of those who usurp and abuse it for their own ends. Some political innovators, indeed, like Mazzini and Auguste Comte, have not contented themselves with severely circumscribing their political schemes by the circumstances of the hour and by necessities of combat, but have gone some way in the direction of sketching out for all countries and times an ideally perfect system of government. Such men have often had a profound and widely extended influence over followers who have been won by their teacher's enthusiasm, and who have not cared to desert the secret recesses of the seer's temple for the confused and dusty arena of actual political life. Not that these attendants in the schools of the prophets have been without their practical influence, and this sometimes of the strongest kind, but the nature of the influence belongs more to the region of religion than of politics, and is at least as much due to concentrated energy of personal belief as to rational political knowledge and prevision. But to the extent that political leaders have left the contracted field of negative claims adapted to the exigencies of warfare, and have committed themselves to the exposition of utopias even of the most tempered kind, they have lost adherents on one side or the other, they have disappointed the impulsive, they have scared the timid, repelled the doubtful, and finally won the public infamy of being little better than wild and visionary enthusiasts.

It thus appears that while all Europe is gravitating towards democracy as a condition or intermediate stepping-stone of relief from the tyrannical institutions of an older world, it follows from the necessities of the situation that no adequate precautions can readily be taken beforehand to create new systems of government adapted to the state of things which shall exist when democracy has thrown down the old and is ready to establish the new. Democracy itself can never, in its own view, be an adequate form of government, even for its own ends. It is great as a destructive force, as a standing protest in favour of the equality of man to man, as a rough and ready mechanism to prevent the reckless and indiscriminate sacrifice of the elementary rights of the many to the luxury of the few. But he would have a poor and unworthy conception of the

possibilities of man's nature and of the future of the world who could tranquilly acquiesce in such limited achievements as these. The arrest of the grossest injustice is not justice; legal and political equalisation is not the limit of moral right; the prevention of active wrong does not exhaust the uses and the functions of government.

M. Emile Acollas, in his remarkable and timely work on the "Philosophy of Political Science," the title of which we have prefixed to this article, opposes to the claims of society and of the State the claims of the individual human being, and he is evidently apprehensive that the tendency of modern democratical movements is in the direction of subordinating these latter claims to some fiction of the imagination, which is termed now "Society," now the "State;" now some smaller aggregate, which, so far as it has any reality at all, is only a collective group of individual human beings. Transporting for the moment to a new field M. Comte's well-known phraseology as applied to the history of philosophical inquiry, the present would seem to represent, in M. Emile Acollas's opinion, the "metaphysical" stage in political speculation, the belief in a fictitious divine right of kings having collapsed, and the belief in what is substantial and palpable not having yet taken firm hold. In this intermediate or "metaphysical" stage political thought delights to resort to purely ideal and non-existent fabrics, of a kind at once to satisfy the love of the mysterious, which is not quite extinct, and yet to gratify the zeal for innovation and rationalism which is the expression of a new epoch. M. Emile Acollas gives an exceedingly practical turn to his theories by supplying a running commentary on every clause of the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1793. This enables him to bring to the test of his theory all the leading laws and institutions to which that Declaration adverts, and which, in fact, include all the chief topics of political concern in any modern State. It turns out, indeed, that M. Emile Acollas's principle is, in fact, only a varied application, in the present circumstances of the political world, of Bentham's method of utility, which of course is the natural foe of every metaphysical conception as resorted to for the purpose of supporting existing institutions or of justifying political action. Not, indeed, that M. Emile Acollas has failed to add something to Bentham's restricted application of the doctrine of utility, though this additional element had, both implicitly and explicitly, been already introduced by Mr. John Stuart Mill. The principle of utility itself dictates that its teachings must be learned not only from the casual and empirical observations of current society, but from the experience of past ages of all countries, and of the physical, mental, and emotional

constitution of man, to many of which ranges of thought Bentham was personally indifferent or indisposed. From such a wide area of observation and recorded experience as this, ethical maxims are capable of being collected of far greater value and permanence than most of those which the earlier utilitarians made so prominent in their systems. They are, in fact, established or incontrovertible principles, and they seem to have, and shortly acquire, all that appearance of being necessary or universal truths which lent so much plausibility to the so-called "institutions" against which the first batteries of Utilitarianism were directed. These principles, when once ascertained, become the starting-points of fresh utilitarian inquiries or experimental observations; but (although the utilitarian doctrine admits of no finality) if the process of reaching the principles has been logically and fairly conducted, no new experience can be held likely to supersede the elementary principles themselves.

The leading infirmity of democracy as a mode of government is that it leaves no room for the existence of any established principles at all, and in this respect is in no way distinguished from the modes of government which it supplants. It would, however, be in the highest degree unfortunate if in all the minor departments of social action and in the realms of science, art, and literature, the treasured experience of the race was to subserve the purpose of indefinite improvement, and yet in the matter of government alone, on which more than on ought else depends the best prospect for the future, the only outlook were stagnation or retrogression. It would be a poor exchange for the unjust and haphazard political constructions of times gone by to substitute in their stead an iron mechanism admitting of no expansion, growth, or independent vitality, while all else is undergoing progressive and hopeful change. Of course it may be said that the arbitrary rule of the multitude will be a better rule as the multitude becomes morally improved and better instructed, and therefore that democracy contains within itself the natural remedies for its own diseases. But this anticipated amelioration of the people is an assumption which seems to beg the question in dispute. The uncontrolled domination of the many over the few might well reach a point at which individual liberty found no air in which it could breathe, in which education or scientific attainments were no longer appreciated even if tolerated, in which distinctness of functions was treated as disloyalty to the principle of equality, and in which reference to the past as a basis for predicting and controlling the future was condemned either as antediluvian senility or as fraught with a dangerous spirit of change. Some such results of what may be called narcotised democracy may already be witnessed in some

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quarters both of France and of England, and the vision is of a most instructive and warning kind. Fortunately these results are at present but partial and limited, and yet, while they need contain no augury of permanence or extension, are clearly enough marked to serve the purely illustrative purpose for which they are here adduced.

In France the chronic tendency manifested since 1848 towards Imperialism in its various forms—that is, first Republican, then confessedly Imperialistic, and now Republican again as represented by the Septennate—is in truth, to the extent to which it prevails, a natural consequence of the domination of democracy. The causes of this domination were very various; and among them must be reckoned not only the astute and premature concession of universal suffrage, but also the low intellectual attainments of the country voters, the selfish and unpatriotic sentiments of the peasant proprietors, the debasing influence of clericalism, the crude and uninstructed socialism of large classes of the town voters, and the crafty policy of a few usurping politicians, who contrived, either by corruption at home or wars abroad, to lull into political indifference the great mass of the people, and to keep them depressed at the lowest possible level of *soi-disant* political equality. France has, in fact, been saved from the stupor in which she had well-nigh sunk under the Second Empire, and the still more subtly menacing dangers of the Septennate, partly by the extraordinarily rapid growth of a true republican party acquainted with the meaning of constitutional government and determined to secure it, and partly by the competing dynastical factions, which have helped the formation of a national party equally adverse to all of them. French Republicanism, indeed, as represented by M. Gambetta and the Left, generally represents a protest against that suppression of individual liberty and the annihilation of genuine political vitality which, it was noted above, are the natural consequences of a régime of unrestricted democracy. These consequences are, as is well known, now written for France in a manacled public press, in an absolute government by police, in the wholesale corruption of local officials, in terrorism at the ballot-box and the foulest perversion of public justice. It is not a single man or group of officials, even with an army at their back, who are alone responsible for this mockery of a republican constitution. It is the political prostration of the people as a whole during the reign of Louis-Philippe and since, which, while such elementary democratical maxims as had descended from the first Revolution were still held in repute, did not allow of the growth of ulterior principles of government, to which those well-worn maxims ought to have led the way.

The other modern instance alluded to as illustrative of the evils which may spring from an uneducated and undeveloped democracy is supplied by the history of trades unionism in England. It is superfluous to say here that the evils about to be noticed are by no means inherent in trades unionism; that the leading trades unions are, and generally have been, free from them, and that almost all unions are making resolute efforts to shake them off. It is undeniable that, while persisting in their laudable efforts to prevent by co-operation an unfair depression of wages, the organisers of many trades unions have sometimes done their utmost to outdo even the founders of socialistic communities in enforcing the doctrine of equality of recompense. They have not contented themselves with claiming equality of wage for equality of work, or even equality of wage for all work being performed in accordance with faculty, but they have arbitrarily interposed to prevent their members using the best faculties they had, and thereby earning the appropriate remuneration either for themselves or for others. These arbitrary rules have been only too successfully carried into effect, and the economic as well as the moral result has been even more disastrous to the workmen than to the employers. The character of work generally in the occupations in which such rules have prevailed has become deteriorated; the price of it has been artificially raised, that is, raised out of proportion to its real cost to the workman; less of it has been ordered, or the manufacture of it, where possible, has been driven abroad. The honesty, industry, energy, and self-respect of the workman has proportionately suffered; and while the hardworking and efficient workman, the employers, and the purchasing public have all been losers, the only temporary and casual gainer has been the idle and incompetent workman. Such rules as these are, in fact, an exhibition on a restricted scale of democratic government guided by no principle except the wholly unprolific one of the rudest equalisation at every available point. It imparts neither freedom, riches, nor well-being, while it does its utmost to reduce each of these to the utmost extent possible.

It is scarcely worth while to pursue this class of illustration further, or still more incisive lessons on the fatuous economical policy of absolute democratic government might be learnt from the protective commercial systems so much in vogue in the United States and the Australian Colonies. In both these cases, there would seem to be an acquired if not an ingrained incapacity for comprehending a clearly stated economical principle. We are all acquainted with the volumes which issue year by year with unabated rapidity from the American press

in favour of their protective system. But though these works abound in ingenious and sometimes plausible reasoning on one side, they never condescend to reply to the simple request on the part of opponents that they would explain why, in their home trade, they believe it answers better to buy in the cheapest market and to sell in the dearest, yet in their foreign trade they prefer to buy in an artificially dear market and to sell, not in the dearest market, but in any markets which the accidents of a protective policy elsewhere happen to leave open to them. The defenders of Protection in America will not fairly encounter such broad but inexorable arguments as that a nation is rich in proportion to the facility with which it produces and manufactures at home or procures from abroad the commodities of which it either actually stands in need, or which it can exchange on beneficial terms for commodities of which it actually stands in need. But facility of production, manufacture, or importation, means nothing else than cheapness of cost. And protective societies enhance cost in two directions at once: first, by limiting the supply of the imported commodities; secondly, by enhancing artificially the demand, and therefore the price of home-grown or manufactured commodities for which imported articles might be exchanged. And yet, in spite of this irresistible reasoning, the validity of which is written on every page of recent English and indeed French commercial history, and in spite of the terrible lessons taught by the depression of trade in America, the doctrines of Protection are as closely hugged as ever in quarters in which it is a shame that they should ever have made their appearance. This strange apostasy or heresy, this recrudescence of fallacies in countries from which the political conservatism of Europe has long been expelled, and in which democratic formulæ are universally accepted, is a warning how little security the adoption of these formulæ afford for the practical recognition of scientific theories of government, or even for the absence of the most aggravated and short-sighted national selfishness.

It seems to many, no doubt, as it does to Sir T. E. May, that if any barrier against a narrow and poverty-stricken development of democracy could be provided by anticipation, such a barrier would be found in the English constitution such as it was conceived to be by the Whig statesmen of the times of William III. and of George III., and is still regarded by the present Liberal party in the House of Commons. It is felt, no doubt, in many "liberal" quarters, that the English constitution needs considerable amendments proportioned to the social changes which the country has undergone during even the present century. Some of the suggested amendments point to

enlarging the constituencies, as by conferring the franchise on agricultural labourers; others to redistributing seats, so as to equalise the representation of great towns; others, again, to modifications more or less vital in the constitution of the House of Lords. The advocates and opponents of such reforms as these usually profess to be agreed as to the sort of objects they have in view; and, as a matter of fact, they are really agreed more than, perhaps, they suspect. They both profess to be desirous at once to satisfy, within some vaguely defined limits, what are held to be legitimate democratical aspirations, and to repress or correct these aspirations. The virtue of the English constitution, in the eyes of the Liberal and Conservative party is supposed to be that, while it admits of indefinite expansion to meet the popular requirements of the day, yet abundant securities against undue democratic aggression are provided by a series of checks and counter-checks, balances and weights, which, if they prevent often enough any government at all, at least serve to protect the State against government by the mere popular will.

This theory is plausible enough, and there are many superficial facts which support it, and which account for it figuring in the ordinary text-books on the subject. And yet the real relation of the outward form of the English constitution to the progress of democracy, or to restrictions on that progress, is about as remote as can well be imagined. The small influence of the Reform Act of 1867 on the composition of the House of Commons and on the quality of legislation, might itself impart doubts whether the dribbles of change which are matters of such vehement controversy are likely to serve any other purpose than to afford a symbol for the contentions of rival parties in the State. The immediate danger in England is not so much democracy in any shape as plutocracy in the very vicious shape of government by the unscrupulous and ignorant rich. It would need far more stringent measures than any yet generally advocated to make the English constitution democratic in any strict sense. Besides an obvious reconstruction of the House of Lords, the charge of election expenses on the rates, or, better still, on the Consolidated Fund, the payment of members, and triennial parliaments, are specimens of the sort of measures which, in addition to a very wide extension of the suffrage, would be needed to impart to the English government a real democratical character. Therefore, those who, like Sir T. E. May, laud the British constitution as representing an ideal type of democracy, or those who tremulously apprehend the advances of democracy within it, have as yet small cause either for their praises or their fears. As in Germany, to a still greater extent,

the direct force of the people is not felt through the formal constitutional channels, but through a number of unorganised avenues, which are dangerous in proportion to their obscurity. In England, democratical impulses mainly make themselves felt through a vast number of voluntary associations, of which trades unions have been already referred to,—and the various “Liberal” and “Constitutional” associations throughout the country are further instances,—through the daily press, public meetings indoors, and in those deputations and memorials to Secretaries of State, and the various forms of pressure direct and indirect on the House of Commons or its members. The facility of getting up an “agitation” in this country and making it effective to carry political ends is well known to all who have ever been concerned in one, or have been curious enough to watch the progress of “movements” and “causes.” All this enormous democratical activity the English constitution, in its most improved form, must entirely ignore. The force of what is called “public opinion,” heated and fanned by the cheap newspapers, and often almost undisguisedly backed by demonstrations of force, is felt by Ministers of State and by members of the Legislature to override every other more formal and constitutional commission; and whether the matter be the release of a condemned prisoner, the repeal of an unpopular law, the dismissal or punishment of a public official, it is only by the utmost strain that the public voice can be firmly and decisively resisted.

This cannot be held to be an unfair or over-coloured portraiture of the working of the English constitution at the present day, and it is seen to present many of the disadvantages of democracy, with few of its advantages, and all of its dangers. Such democracy as there is—and it is undoubtedly imminent and hourly growing—is of an intangible kind, which never makes itself felt as the subject-matter of distinct observation, and only, as it were, exudes at one place and time after another, according as it is irritated into spasmodic activity or swayed by momentary gusts of passion, anger, hope, or fear. The consequence is that democracy, being thus unorganised and impalpable, is not only uncontrolled in fact, but is incapable of being trained and disciplined for the purposes of rational government. Such rational government as there is does not come from the people as such, but from select and privileged classes of the people, who, by bartering one set of interests against another, govern the community with only a thinly veiled indifference to the lasting welfare of the State as a whole. The lesson to be learned is, that so far as England is concerned, democracy needs first of all to take its place far more than it has hitherto done as a leading and openly confessed element in

the constitution, and that simultaneously with this change the democratic sentiments and activity thereby evoked must be directed to accomplish the ends of general liberty and of good government.

It was noted above as the shortcoming of democracy as a mode of government that it contained no principle beyond itself, and therefore that it presented no guarantee for liberty or progress. At the first downfall of the strongholds of tyranny and absolutism, democracy feels itself potent enough to govern in the simple strength of the principle that one should count for one and no more, and that the claims of the few must give way to the claims of the many. The substitution of the claims of many to the claims of a tyrant or of an aristocracy is of course an unspeakable gain. But the claims of each one of the many deserve, as M. Emile Acolas truly points out, also to be respected and guarded against the undue pressure of the claims of others. This consideration suggests that liberty must not only be diffused, but that it must be economised in such a way that each shall be not only free in the abstract, or free from certain definite sorts of bondage, but shall enjoy the utmost possible amount of liberty compatible with the recognition of like claims on the part of others. But all government and all law immediately acts by repressing the liberty of some, and the problem is then presented as to whether the benefits gained by the many are properly purchasable by the bondage of some. If democracy rests only on the will of the majority, any amount of advantage to that majority may be held properly purchasable by any amount of servitude inflicted on the minority. Such a conclusion is instantly resented by all supporters of popular government; and yet, though they stand back abashed at such an imputation on their system, they supply no criterion by which the limits of the righteous invasion of law and government on individual liberty shall be definitely ascertained. This is the question of questions for politicians so soon as, and to the extent that, democracy becomes a practically effective force in government. Is individual liberty a treasure lost and never to be recovered, or only to be remembered as an occasional boon in former days graciously conceded by the absolutist governments of the past?

The subject may be discussed from two opposite points of view, according as, following the method of M. Emile Acolas, it is attempted to map out the inviolable moral and political claims of the individual citizen, or, following the method of the late Wilhelm von Humboldt, to define the limits of the proper sphere of government. Each method will bring about a similar result. Without pausing here to conduct a complete investiga-

tion according to either of these methods, it may be worth while to point out some of the departments of practical political life in which established principles seem to be most needed at present in order to protect individual liberty, and to advance at the same time the economic organisation of government.

In most European countries at present, the relation of the private citizen to the police is, from the point of view of public liberty, of as unsatisfactory a character as can well be imagined. Even in France, Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium, where efforts more or less successful are made with greater or less pertinacity to protect the people against legislative excesses, scarcely any securities, good or bad, exist to check the excesses of the executive. The vast and complex mechanism of police, with its traditions, its hierarchy of mutually inter-dependent officials, and finely detailed organisation, is spread like a vast spider's web over the country, and radiates to and from one central office. As governments and even constitutions pass and change, the police institutions, and even the *personnel*, remain immovable at their place. In Paris it is not known, though it is keenly suspected, how intimate are the relations between the government in power and this extraordinary engine, which is said at times even to control the government itself. By the use of a detective system of acknowledged excellence, and with the help of judicial practices peculiar to the country, it is asserted that the Parisian police have possessed themselves of such momentous and intricate family secrets, that, in one way or another, they could blast the reputations of some of the best-known families in that city. Whether this is true or not, it is certainly matter of common report and belief, and it is no more than must follow from the existence of such an organisation uncontrolled by constitutional guarantees. It is obvious that in countries where such a police system as this exists the invasion of liberty by laws even the most unjust is trifling compared to the constant liability to intrusive interference, offensive inquiries, reckless charges, dogging footsteps, spying observations, and hampering attentions of such a hydra-headed monster as this. In the mere triumph of democracy there is no necessary deliverance from such hourly possibilities as this, and no conceivable deliverance will ever be wrought till the people, as they obtain supreme power, learn that the freedom of locomotion, of thought, speech, and of writing is as precious for every individual citizen as is his freedom to approach the polling booths to record his vote. It is marvellous how boldly the same men will fight, and have fought, for the latter kind of freedom who are content wholly to ignore the former. Even in England, where hitherto the most hopeful side of the constitu-

tion has been that which dealt with guarantees against abuses of the police, these guarantees are being treated in the Legislature and in society generally as of less and less value. The practically unlimited power conceded to metropolitan police officers in plain clothes over the liberty and character of poor women in garrison and seaport towns, the incessant multiplication of offences triable before an unprofessional magistrate without a jury, the reckless invention of new sanitary offences, and the utter indifference of the House of Commons to arguments founded on the preciousness of liberty for its own sake, as though the liberty of the subject were an exploded notion savouring only of anarchy and wicked license—all point to dangers against which the boasted English constitution seems as impotent to save the nation as is the wildest democracy itself.

If we take, again, the question of legislation in respect of land, it will be found that democracy supplies in itself only the rudest possible materials for solving the momentous problems which the topic suggests. Starting from the initial principle that the land of a country—being limited in quantity, constantly increasing (through causes independent of the exertions of the proprietor) in market value, and subserving an ever-multiplying number of social purposes in which the community generally is concerned—ought never to continue to be what it is likely enough to become for a time, a subject of private property, a genuine democrat would yet have to explain what on his principles is to be done with it. Equality of distribution is inapplicable—first, because it is or immediately becomes impossible; and, secondly, because unless the operation of distribution is incessantly repeated, all the vices of private ownership are constantly recurring. The democrat, unwilling as he may be to depart from his crude maxim of the claims of the many against the claims of the few, is compelled to go further, and have some view or other as to what the State may and ought to do with the land presumably belonging to it, and what are the claims of even the most insignificant private person on the bounty or the justice of the State. M. Emile Acollas, like some of the leading German jurists, treats property as an almost essential element of man himself, a “prolongation of his personality;” and he says, “It is the only means for a man to attain a sphere of action in which he can freely move and arrive at the possession of himself.” He complains of the school of Rousseau for their negation of property, and says, that “having taken as a premiss the liberty of man, they have decreed his bondage.” According to this view, the individual citizen has at least some claim which the will of the majority cannot rob him of, but on

what principle the measure of the claim is to be adjusted has yet to be decided. Such principles as the encouragement of agricultural industry, the prevention of pauperism, the reward of foresight and prudence, and the enrichment of society as a whole, will thus be admitted to determine the land laws of the State. In fact, these laws will be settled, as they are being settled now with greater or less success in British India, Germany, Ireland, and Russia, in accordance with ascertained facts or requirements of human nature and with economical laws. There is no longer any room for capricious interference on the part of a popular majority. It becomes well established that the permanent interest of all is best promoted by supporting the judiciously settled claims of each individual one.

One of the most critical and arduous topics on which the political faculties of democracy are already being exercised and tested in many countries is what is called the relation of Church and State. The problems here involved are of the hardest kind in countries which are wholly or largely Catholic, from the fact that in such countries the Pope claims an intrusive jurisdiction within the State, which, though professedly spiritual, unavoidably trenches at many points on matters of the gravest secular importance; such countries are Germany, Italy, France, and, in some respects, Ireland. In England and the United States a somewhat different class of problems is presented, and the issue is not between a home and a foreign religious domination, but between one home domination and another, or between the supporters of some special form of home religious domination and those who utterly abjure any such domination, home or foreign, altogether. The rigid principles of democracy might in themselves admit of the adoption of a variety of courses. The majority might impose on all, in the interests of common order, quiet, and uniformity, the religious and ecclesiastical system adopted by themselves. Or the majority might recognise, publicly support, and perhaps endow, every religious system adopted by any considerable body of the people. Or the majority might profess to abstain from interference with or recognition of religious systems or beliefs, and concern themselves only in protecting individual citizens in the enjoyment of free speech, locomotion, and association, questions of ecclesiastical property being determined in conformity with the ordinary rules of law applicable to the property of corporate bodies. It is not necessary here to commend any one of these courses in preference to the rest. It is mainly relevant to notice that, so far as any principles inherent in government by the popular will are concerned, any one of these courses might be logically justified; and therefore, in order to choose among them, some

precepts of government other than purely democratical ones must be introduced and acted on. M. Emile Acolas, in criticising the clause in the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1793 which guarantees the "liberty of worship," treats the clause as superfluous, inasmuch as it is included in the clauses which guarantee the liberty of education, the liberty of public meeting, and the liberty of corporate association. Yet Germany has recently discovered ecclesiastical problems which certainly could not be instantly solved by reference to such elementary guarantees as these. If it be true, as the defenders of the Falck laws say, that the liberty hitherto conceded to the Catholics in Prussia practically obstructs the liberty of education, and the liberty of corporate association enjoyed by the Catholic Church is abused to disturb public order, to discredit the secular functionaries of the State, and, by discountenancing civil marriage, to tyrannise over outsiders, then some fresh principles are needed in order to ascertain the relations of the State towards ecclesiastical bodies within its dominions.

In a recent work on the "Independence of the Holy See,"* Cardinal Manning complains that the present government of Italy very far from efficiently represents the people. "The present Chamber," he says, "elected by less than a hundredth part of the Catholic Italian people, represents the Revolution, and nothing but the Revolution. The Catholic electors refuse to vote: less than two hundred and fifty thousand elect the Parliament which Englishmen believe to represent the twenty-six millions of Italy. The whole Chamber is revolutionary, both Right and Left alike. And the Left are now in power. The present legislation against the clergy is not the work of twenty-six millions of Italians, nor even of the two hundred and fifty thousand, but only of the majority of those who go to the ballot-box." Thus Cardinal Manning treats the support or discomfiture of the Church of Rome in Italy as a mere matter of the popular will. He complains that this will is not fairly ascertained and expressed at present; but were it so ascertained and expressed, there would be no further obstacle to the Pope being reinstated in his secular dominion.

It was only on the 16th May last that the President of the French Republic, coming to the rescue of the clerical party, which was displeased with recent secular legislation against their interests, dismissed his Ministers, who had the confidence of the Legislature, and proceeded to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies and appeal to the country. The later events to which this step gave rise have already, from another point of view, been alluded to. It is sufficient here to notice that in France

* London : Kegan Paul, 1877.

the adherents of the Church, diffused as they are through all other political parties, and commanding the loyalty of nearly all who are not sincere and enlightened republicans, form one of the strongest and most compact political forces in France, and no mere theory of religious liberty seems to be strong enough to cope with them.

Thus, in Germany, Prince Bismarck appeals to the popular will to resist ecclesiastical oppression. In Italy, Cardinal Manning would appeal to the people to restore the secular authority of the Pope. In France, Marshal Macmahon, using official engines within his control, strove in vain to extort from the people an approval of his policy in support of the Catholic claims, especially in the matter of education; while it was only a few years ago that for the first time Mr. Gladstone succeeded in securing a strong popular vote in favour of placing the Catholic Church in Ireland on a par with all other religious bodies in the country. So far, then, as recent exigencies go, it is obvious that the prevalence of democracy does not and will not of necessity favour religious quiet. Some principles must be reached in respect of such matters as toleration, individual freedom of conscience, freedom of education, the proper uses of endowments, the responsibilities to the State of all public teachers and preachers, and at the same time the indifference of the State to all matters of opinion and belief, such as may come to the help of democracy when called to solve the knotty problems which will lie before it.

Hitherto the prospects of democracy in Europe have been looked at solely in reference to the insufficiency of principles based on the mere autocracy of the popular will to provide efficient schemes of government. But these principles are not only insufficient, and so err by defect; they are likely enough to be perverted and so seriously to err in the way of excess. An erroneous theory of the functions of government is always mischievous by whomsoever it is held; but when it is held by a vast aggregate of persons whose private interests seem for the moment to be generally in one and the same direction, and who have unlimited power of giving instant effect to their views, there is scarcely any bound to the harm and injustice which may be accomplished. We have already adverted, for another purpose, to the strange and pernicious vagaries of the United States and Australian governments in the matter of Protection, and of the English trades unionists in respect of some other rules. These eccentricities of politics are likely enough to be repeated on a constantly extending scale according as majorities become more assured of their power, and as economical science and literature, after being degraded from their proper pedestals,

have ever less attention paid to their claims. So soon as it is perceived that government is really capable of being swayed in one direction or another according to the determinate expression of the popular will, it can hardly fail to happen that a reckless competition will arise among various claimants to occupy and manage so portentous a mechanism. These claimants can only conduct their competition by outbidding each other in their engagements to serve the interests of those who may advance their own claims to power. In the scramble for place, there will be little time or disposition to weigh the interests of society as a whole or of the permanent State. The most crude remedy for social evils will be readily accepted without examination and converted into pledges binding on Ministers of State and on members of the Legislature. The moral claims of minorities, and still more the just pretensions of individual men and women, will be no further regarded than as it is momentarily convenient to the dominant majority to regard them. Taxation will be shifted in such a way as finally to overwhelm the few and wholly to exempt the many. Poor-laws will be introduced not of a kind gradually to abolish poverty and improve the moral stamina of the population, but of a kind which, carrying into effect the spurious economical doctrines of the ignorant or prejudiced, will gratify and relieve those classes of the population in whom the practical political power is reposed, and leave all remoter objects to chance or caprice.

It may be said that this is an overstrained picture, and that political science has so far advanced at the present day that any selfish retrogression of the sort above indicated is, in fact, no longer possible. What are called "constitutional guarantees" may also be held to exist everywhere in far too great abundance to render any dangers of this sort more than chimerical. So far as constitutional guarantees are concerned, it is plain that, where they still have any subsisting validity, they are incompatible with democracy; and, therefore, it is not till they have become worthless that the régime of democracy can't really have commenced; or, if they have not yet become worthless, it will be one of the earliest feats of triumphant democracy to render them so.

But if it is assumed that the present state of political science can oppose any efficient barrier to the insolent autocracy of mere numbers, it may be objected, first, that something more than correct science is needed to make people prefer the interests of others to what seems to be their own; and, secondly, that political science of a kind needed for the emergency nowhere exists.

Montesquieu said that virtue was the main characteristic or requisite of a republic, and it may likewise be added that a democracy can only become a republic by moral education and moral habits of a far superior kind to anything yet recommended or attained. It must be remembered that so far as democracy makes its way, a class of interests of the greatest weight will be called forth to an extent wholly unprecedented. So soon as people get to feel that government is near to their hand, and that its potent forces may by dexterous management be turned to advance the material welfare of themselves, their families, their trades, their cliques, their class, it is impossible but that they should entertain an entirely new-fledged determination to get those forces on their side, and to use them with unscrupulous wilfulness. The temptation will seem almost irresistible, and it is not likely it will be generally, still less universally, resisted. Recent French and English experience in many fields of legislation show the reality of the danger. Up to almost the present hour French politics have exhibited little else than a competition of party leaders, who have one after another offered to the electors the sort of boons in the way of religious patronage, appointments in the public service, special advantages to trade and commerce, and the excitement of foreign wars, which the people, or various classes of the people, happened at the moment to demand. It only needs a cursory glance at a series of election addresses at any general election in England, or attendance at a few speeches of members to their constituents, to discover how the practice of exacting and giving pledges becomes more frequent as the direct power of constituencies becomes more distinct, and how the habitual relation of a member to his constituents is becoming of a local and personal character, which the politicians of Burke's time would have resented as a degradation of the constitution. It is possible that for the moment the irresponsibility favoured by secret voting may have conduced to this.

The evil, then, is unmistakable, and is not very far ahead. The moral and political education by which it is corrected must begin early in life, must be equally diffused through all classes of the population, and must be of a kind very far excelling and differing from much which passes for education now. If young scholars, and young traders, and young professional men are taught that the be-all and end-all of all human existence is to get on, and the doctrine is driven home by all the keen stimulus of competitive examinations, of a theology based upon self-love, and of general social approval and support, it cannot be expected that in the political world alone these lessons will be forgotten, and that patriotic and intelligent self-sacrifice will instantly take the place of long-ingrained habits of self-indulgence and narrow-

minded ignorance. Those who are taught to be mercenary traders and nothing else will be mercenary traders always and everywhere; and the more the people are called to intervene in the affairs of government, the more surely will the vices of their training reproduce themselves in the political world.

But even the best and most effective system of education will not of itself prepare a people to govern themselves if no principles of government can be laid down possessed of any scientific validity, and very few such principles at present exist. The sphere of government has yet to be settled, or rather it may be said that it is scarcely recognised anywhere that the settlement of it admits of reduction to principle at all. It may, perhaps, be a contribution to the discussion of this large topic to suggest that, keeping in mind M. Emile Acolas's claims in favour of the individual, the true problem of all government is how to reconcile the utmost attainable amount of individual liberty with the most highly economised action of the public force. One characteristic danger of democracy comes from a want of appreciation of the claims of individual liberty, and from a flagrant abuse of the public force. Another characteristic danger comes from a mere want of attention to the use and value of the public force, coupled with a perverse exaggeration of the claims of individual liberty. The great difficulty which has attended the construction of Federal States has been caused by a series of futile attempts to reconcile opposed and conflicting considerations of this sort, though here the liberty concerned has been not that of individual persons but of independent States. The Federal system of the German Empire, so long as it lasted, was wholly impotent for purposes of economising the public force, and for organising effectively the component States for joint action either within or without. The successive efforts to organise a constitution for the United States of America, which terminated in the existing relationships of the States to each other and to the corporate body, represented almost every stage of the difficulty of reconciling individual State rights and the claims of a central assembly of States. It is yet to be seen whether a lasting solution of the problem in the United States has even yet been attained; and recent experience of the practice in the election of President and of the continued discontent in some of the Southern States, at least suggests that further amendments to the constitution are called for. In Switzerland the problem of reconciling cantonal rights, the rights of individual citizens, and the rights of the Federal Diet, was only approximately solved, after years and years of tentative efforts (as Sir T. E. May describes), in the year 1876. According to this constitution, all laws passed by the Federal Assembly are required to be sub-

mitted to a popular vote on the demand of 30,000 qualified citizens.

These well-known facts in reference to the broader and more openly confessed problems attending Federal government exactly illustrate the less generally recognised problems of government generally. Most revolutionary reformers in all countries at the present day are prepared to support any measures for enlarging the liberty of the private citizen. But many of them fail to see that unless liberty is economised as well as enlarged, a vast amount of waste in national life is incurred. It is not only necessary that people should be subjectively free from artificial restrictions, but that a room should be cleared within which their freedom may be exercised. But amidst the pressure and competition of a crowded population, such a room or space can only be cleared by somewhat complicated social arrangements, resting upon an extensively applied and wisely adjusted division of labour. The more private persons are relieved from having to attend to occupations which are as much the concern of all as of any one, the more free they are in time, capacity, and mental freshness, as well as in purse, to devote themselves to those pursuits in which they have some special excellence, or for which they have a marked propensity. These occupations, needed by all, though not perhaps by all in an equal degree, may well be undertaken by some central institution which can command the requisite intelligence and can keep in view the proportionate claims and necessities of all concerned. The institution must be endowed, under strict public control, with large powers of compulsion, taxation, official supervision, and management. Such an institution is government, and it is obvious that the main dangers inherent in such an institution are due, first, to the chance of undue encroachment on private liberty; and, secondly, to that of a corrupt or unconscientious use of public funds and patronage. These dangers can be guarded against by a wise selection of the matter in respect of which government control is to be held preferable to that of private persons, by subjecting the control to constant and minute popular supervision, and by holding all government functionaries at every stage personally accountable and directly responsible to the people for all their transactions. The particular topics with respect to which government control may alone and expediently be preferred to private management will perhaps differ somewhat in different countries and various circumstances, according to the national habits and the wants of the hour. But it is obvious that such matters as the supreme ownership and general management of the public lands, the instruments of locomotion—such as roads, canals, railways, and public rivers—

the conduct of the post-office and the telegraph department, may far more cheaply, expeditiously, and efficiently be placed under the care of the State as represented by its government than left in private hands, it being understood that government itself is popularly constituted and well and justly administered. How far government, either central or local, ought to extend its interference to other matters, such as the health, the habitations, and even the wealth of the population, raises questions of far greater difficulty. In all these matters, even that of health, the gain to society by individual experiments, efforts, and even mistakes, especially when aided by the practice of voluntary association, is likely to be only slightly compensated by any increased facility and economy to be obtained from public control. In matters of commerce, and most of all in moral matters, such as education, the presumption against State interference rises higher and higher, and public interference in such matters—as, for instance, on the occasion of the institution of a system of national education—can only be justified, if ever, by the clearest necessity of a temporary kind. The dangers to public liberty in placing education in the hands even of a popularly administered State is illustrated by much recent Continental experience, which exhibits the contest between Radicalism and Clericalism, as fought out over the national schools, with more vehemence than in any other quarters.

It will be seen, then, wherein the view here taken of the nature, present condition, and future prospects of European democracy differs from the view which recommends itself to such mere panegyrists of the English constitution as Sir T. E. May, and even from that of some speculative foreign writers such as M. Emile Acolas, whose attention has been drawn to some one mischievous direction in which modern political thought is apt to move. The view here taken closely resembles some of the conclusions of M. de Tocqueville in reference to democracy in America, though on the whole the present view is a more sanguine one than was his. Democracy is treated here as M. de Tocqueville and Sir T. E. May agree to regard it—as a necessary and seemingly universal phenomenon, to the development of which all modern States are impetuously hastening. Sir T. E. May, however, considers the phenomenon only so far promising and luminous as democracy is gradually evaporated and loses all that is essential to its character. He has no objection to the term *democracy* provided it means something else than government by the popular will. He rather likes the term, as having a popular and liberal twang about it, if it can be made to mean government by privileged classes among the people with a decent reference at suitable times to a

plausibly broad constituency, and under the protection of certain favourite constitutional guarantees. In fact, Sir T. E. May is prepared not only to admit the use of the term *democracy* to describe the sort of amiable, fairly innocent, middle-class, respectable government which commends itself to his fancy, and which he has laboured to describe in his "Constitutional History;" but, as we have seen, he is prepared to call this sort of government the ideal of democracy.

M. de Tocqueville, again, limited as was his criticism to the case of the United States, took a broader and more decisive view of the prospects of democracy. He held that, in the United States at least, a vast number of tendencies were all converging to produce social equalisation, and to level political distinctions, with such certainty and rapidity that the popular will, as directly consulted, must shortly be the immediate and sole source of government. Such a régime would undoubtedly be one of pure democracy, and it would not long prevail before the formal constitution of the State was fashioned in accordance with peremptory democratic requirements. M. de Tocqueville treated this condition as lasting and ultimate, and confined himself to describing the social, scientific, and artistic gains or losses which must attend it. Thus, while Sir T. E. May refuses to look democracy fairly in the face, and prefers to draw what is to him a more pleasing picture, and call it by a wrong name, M. de Tocqueville painted democracy as he believed it to exist and as he believed it likely to become, and mainly erred in seeing nothing beyond it. His vision is confessedly somewhat dreary and sombre, and the civilisation of the future contrasts not very favourably with some of the obliterated features of the civilisation of the past.

The view here expounded differs from both those other views. Democracy is indeed treated, as Sir T. E. May and M. de Tocqueville implicitly treat it, as a condition of political existence on the attainment of which all modern States are bent. But it is here considered as neither good nor bad in itself, but as negative rather than positive, and as more properly suggesting some anxious apprehensions in respect of what is beyond it than as properly exciting alarm in respect of what it is in itself. It is a transitional stage through which nations must needs pass as they travel from an era of absolutism to an era of liberty and good government. Whether the progress will be completed in any particular State, and, after public liberty has once been vindicated from monarchical or oligarchical oppression, whether personal and individual freedom will become reconciled with the utmost economy in government, and with government of the most efficient sort, is a practical rather than a theoretical

problem which each State will have to solve for itself. The problem is already being wrought out in many of the States of Europe, even before the outer and loosely strung scaffolding of obsolete institutions have fallen away. Even in Germany, which to outward eye presents only the alternative of imperialistic tyranny and constitutional oligarchy, broadly spread political knowledge, sentiments of political equality and justice, ever-widening instruction in science, history, and literature, the growing distaste for war and compulsory service, and the doctrines of freedom of conscience to which the government itself appeals, are notoriously sapping the existing political fabric, and bringing nearer and nearer a time in which the will of the people will bend all other forces of government to itself. In Italy, constitutionalism under Victor Emanuel and Mazzinism, both by their mutual opposition and their union against the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, combine to keep alive the notion of a government supported by nothing else than the directly manifested popular will. The political training experienced under the present government, the moral doctrines of right and duty widely disseminated and enforced by Mazzini and his disciples, and the native instincts of the Italians of all classes for organisation and government, render it likely that the stage of pure democracy will be rapidly or insensibly passed through, and that, if an effective and lasting victory can, in spite of Cardinal Manning's dark vaticinations, be obtained over the Papacy, good government will be more easily and surely obtained in Italy than in any other European country.

Enough has already been said here, in more than one place, about France. It has been seen that democracy already exists there in more full development than elsewhere, though its natural operation has been long shrouded by a series of strange political accidents and dynastic rivalries, which are the unhappy legacy of a series of revolutions. How far democracy will bring forth really good government, or how long it must first be abused and distorted in its action by a series of political adventurers, are problems with which the country is at this moment gallantly and hopefully wrestling. There is no country which has done so much as France to teach the lesson that when and where the *vox populi* is not the *vox Dei* it soon becomes the *vox diaboli*.

ART. II.—CHARLOTTE BRONTË.

Charlotte Brontë: a Monograph. By T. WEMYSS REID. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

A Note on Charlotte Brontë. By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. London: Chatto & Windus. 1877.

NOT an eventful life, by any means, was that which began at Thornton—a somewhat ordinary one-street village set amongst the shaggy Yorkshire hills—on the 21st April 1816, and which ended in the staring parsonage-house at Haworth on the 31st of March 1855. A life, indeed, so devoid of interest that Mrs. Gaskell, who wrote it, had a difficulty in finding clay to make her literary bricks with, and had to use some irrelevant straw to cke out the tale. Indeed the principal events of Charlotte Brontë's thin career are adequately referred to in Mr. Wemyss Reid's excellent monograph, which is a work of modest dimensions, but of more than modest merit. Such as these so-called events were, we may trace some of their main features broadly here, leaving those who desire more, or more minute, information than we have the space or the will to give, to have recourse to some of the increasing sources of information which are coming to hand.

Mr. Wemyss Reid has a chapter on the "Posthumous Honours" which were conferred with the usual worldly justice—which gives when it may well withhold, and withholds when it might with benefit confer—but amongst all the praises which fell with a hollow sound on Charlotte Brontë's coffin, none were at all comparable to those which after a long silence—as if of careful meditation—have burst from Mr. Swinburne, and in more moderate and less fulsome strain from Mr. Reid himself. With this repentant mood of the critics, for long and unmerited neglect, we have no fault to find. If there is not always justice in their censures or their flatteries, there may possibly be a mean between these which lies in the direction of truth. When we come to speak of Charlotte Brontë's works, we shall see, if we can, whether real justice has now been done her; but here we would note the interest which must be felt in that remarkable little woman, with her common little figure, her projecting forehead, her unobtrusive ways, and her great performances in the region of pen and ink, when thus long after her death—long after Mrs. Gaskell's admirable biography—we find such a work as that of Mr. Reid, and such an

eloquent "Note" as that of Mr. Swinburne, given to and gratefully accepted by the public. It is quite true we wanted more information about that life which went quietly by us in "hadden grey" in the obscurity of that West Riding village, than it was in Mrs. Gaskell's power to give. So intricate a matter is biography that it cannot be treated with adequacy by a contemporary. The life which may have just gone from the midst of us was so spreading, so gadding an existence—even in the case of those with the narrowest circle and most limited intercourse—that it cannot be separated from its creeping dependence on the lives of a hundred other persons, and treated as if it were an independent thing. Life is in no sense an independent matter "fought for one's own hand," but a mingled thread made up of many fibres intertwined on the great loom of Chance and Change, with the spun destinies of a hundred others, and forming the strange web of which History is a far-away tracing and dim remembrance. To tear such a life from its connection, and to pretend to study it while suppressing much which may be disagreeable to those who survive, is to attempt a ludicrous impossibility. A life is a matter of action and reaction, of giving and taking, and it cannot be understood or realised except in the integrity of its relations. A play cannot be played out with half the actors on and half off the stage, and hidden from the auditorium, on account of their respected feelings. Mr. Reid very justly remarks that Mrs. Gaskell was not, at the time she wrote, in a position to do full justice to the life of Charlotte Brontë. Many persons very closely connected with the life that had to be written were still alive, and details which might be necessary, from the artist's point of view, had to be suppressed out of a decent deference to their feelings, quick with the sense of their recent loss. Besides, the materials for a complete biography were not at hand; for the materials for a biography of a woman whose grave is not yet green with the natural grass, and hirsute with the natural neglect of years, are very coy and hard to come at, and it is only when the shadows of oblivion are beginning to fall that these dim facts, like night birds, come out of their lurking-places.* It is true, too, that it would at that time have been difficult to retrace Charlotte Brontë's steps without treading on a good many toes—sensitive or hypersensitive, as the case may be—which were still on the familiar path. Mrs. Gaskell was unable to avoid some such encounters; † but to avoid others, she had, it is probable, to deviate in some

* See Mr. Reid's "Monograph," p. 189.

† Mr. Brontë said to Mr. Raymond, of "The New York Times," when he visited Haworth, "Well, I think Mrs. Gaskell tried to make us all appear as bad as she could" ("Monograph," p. 195).

places from the path she undertook to point out. But Mr. Wemyss Reid, while he fully appreciates these difficulties which to some extent frustrated Mrs. Gaskell's enterprise,* seems to be unaware that they are still existent, and that they militate against the excellence of his own most careful work. True, much has been added to our knowledge of Charlotte Brontë, but we find that in most of the letters which are now printed for the first time in this country—although some of them appeared in an American magazine—the names of persons are expressed by X's and Y's, as if they were algebraical quantities, or with the strokes attached to these bare initials—as we print suppressed oaths. Then in some places we find him confessing that he cannot be more communicative, for the very reason which made Mrs. Gaskell's biography "necessarily incomplete." Thus, speaking of the period of Charlotte Brontë's engagement to Mr. Nicholls, he says: "Of the letters during these happy months of peace and expectation I cannot quote much; they are too closely intertwined with the life of those who survive to permit of this being done."† And while the story of her life at Brussels is sufficiently hinted at, it is not, possibly could not be, explicitly told. He does, however, argue that the writer of to-day is free from not a few of the difficulties and restraints which weighed upon the writer of twenty years ago, although he admits to being "oppressed by" a "feeling that the pen which can do full justice to one of the most moving and noble stories in English literature has not yet been found."‡ If that is so, we are convinced that it is not because the two pens which have traced these loving memorials of the "Life" and "Monograph" were not capable of doing that complete and fine justice which Charlotte Brontë merited, but because in the nature of things we must wait a further period before criticism can speak the whole truth. We must not attempt to write history with a microscopic but rather with a telescopic eye. We must take wide, not deep, views of men and things, seeing that in our records of surveys of lives or times we have to leave many of the characters in decent blank to save acute feelings, needless throes, or to tone down the acerbities of nature, so as to make our picture less offensive to those who are mixed in the field of our portraiture. One can understand how the whole effect is marred by these sacrifices. As we said, however, instalments of information about Charlotte Brontë are being paid, although somewhat slowly; and Mr. Wemyss Reid's work is on the whole a memorable contribution to this fund; while Mr. Swinburne's "Note" is a somewhat

* See pp. 1 and 189.

† "Monograph," p. 174.

‡ "Monograph," Preface, p. viii.

remarkable addition to the criticisms we have already received, without stint, of her writings.

That Mrs. Gaskell only did partial justice to Charlotte Brontë's character might be abundantly clear from the very nature of biography. At best a human character in our heads or in our books is a synthesis of some stray glimpses, some random traits, and at the best the human soul can only be dimly depicted by means of these, while the breath of life which moves the portrait is not its own but another's. Still if that breath is breathed into its nostrils with true sympathy, we may get as a result what is vaguely called a "speaking likeness," something as different as the life which is supplied by transfusion is from the galvanic motion of a dead body, which latter is all the spring of action which most bookmakers can supply. In this sympathy Mrs. Gaskell was not wanting, and we are prepared, even while discounting her efforts, to admit the execution of a biography which has scarcely been equalled in these modern days, or—to use the words of Thackeray—a biography "necessarily incomplete, though most touching and admirable."

In one respect, however, according to our new informant, Mrs. Gaskell failed signally. She, without getting the advice which was given to Mr. Reid, "not to underrate" Charlotte Brontë's "oddity," took it, and has made her a somewhat strange, joyless being from her early youth to her premature death. She has too, we learn, mistaken the real turning-point in her career; has ascribed an accession of gloom to the weird episode connected with Branwell Brontë's ruin and tragic fate, instead of to the deep and heart-rending experience which she had at Brussels. Mr. Reid wishes to make out that Charlotte Brontë was "not naturally a morbid person," † that "her life was by no means so joyless as the world now believes it to have been," ‡ and that though "gay her existence could not be called," her letters show "that it was unquestionably peaceful, happy, and wholesome." § Well, to some extent he makes good his point. Without doubt the episodes—some harrowing enough—of her life in Brussels had a very marked effect upon her character. But even allowing for this change, we cannot see that her life, even before she went abroad, was a very cheerful one. Indeed we are constrained to take a moderate view of the happiness which she enjoyed even in those young days when, if at any time in life, happiness ought to be in full possession. Without endeavouring to sketch the character of Charlotte Brontë's father, the mention of some of its features, as they are known to us, would suggest the impossibility of a very happy home in the

* "Monograph," p. 231.

† *Ibid.*, p. 2.

‡ *Ibid.* See also p. 39.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 44. ‡

Haworth parsonage-house for his children. We wish to say no ill of the dead, and in the case of Mr. Brontë such a proverb would have double force ; for it seems that before his death he had changed much, and that if he came into the world and passed through it like a lion, he went out like a genial lamb ; that his harsh, rough, vain old self died long before he himself passed away. But if the character of Mr. Helstone in "Shirley" is a daughter's likeness of Mr. Brontë—drawn by a loving, patient, and long-suffering daughter too—he cannot have been a man to make the parsonage-house much of a "home" for his motherless children. That he was polite to strangers, that he had a great admiration for the stern rectitude he found among his flock, cannot have compensated to those of his household for his passionate, vain, self-willed, and habitually cold demeanour to those who had the closest claims on his kindness and such urbanity as he possessed. We can see the sharp-eyed old man, his chin buried in the starched tower of his white neckcloth, take his at first sulky, then passionate offence at the pretty figured dress over which the woman's heart of his gentle wife was rejoicing with harmless vanity and happy gratitude. Not many pretty bright things came to the grey parsonage-house ; and when that parcel came and disclosed from its brown-paper wrappage the gay gift within, we could understand the dim eyes of the mother and of the little ones, whose tiptoe curiosity surround the table, being lit with the fine light of rare happiness. But these very lights made Mr. Brontë the more wrathful ; and his pride and passion were not sated by a harsh command that the dress should not be worn, but wreaked their poor vengeance on the gaudy stuff, which he cut in pieces, which became kaleidoscopic through the shifting lenses of his wife's tears—and withdrew to his own room to have his meal alone, as was his wont.

Perhaps, as Charlotte suggests of that fiery rector Mr. Helstone, he ought to have been a soldier—at least he took martial ways of calming his ruffled spirits. He not only carried loaded pistols in his pockets, but used to riddle the door of an outhouse with bullets when excited. It must have sounded strange to the villagers who sat in the church on Sunday and heard the doctrines of a religion of peace, to hear this quite other sermon from their vicar, and to see the effects of his discourse on that poor fetish the barn door. We learn, too, from these veracious pages before us, that this man whose anger was wont to speak even with the lips of a pistol, could stoop to an almost contemptible cunning to gain his poor ends. We can scarcely imagine a happy childhood spent in his vicinity. No wonder that the children never were children, and that when on a rare occasion some of the Sunday scholars were invited to the parsonage, the Brontës had to be taught how

to play before they could associate in glee with these little companions. We know of few sadder records than that of these motherless children having to ask to be taught to play. Their games, if games they can be called, were grim enough, and remind us of the feeble efforts of the dingy swallows at Thraves Lun, or some other abode of two or three sooty trees amidst mouldy buildings, which, according to Dickens, with a daring imagination said to one another, "Come let us play at Country." The Brontës seem to have been like old people who had agreed to play at being children, and who had succeeded but ill. To us there is something sad in the inverted image of the big world in the dark shallows of their poor little lives in the parsonage which they thought "play," and which was so unlike the happy exuberance of real childhood, which makes and dwells in a beautiful world of crumbling romance all unknown to the paltry squalor of reality.

But there were occasions, other than these, for tears rather than smiles, in these early days. If the picture in "Jane Eyre" be a correct one of the charitable institution at which Charlotte Brontë spent some of her school-days—and we cannot doubt that it is photographic—we can scarcely believe that much happiness fell to her lot there. One thing Charlotte Brontë said of the Lowick Institution,* which Mr. Reid here proves to have been true of Cowan Bridge School, and that is, that "during the whole time of their sojourn there, the young Brontës scarcely ever knew what it was to be free from the pangs of hunger."† It was at that time, too, that Charlotte was initiated into the great blank mystery of death; for it was during her stay at that stern place, under its cold penurious roof, and amidst its debasing associations, that she lost her two eldest sisters. That even at that early age (nine years) she felt the loss poignantly, we cannot doubt. And all these elements go to make no pleasing picture of girlish days. Then, again, although her fear of strangers and shyness in their presence may have been natural, it was a fact, and, as we see from the pages of this memoir,‡ it must have marred much of the enjoyment she might otherwise have had, and precluded the relief from the tedium of a dull life and sombre ways which she might otherwise have secured. Then the letters upon which Mr. Reid principally relies to prove his case scarcely bear out his argument. The fun in these is to our ear for the most part forced, the melancholy is the prevailing and natural key. We question whether the sentences on page 35—"Now, Ellen, laugh heartily at all that rodomontade. But you have brought it on yourself"—are

* "Jane Eyre," chapters vii. and xi.

† "Monograph," p. 26.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

rightly described by Mr. Reid as "the burst of laughter," and certainly those letters which are printed on pages 49 and 50 of the "Monograph" are not such letters as we should have hoped for from a blithe girl about twenty years of age. Of these Mr. Reid himself says, "The woman who was afterwards accused of 'heathenism' was going through tortures such as Cowper knew in his darkest hours, and like him was acquiring faith, humility, and resignation in the midst of conflict."*

Still some of her letters of this period are undoubtedly as he describes them, "cheerful and even merry;" and there are some, although not many, countervailing lights to be set against these shadows in the balance of chiaroscuro in her life at this time. Thus she had a real living friendship formed at Roehead School, to which she went subsequently to her miserable residence at that "charitable institution;" and where, if we judge aright, her days were passed in peace and comfort. This friendship was intense in its affection and wholesome in its effects. She says in one of her letters of Miss Ellen Nussey with truth, "I have lavished the warmest affection of a very hot tenacious heart upon you." Her affection and respect, too, for Miss Wooler, her attached teacher, was not without its pleasing and salutary influence upon her days. Her life as a governess was not pleasant to her. Her books are an epic of governesses, but if one wishes to know her real sentiments as to that life which for a time she led, he may find them legibly written down as if from the words of Mrs. Prior in "Shirley," and she has even more directly described the "cup of life as it is made for the class termed governesses" as particularly distasteful to her. Mr. Reid, wishing to look at the best side, says that this life was "not unbearable," and thinks sympathy has been thrown away in this direction. Perhaps he brightens the picture a little, but not much.

But besides the flowers which friendship planted beside her rough path, there seem to have been others which "glinted" into her days, and gave them light and fragrance. From what we can gather of the truth of the episodes of these days, the fancy of Charlotte Brontë seems to have been taken by some one who brought to friendship the intoxicating element of difference of sex. Charlotte, from all we know of her character, seems to us to have been a very woman. It is true Miss Martineau said of her, that "in her vocation she had, in addition to the deep intuitions of a gifted woman, the strength of a man, the patience of a hero, and the conscientiousness of a saint," but we cannot help thinking that the phrase "strength of a man" is misapplied or misleading. Much more accurately has Elizabeth Barrett Browning applied a similar

* "Monograph," p. 51.

epithet where she speaks of George Sand as "large-brained woman and large-hearted man." Charlotte Brontë's strength was peculiarly womanly strength and endurance, and not manly courage. Speaking as Lucy Snowe, she describes herself in one sentence in "Villette." "I fear a high wind," she says, "because storm demands that exertion of strength and use of action I always yield with pain; but the sullen downfall, the thick snow descent, or dark rush of rain ask only resignation, the quiet abandonment of garments and person to be drenched."* This attitude with regard to the weather is no bad illustration of her attitude to the larger weather of life, which is the warring of elements both in the upper and nether firmament. She was a true woman from beginning to end, and while she lacked some of the deepest intuitions of woman—as, for instance, the crowning motherly intuition, which we can nowhere find in her character as written in her works—she possessed the other fine intuitions of her sex in a more than ordinary degree. She was not indifferent to her want of attractiveness—no true woman would be. She was far from indifferent to that dearer, stronger friendship, which even before her sojourn in Brussels seems to have been offered her. Her very loneliness made her look with more anxiety to the time when the great passions of life might make up to her for the lack of those lesser passions and feebler sentiments which are the stuff of zealous friendship and acquaintance. She had not frittered away her heart in random loves, and had all her woman's nature to give to some burning impulse. That she had no presentiment of a mother's love made this one passionate presentiment all the stronger. She looked to a heaven of love to redress the inequalities of justice which had been wreaked upon her young life, upon her shy solitude. As yet she had clung to the known, the familiar, the intimate, and she naturally looked forward to the time when to these lesser loves should be added the grander passion which should replace the stolid love of custom and wont with the fire of intoxicating novelty and answering affinity.

But like a true woman, with the qualities we have alluded to, she could look for such a high fruition of her hope only from some one quite different from herself—some one with a quality for each one of her wants—some one who instead of the slow gift of endurance should have the quick gift of command—some one in whom she could "to the finest fibre of her nature" feel an absolute sense of fitness and correspondence to herself. Even in these days, if we judge rightly from the sparse records, she thought she had found some one who would answer these exorbitant requirements. A man! a master! A fine strong man, not with-

* "Villette," chapter xxxiv.

out faults, but dearer for them. Rough as she was smooth ! Possibly, nay probably, as in most of these cases, she was labouring under a schoolgirl's mistake. We often clothe people in fine robes from the wardrobe of imagination, and do not see that the bundle of shrunk shanks inside is ludicrously inadequate in their rickety disproportions to such fine trappings. It seems certain that in this case Charlotte Brontë very soon found out that the gruff being she had pictured as a lion was only in the borrowed hide of a more daring heart, and hid long ears and a timid braying heart under all that mane. No harm was done permanently to her heart by this first fancy, but she recurred to the encounter with its experiences long after, and had her first girl's love before her mind when she described Rochester.

We think we may take it that she went to Brussels heart-whole ; but it was there, if we may believe Mr. Reid and Charlotte Brontë herself, that the real mischief was done. This, according to the author of the "Monograph," was the turning-point. He does not, as we said before, speak very explicitly about her life at Brussels ; but we think his utterances have no doubtful sound when taken in connection with Charlotte Brontë's autobiographical novel "Villette."

Indeed we must remember that Charlotte Brontë has given us more real autobiographical matter than any writer of fiction. Her want of wide experience—she had no lack of deep experience, and knew some natures from the froth to the dregs—made her dependent upon herself and those who were closely connected with her for her subject-models. She did not invent much. She was in truth more a writer of veritable history than of unvarnished fiction. She takes her characters from actual life. Her incidents she borrowed from the real facts which fell under her own observation. The places she describes were all familiar to her. Thus, as we have seen, we must read "Cowan Bridge School" for "Lowick Institution," and some terrible chapters in "Jane Eyre" pass out of fiction into history. In "Shirley" all the scenes are real ones, and Mr. Reid gives pictures of "Fieldhead" and "Briarfield" Church in this "Monograph." Villette was Brussels. We have seen, too, that we have biographical matter relating to Mr. Brontë when we read of the "gallant old Cossack Helstone." Caroline Helstone was her friend Miss Nussey. Shirley Keeldar was her sister Emily, the consummate author of "Wuthering Heights." We think readers familiar with her works will recognise the Rochester of "Jane Eyre" and the Robert Moore of "Shirley" in two friends mentioned in a letter printed on page 65 of Mr. Wemyss Reid's work. The Mr. Macarthy, with his "steady-going clerical faults," mentioned at the end of "Shirley" as the successor of the "rampant boisterous" Mr. Malone, is Mr. A.

Nicholls, who was afterwards her husband. But, as we have said, not only are places and persons excerpts from actual fact, but most of the incidents are inventions rather of the chance which rules the world than the genius which made the book. Thus the brave cautery performed by Shirley Keeldar when bitten by a dog she supposed to be mad, the courage with which she bore this horrible self-surgery, and patience with which she kept the sickening secret from others, are not inventions but simple facts, and the story passes out of the region of fiction into that of domestic history when we read "Emily Brontë," for "Shirley Keeldar" throughout. Then in a letter printed in the "Monograph" on pages 82 and 83, we think we find reference to facts upon which the story of James Helstone as told in "Shirley" is founded. But passing from these illustrations of her method to the actual autobiographical facts, we find that in Lucy Snowe we have Charlotte Brontë. The Dr. John of "Villette" and the four letters are not without their counterpart in Charlotte Brontë's real experience, although there is an intentional transposition of dates in this reference. Then Lucy Snowe's visit to the confessional is not a fancied incident. Charlotte Brontë, "during one of the long lonely holidays in the foreign school, when her mind was restless and disturbed, her heart heavy, her nerves jarred and jangled, fled from the great empty schoolrooms to seek peace in the street, and she found not peace, perhaps, but sympathy at least, in the counsels of a priest seated at the confessional in a church into which she wandered, who took pity on the little heretic and soothed her troubled spirit without attempting to enmesh it in the folds of Romanism."* But is there not much more truth in "Villette" than these stray illustrations? May we not in Madame Beck have some likeness of Madame Héger? and might we not find a real prototype for Paul Emanuel himself?

Let us ascertain how Mr. Reid deals with the history of her stay in Brussels, and then find out what Charlotte Brontë herself says. "Up to the moment of that visit," says Mr. Reid, "she had been a simple, kindly, truthful Yorkshire girl endowed with strange faculties, carried away at times by burning impulses, moved often by emotions, the nature of which she could not fathom, but always hemmed in by her narrow experiences, her limited knowledge of life and the world." Well, what happened there? She was a pupil and afterwards a teacher in Madame Héger's *pensionnat*, and that was the "turning-point in her life which changed its currents and gave it a new purpose, a new meaning. . . . She learnt much during her two years' sojourn in the Belgian capital, but the greatest of all lessons she mastered

* "Monograph," p. 62.

while there was that self-knowledge, the taste of which is so bitter to the mouth though so wholesome to the life." * A little further on we find these words quoted from a letter of Charlotte Brontë's written many years after that time of "storm and stress:" "I returned to Brussels after aunt's death against my conscience, prompted by what then seemed an irresistible impulse. I was punished for my selfish folly by a total withdrawal for more than two years of happiness and peace of mind." And Mr. Reid adds, "Why did she thus go back 'against her conscience'? Her friends declared that her future husband dwelt somewhere within sound of the chimes of St. Gudule, and that she insisted upon returning to Brussels because she was about to be married there. We know now how different was the reality. . . . *Yet none the less had her spirit, if not her heart, been captured and held captive in the Belgian city.*" † And then, after telling us that the whole truth is not to be found in the letters of this period—and certainly most of them are reticent, and in one she says she cannot put on paper what she would like to pour out into the ear of confidence—he concludes: "Yes, she was 'disillusioned' now, and she had brought back from Brussels a heart which could never be quite so light, a spirit which could never again soar so buoyantly as in those earlier years when the tree of knowledge was still untasted and the mystery of life still unrevealed." ‡ And finally he tells us what we think no one could doubt, that in *Lucy Snowe* we possess the truest picture of the real Charlotte Brontë, and that not a few of the fortunes which befell this strange heroine are literal transcripts from her own life.

With this assistance and other stray words which Mr. Wemyss Reid lets fall,§ may we not surmise with certainty how it happened with Charlotte Brontë at Brussels? Was there not a real Paul Emanuel, a "magnificent-minded, grand-hearted, dear, faulty little man," who made himself very dear to that lonely, unlovely, unfriended woman? Was there not a real man who, "unknown and unloved, I held him harsh and strange—the low stature, the wiry make, the angles, the darkness, the manner displeased me. Now penetrated with his influence and living by his affection, having his worth by intellect and his goodness by heart—I preferred him before all humanity." || Is this not a real confession which a heart remembering its old emotions might make almost with the privilege of secrecy, through the medium of fiction, to the public ear? To us it seems certain that there was such a short, sinuous, dark, angular, irascible man; that he was

* "Monograph," pp. 58, 59.

† *Ibid.*, p. 60.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 222, 224, 225.

|| "Villette," chapter xli.

at one time Charlotte Brontë's teacher or professor; that at first he was scarcely noticed, that subsequently he was secretly feared, then as secretly admired, and last of all loved by this English girl. He was unattractive, he was even repellant at first with his sudden manners and quick irascibility; he may even, like that real scheming Madame Beck, have pried into the governess's desk, and at first left only the smell of cigar-smoke, but afterwards the comfitures which showed that he had sometimes kindly thoughts under his harsh mask of demeanour. When he was looked at more narrowly he was found to have power with his vehemence, was no purposeless fumer but an impetuous doer. His eyes were jetty, but they had sometimes a soft kindness in them; his voice rang like a trumpet from the *estrade*, but it could sound with a soft coo under its clanging tones. He had defects, but they proved him to be a *man*. He was strange and strong, and firm and kind, and to him the lonely governess, who had been lonely all her life, to whom even the world seemed a foreign country, and this Brussels doubly foreign as compared with the bleak moors of Yorkshire, turned her reverent eyes and hungry heart. That she was unlovely made his kindness doubly dear to her; that he had faults, that he was not loved, that he was feared, that he too was lonely, made her love the more necessary to him. Besides, he was a strong man, and Charlotte Brontë never could have loved a fribble or a fool. She has a contempt for the feather brain of De Hamal; but the force and imperiousness of a Rochester could have won her, and of Paul in his anger she says, "He was roused, and I loved him in his wrath with a passion beyond what I had yet felt." * She was a woman to be won by capture not by *conrenance*. Paul Emanuel is too real for fiction. Every touch is a dogged piece of pre-Raphaelite portraiture. But if there was love, there was no marriage—that we also know. That some obstacle existed to their union is more than probable from "Villette" itself, but that the obstacle was far other than is there hinted at seems also likely. The remorse over that return to Brussels "against her conscience" points to the fact that others had rights to his love and him which negatived her heart's urgent claim as that of a usurper. To us it seems more than probable that Madame Beck had more reason to be a detective in her own house than appears from "Villette." Her character as shown in these vivid pages is not pleasing, but it is not easy to understand her conduct until just at the end Lucy Snowe explains that she too desired Paul Emanuel's love. May not the real explanation be that she had such right as marriage could give her to that inflammable commodity? This seems to us an explanation, if not *the*

* "Villette," chapter xli.

explanation of Charlotte Brontë's hatred for the woman who sat for Madame Beck, a hatred which not only finds full vent in the pages of "Villette,"* but which she quite irrelevantly, but with genuine bitterness, has introduced incidentally into "Shirley," where she says, "I remember once seeing a pair of blue eyes that were usually thought sleepy, secretly on the alert, and I knew by their expression—an expression which chilled my blood, it was in that quarter so wondrously unexpected—that for years they had been accustomed to silent soul-reading. The world called the owner of these blue eyes '*bonne petite femme*' (she was not an Englishwoman). I learned her nature afterwards—got it off by heart—studied it in its farthest, most hidden recesses—she was the finest, deepest, subtlest schemer in Europe." †

All this, to our mind, points to the reason why her love for Paul Emanuel never could be crowned with marriage, and explains her years of remorse for a return to Brussels when she knew the insuperable obstacles to sanctioned love, and the claims which Holy Mother Church had given that jealous, cunning, scheming woman to Paul Emanuel's fidelity. Any one who will read the strange history of passion which is written in "Villette" will know more of the truth of Charlotte Brontë's stay in Brussels than if a dozen biographers had undertaken to tell him the whole truth. We have failed, however, if we have led the reader to suppose that there was anything criminal in this love. She had a heart of lava, but a flesh of snow. "Villette" is true in every particular, and there never was more love-making between these twain than between Lucy Snowe and Paul Emanuel. In this light we can understand her unwillingness to alter the ending of "Villette," even on the persuasion of her father. She must be true to the stern facts, and even entreaty will not make her write a happy ending to her book, and she will yield only in so far as to "veil the catastrophe." ‡ It was no wonder that on her return to Haworth, with the memory of these fiery chapters in her life, she was a woman full of sorrow; no wonder that she sought action to deaden the pain which inaction gives us time to gloat over in agony. "What I wish for now is active exertion—a stake in life," she says in one of her letters. "I know life is passing away, and I am doing nothing, earning nothing—a bitter knowledge it is, but I am no way out of the mist," she writes in another; and she puts almost the same words in the mouth of Caroline Helstone § when she is yearning for love which will not come her way, yearning for one who cannot be hers. It was then she began to write first poetry.

* "Villette," chapter viii.

‡ "Monograph," p. 255.

† "Shirley," chapter xiv.

§ "Shirley," chapter xii.

"A use in measured language lies

Like dull narcotics numbing pain."

And the result of her then labours we have in the triune volume of 1846. She over and over again speaks of the efficacy that lies in such work to relieve heartaches the most poignant. She makes Shirley Keeldar, while speaking of Cowper, say, "That gift of poetry, the most divine bestowed on man, was, I believe, granted to allay emotions when their strength threatens harm." * And again, when conversing with Henry Simpson, who says, "I'll write a book that I may dedicate it to you," she says, "You will write it that you may give your soul its natural release." † To this end these poems of Charlotte Brontë may have contributed; but other and better work lay to her hand, and was begun when the three sisters sat down in that dull Haworth parsonage and began "The Professor," "Wuthering Heights," and "Agnes Grey." The three great rivers of Scotland—the Clyde, the Tweed, and the Annan—all take their feeble rise in the side of one bare hill, and thence take their varied courses down through rough valleys, fattening plains, populous cities, from whence they bear the fleets of commerce to the sea. But when did three such works as these have such a humble and neighbour source? Here we have only to do with one of these. Most readers know that "Currer Bell," ‡ having started with the determination that her hero was "never to get a shilling he had not earned," no sudden turns of fortune which were to "lift him in a moment to wealth and high station, and he was not even to marry a beautiful girl or a lady of rank"—"as Adam's son, he should share Adam's doom, and drain throughout life a mixed and moderate cup of enjoyment"—wrote a somewhat dull novel, and that it was rejected by the publishers to whom the MS. was intrusted. That the manuscript was not so dull as the publishers, events have proved, for there are very few who cannot read "The Professor" now with interest and admiration, and a "Reader" ought to have foreseen that. However, "Currer Bell" gave her publishers another chance, and sent them "Jane Eyre." That they accepted and published in 1848, and pressed for more books of a like sort, and so "Shirley" and "Villette" were given to the world. While these literary labours were progressing,

* "Shirley," chapter v.

† Ibid., chapter xii.

‡ It is suggested with some probability that the *nom de plume* of "Bell" was taken by the sisters from the Haworth chimneys, which were the one good thing about Haworth in those days—so good that those who loved such large-scale landscape music used to go up to the top of Ilkley Moor to hear those famous "bells."

Charlotte Brontë was resident at Haworth, but Haworth shorn of many of the attractions which had formerly made it tolerable. Branwell, who was long remembered and loved in the village, after a career which had stained his name and brought infinite sorrow into the parsonage-house, died tragically standing—and was buried. Emily, too, the greatest of them all, had borne patiently till the end, putting aside sympathy; but when that end was wellnigh come she whispered, “I will see a doctor now if you send for him,” and then passed away. Anne, too, had gone, and there was now no one left in the parsonage-house but the old man and his famous daughter, who took her fame very quietly; for after all it was not fame that was the wish of her woman’s heart, but love. That, however, was not for her. True it is that she was loved: first by one concerning whom she speaks in several of her letters to her friend Ellen,* and again with a long patient love by Mr. Nicholls, to whom she was ultimately married. At first all thought of this presumptuous love was scouted by Mr. Brontë, and Mr. Nicholls was driven from Haworth. Charlotte Brontë had compassion for him at this time, but no love. Indeed, even when her father’s strange mood changed, and he became as imperiously anxious for the marriage as he had before been opposed to it, when Mr. Nicholls had returned to Haworth and was actually engaged to Charlotte Brontë, we do not find that she was in love with him; rather, it would seem that she was coerced into marrying him by circumstances. A woman who writes thus of the man she is going to marry, and that woman is Charlotte Brontë, is not in love: “I hope Mr. C. and Mr. Nicholls may meet some day. I believe mutual acquaintance would in time bring mutual respect; but one of them, at least, requires *knowing* to be *appreciated*. And I must say that I have not yet found him to lose with closer knowledge. I make no grand discoveries, but I occasionally come upon a quiet little nook of character which excites esteem.” † It was not thus she wrote of Dr. John, of Rochester, her first love, of Paul Emanuel, her last. But here again are some words written immediately after marriage: “I trust I feel thankful to God for having enabled me to make a right choice, and pray to be enabled to repay as I ought the affectionate devotion of a truthful, honourable, and unboastful man.” Four

* It is probable that the “Dr. John” episode which is made use of in “Villette” really belongs to this period of her life, for we see that so closely had she followed facts in that novel that she feared she might have made her translations too literal, and allowed the MS. to pass into the hands of the original “Dr. John.” “Monograph,” p. 141.

† “Monograph,” p. 172.

months after marriage she writes, "People don't compliment me as they do Arthur—excuse the name—it has grown natural to use it now." Excuse the name! There is not much love yet. It may be increasing, but here is a confession written about six months after marriage: "He is well, thank God, and so am I, and he *is* 'my dear boy' certainly—dearer now than he was six months ago. In three days we shall actually have been married that length of time."*

Concerning Mr. Nicholls we of course need say nothing here. He seems to have loved the woman long and earnestly, and the writer little. Perhaps he was a little jealous of her books, or of some people in them. He discouraged her continued labours in the field of literature, but his discouragements would not have been enough to stop obedience to the high behests of her nature, for we know that she commenced another story of friendless girlhood † But the great discouragement came. Sudden illness and peremptory death summoned her; and the quiet, uneventful, but troubled life came to an end, and another now famous name had to be added to the already long list on the tablet under the organ-loft in Haworth Church.

Now what are we to say of Currer Bell? Of the woman we can speak no words which would not echo the high and pure praise given in Mr. Wemyss Reid's work. Of the infamous slanders which were vilely enunciated to her detriment during her pure, quiet, and simple life we could speak with indignation, had not a master of the art already denounced the sources of such base calumny in burning language. Now it seems to us no injustice can be done to Charlotte Brontë as a woman.

As a writer, however, injustice may be and has been done to her. Mr. Wemyss Reid points out the neglect which has followed the sudden popularity once accorded to her works, and that neglect is to our thinking quite unmerited. But it would, we conceive, have been easier to speak with weighed praise of these admirable performances had not Mr. Swinburne, with a liberality of flattery and a lavishness of praise which flows in melodious sentences of vivid prose through the pages of his "Note," done her more than justice, or—if he has not done her more than justice—had not in his comparisons done others less. We confess we are far outpraised by Mr. Swinburne. Nothing that we could say of Charlotte Brontë's merits would sound adequate after Mr. Swinburne's sonorous eulogy and snarling comparisons. True, it is difficult to ascertain the rank of such a woman in literature without comparing her with others, but when the

* "Monograph," p. 179.

† Published in "Cornhill Magazine," April 1860.

comparison is founded on nothing but that ultimate resource of critics, "his own instinct," and when from that arbitrary standpoint vials of unpunctuated wrath are poured upon some who to the *instincts* of others' may seem more than comparable to Charlotte Brontë, one is apt to retaliate upon the flatterer with a want of justice to the person flattered. We should wish above all things to avoid this. While differing from some of the views expressed by Mr. Swinburne, we agree with him in much. Few poets are gifted with Mr. Swinburne's critical faculty, and he has read the very heart out of Charlotte Brontë's works; but he is more in sympathy with the strong pulsating heart of the "fiery-hearted vestal of Haworth" than with the calmer rhythm of that of Fielding, of Scott, of Thackeray, or George Eliot. He admires the absorbing oneness of Curren Bell, but has no width to appreciate the manifoldness of these; and he seems even to detract from the great master Cervantes himself in his comparison between Don Quixote and Paul Emanuel. True, we find in this "Note" perspicuous glances into the very pith and marrow of more books than we have here to do with. His criticisms of "Daniel Deronda" and the "Mill on the Floss" are not mere eloquent bluster, but are fine nervous appreciations of the real merits and real defects of a master's works. He does kind justice to George Eliot's children, which deserve kindly treatment, and compare very favourably with the dim realisation of childhood which could give us Jane Eyre, the Yorkes, and Paulina Home as denizens of the joyous world, which laughs the work-a-day world out of its place. Curren Bell had no notion of what a child was, and seems to have thought that gnarled human crab-trees grew into fine blossoming apples. These appreciations—and other true but sweeping condemnations of some commanding rubbish of the present day—indicate his marvellous critical faculty, and also his acute sense of real justice. But when we come to the real central merit of Curren Bell, we think we find that he has lost the scales of justice, and has nothing but the eye-bandage and sword left, with which latter he makes some rude havoc on those with whom he compares her great merits.

Mr. Swinburne is right in his canon of criticism. What we have to look for from such a writer is the supreme power of "painting and handling of human character in mutual relation and reaction." This is no new canon; it is a recognised rule. We require the writer to body forth human beings in such shape and guise that we can realise them not as clever sketches but as familiar friends. True studies of character must be addressed to those who know what character is. Writers are not supposed to write for born idiots. But given the man of

real knowledge and experience of the world, the writer who can make him realise in bodily presence, in mental constitution, in action and passion, a creation of his or her own imagination—can make him understand the man thus created in himself and in his infinite relations with nature, with man, and fate, is the true consummate artist; and he or she who can do this best is the greatest. We know a man by his words, his acts, his expressions; we speculate on his future, we anticipate his words and his acts with more or less certainty as we understand the motives of his action and his stalwart or cringing demeanour to the world with its stubborn circumstances. The author must give us the same knowledge of his men and women as we—if we are competent observers—have of the men and women we meet in daily life, the men and women whose actions and passions shape our own courses, and affect our own natures with hopes and fears, likes and dislikes, loves and hates.

Mr. Swinburne distinguishes three classes of writers who attempt this difficult enterprise: "The lowest, which leaves us in a complacent mood of acquiescence with the graceful or natural inventions and fancies of an honest and ingenious workman, and in no mind to question or dispute the accuracy of his transcript from life or the fidelity of his design to the modesty and the likelihood of nature; the second, of high enough quality to engage our judgment in its service, and make direct demand on our grave attention for deliberate assent or dissent; the third, which in the exercise of its highest faculties at their best neither solicits nor seduces nor provokes us to acquiescence or demur, but compels us without question to positive acceptance and belief." * We question whether this is at all a correct division. We know not what acceptance and belief are worth if they are not founded on grave and deliberate assent or dissent. Mr. Swinburne seems to argue in favour of a supreme court of prejudice which gives no reason, which has no reason for its judgments except that it is compelled to believe. But even if his tripartite division of the doers of imaginative work were right, what should we say to his judgment when he begins to apply these classes to persons, and after placing George Eliot in the second class, goes on to say, "Of the third—if in such a matter as this I may trust my own instinct, that last resource and ultimate reason of all critics in every case and on every question—there is no clearer and more positive instance in the whole world of letters than that supplied by the genius of Charlotte Brontë" ? † Now, if we are each to have recourse to these ultimate grounds of belief, then we might be content to say that to

* "Note," p. 9.

† "Note," p. 10.

our instinct Charlotte Brontë does not possess that power of compelling adhesion to and acceptance of her imaginative product in so marked a degree as others; and as we are likely to trust our own instincts in preference to those of another, we might rest satisfied with such a blank contradiction of ultimate effects. But any such appeal to individual instincts must be an end to all criticism, which is not merely an interpreter of impressions, but an exponent of the rational basis of impressions, of sentiments and beliefs; and we prefer to believe that the imaginative work of Currer Bell, like that of George Eliot, must be taken not simply in blind faith like Catholic dogmas, but with questioning and doubt like the more stubborn morsels which Protestants attempt to swallow. To our mind, then, Charlotte Brontë has not succeeded in showing us men and women in the entangled web of circumstances, has not shown us men and women baffled and baffling the strenuous contentions of their moving environment, and allowed us to stand before these human souls, and know and understand their passions, their sufferings, their aspirations, and their fears, with anything like the same broad truth as Fielding, Thackeray, Scott, Eliot, or Sand; and we would account for Mr. Swinburne's mistake in this regard by the fact, that while as a true wide artist of Shakespearian grasp and reach, Currer Bell has not risen so high as others in the task of giving us real men and women moving through the varying world with its varying scenes, she has with more force than these given us true pictures of men and women in the one passion which draws the prime of the sexes impulsively together. She is the artist of the grand overmastering passion which fulfils a woman's existence, and which is the beginning of higher life in men. Her world is a love-toil. Her heroes are lovers; her heroines are women wanting love, loving or lacking love, and that too with the fierceness and energy of a lonely, friendless, unlovely nature, which has found a rough, harsh, shunned human being with whom it can impulsively sympathise, and whom it can ardently adore. If that then is to be the test of true art, we admit Charlotte Brontë's supremacy; but we do not admit that that is all the artist's work. Men do not live by bread alone, and there are other, higher, separate aims and purposes both for men and women which she did not understand, but which are yet as deep, as true as the mutual pleasance of young hearts. When she did attempt to give another turn to a man's ambition, as she did in "Shirley" when she painted Robert Moore, she failed even to make a recognisable human being. When she confined herself to the rough man and his rough passion, as in the case of Rochester and Paul Emanuel, she rose superior almost to any.

Still we think this is but a narrow sphere to move in. We sympathise with Miss Martineau, who condemned the manner in which "all the female characters, in all their thoughts and lives," were represented as "being full of one thing—love."*

We have seen that Mr. Swinburne happily calls her that "fire-hearted vestal of Haworth;" but is fire the stuff an artist's heart ought to be made of? We think not. We think there ought to be tears too. We saw how her fire scathed the children she handled in her books, how her fire forbade sympathy with those young ones in whom fires are not yet kindled. We think that this want of knowledge of, and sympathy with children, is a part of that very nature which was fire-hearted, although vestal. But without motherly love only half the world was known to her. She could not be wide and beneficent, although she might be devoted and true, without that third revelation in a woman's life—which series begins with birth, then comes love, then motherhood, then death.

But glancing for an instant at the works of the other writers we have mentioned in this disagreeable connection of comparison—a connection which is forced upon us by Mr. Swinburne's repeated references—we find that if they do not know so much of, they know other things than that grand, that terrible passion. They know many men who were not lovers, men who had other aims than successful love, who had other thoughts than the woman they sought. They knew women who were not love-sick; women who knew other sacrifices than sacrifices of the heart, and who had other and as true sorrows as those of the love-lorn. They too, as a proof of it, knew the humorous side of life, and each one of these had deep genuine laughter in their souls, which they have offered in full measure to others. But Currer Bell is too really in love to know humour; laughter is folly to her, and her moods are those of passionate joy or as passionate sorrow. It is not necessary to refer to individual instances from the works of these to make our propositions more certain. These are facts known to every competent reader, and these truths lie at the very core of this matter. True, then, Charlotte Brontë was a consummate genius in transcribing in legible form the passion which interacts between men and women. But when we have said this of her genius we have almost exhausted the matter. She was very far, in our estimation, from being a literary artist. Her stories are arranged upon too mechanical a plan to have real merit as æsthetic wholes. In many instances her characters are altogether irrelevant, and sometimes they are dropped suddenly, like disagreeable acquaint-

* "Monograph," p. 152.

ances. She sometimes anticipates without any proper reason for her beforehand confidences, and often conceals—with the view of sharpening curiosity—by the too palpable expedient of confidences interrupted, and her books are too evidently arranged for the one or two principal characters. As a writer she is powerful, but often in her power rough and slovenly. She overloads many passages, until the surgery of “skipping” is upon the point of being had recourse to. She had, no doubt, some sympathy with nature, although little when compared with Emily’s deep love, and some of her descriptions are eloquent and bold. That quoted by Mr. Swinburne as a specimen—from Louis Moore’s diary in “*Shirley*”—of exalted and perfect poetry is as follows: “The moon reigns glorious, glad of the gale, as glad as if she gave herself to its fierce caress with love,”* and of which he says, “Nothing can beat that, no one can match it,” is of the passionate complexion which is not the be-all and end-all of literature. However, we do not wish to dwell upon minor artistic defects in one undoubtedly possessed of what is above art. She must be tried by higher canons. We have pointed out that in the supreme merit of making men she is almost matchless, while these men are at the same time lovers; we have said that in the wider merit of making other men and women with other ends and aims, with higher and deeper hopes and fears, she is more than matched. The central defect is not want of intensity but of extensivity—a want not of depth but of breadth in her view of man, his life, and his destiny; a defect which in our eyes places her below those others who stand in the first ranks of imaginative literature.

Mr. Wemyss Reid, in some judicious criticisms, which help to make his book such a valuable contribution to the library of literary biography, while admitting a lack of literary polish, and also that her range as an artist of character is a very limited one, does full justice to the real merits of these “masterful books.” The absolute sincerity and truthfulness, as he points out, of these so-called “fictions” is certainly one of their real merits, but at the same time we cannot help regarding it as connected with their cardinal defect. Every artist must be true to life as he sees it, and the highest artist sees life in its truest lights. But there the difference between artists lies. There is a higher and a lower truth addressed to those whose observation is competent. There is the truth of bare repetition, which might be given under the sanction of a witness-box oath; and there is the truth of imaginative recollection, which is given under the sanction and

* “Note,” p. 56.

responsibility of the whole of one's high artistic nature. These are scarcely recognisable as sisters. To the former of these Charlotte Brontë was absolutely conscientious; to the latter she does not seem to us to have much aspired. She was content with life as she had seen it in its vivid and sometimes cruel relations to her own often despised self—life which had made such deep, such poignant impressions upon her sensitive flesh that time with its salve of oblivion could not cure or erase these open wounds. All her best writing was copying from these hot, these tearful records. The great possibilities which were present even under the harrowing circumstances of her own experience were unheeded by her. She looked back on these times she had herself lived through, and all her nerves suffered again with a pain scarcely less intense than that of the first pungent experience. Her emotion was actually revived, not sedately remembered; and the very presence of these renewed experiences precluded the more wise review of the past through the medium of many informing and beautifying experiences, and prevented her vehement knowledge from becoming calm wisdom. To her the past became the present, and she lived again her fiery experiences, as her pen gave her some dull relief from the sharpness of memory. She did not, it seems to us, give her imagination scope, but trammelled it to the wheels of a memory which crushed her life in its haggard progress through heart's blood and tears. We have seen how she always sketched from the living model, we have seen how her scenes and incidents are not imaginary but real, and we have and know the results of such patient artistic copying. What imagination with real wings, but without the plodding feet to gather any such experiences, or the patience to draw with constraining accuracy from actual facts, could do we see in "Wuthering Heights."

Emily Brontë's characters are as true to life—are to our mind truer to life than those of her more famous sister; and yet they are the real children of the imagination. True, we shudder when we read her withering romance, but the shudder is accompanied by an intense awe and wonder at the power of the artist and the startling reality of that rare book. Here we find a reality more true than the real—a truth which in its boldness and breadth transcends all accuracy. Here rather than in Charlotte Brontë's works do we find the true creative faculty, which makes men and women out of the word of power, and makes them live with human souls which are sparks of the genius of the author. Charlotte Brontë has seen and recognised men and women with passionate souls, and has continued for us existences which were, and which cannot die; Emily has created people who never were, but are now immortal.

Still, lest we should, by some misapplied praise which has been bestowed upon Currer Bell, have been driven rather to "contradict and confute" such expressions than to "weigh and consider" her unquestionable merits, we would here say, in conclusion, that withal we have a deep abiding admiration for the woman with the strong heart but no less capable virtue; and that we have a reverence and respect for the writer of books which have been much to us in the past, and which will continue to be much to us in the future. For the help given to understanding the woman and her circumstances we are grateful to Mr. Wemyss Reid, and for much which has so eloquently fallen from Mr. Swinburne we feel that no less grateful acknowledgment is due.

ART. III.—THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS: THEIR ADMISSIBILITY TO UNIVERSITIES.

ONLY twelve years ago the University of Cambridge consented to take the first step towards delivering the girls' schools of England from the sad state of irresponsibility under which they groaned, by extending the privileges of its local examinations to the feminine portion of the community. Previously to that date, every schoolmistress, with no past of university training for herself, and no future of external tests for her pupils as guide, had done that which seemed right in her own eyes; and seeing that her chances of enlightenment had been in general the least possible, one can only wonder that matters were not much worse than they were. Of desire for the best, there must, however, have been at that time a goodly quantity; for an address, signed by more than eight hundred teachers, was presented to the University, praying for the extension of the examinations, and increasing numbers and steady improvement have marked the examination career of the girls ever since. In the early years, as every one knows, the number and kind of failures in arithmetic were lamentable; but of late the school that has had the smallest percentage of failures in that subject is a girl's school. The past twelve years have indeed been years of rapid advance in the education of girls, and in the education of the public mind to appreciation of a nobler ideal concerning it, as well as of constant struggle on the part of Englishwomen for certain long withheld and much needed educational and professional facilities.

But in 1876 the College of Physicians in Dublin declared itself ready to grant medical diplomas to women, and during the past year five ladies, three of whom had fought hard (how hard is well known) at Edinburgh, availed themselves of this sudden solution of their difficulties. Truly it seemed that the tide had turned; for, early in 1877 the Senate of the London University passed a resolution in favour of admitting women to its medical degrees, and appointed a committee to carry the resolution into effect. Soon after, however, a petition, signed by two hundred and fifty medical graduates, was presented to the Senate, praying it to rescind that resolution; and on the 7th of May a stormy meeting of Convocation issued in a resolution, carried by a majority of thirteen, declaring it advisable that admission of women to the medical degrees should be postponed till the question of admitting them to degrees in general should first be settled. Many hearts, perhaps with an undue appreciation of the powers of Convocation, were saddened by this vote, implying, as every one knew it to imply, a vigorous attempt at indefinite postponement of the immediately possible reform, by adding to its opponents the hostile forces of other professions.

The Senate hearkened to Convocation's voice—not with the effect intended, but contrariwise. At the meeting of the 20th of June, the Senate resolved to adhere to its decision of opening the medical degrees to women, and further to apply to Parliament for a new charter, enabling it to open the other degrees also. Thus the general question was settled, so far as the University alone can settle it; and we hope there will now be only the necessary delays in at last making university degrees attainable to women in England.

Tardily, indeed, has the concession been granted. The men and women of a hundred years hence will perhaps read its history, and not be struck with the prominence in it of the boasted national instinct of fair play; for in England, last of all civilised countries, has this instinct triumphed over use and wont; the freest of European lands has been the last to accord, not only equality of educational privileges, but even liberty of professional choice in any form to its women—surely a strange anomaly, not even matched by the parallel anomaly that in Germany, where the importance of education and the equal right of every citizen to it is most clearly recognised, the separation between boys' and girls' education is slowest in being bridged. Arguing with eyes shut, one would say: In England they will not make mighty efforts about educating girls equally with boys, but they will cede to every Englishwoman her British right of doing what she likes; whereas in Germany they will raise and

widen the education of German girls as much as any one can desire, but they will take care to give German women no chance of stepping out of their sphere into masculine professions. But England can now boast a goodly list of girls' schools where Latin, mathematics, and natural science are taught, besides associations for the extension of university teaching, and a Ladies' College in all details of curriculum and examinations a veritable equivalent for those of Cambridge, and yet no amount of equivalent examinations gains a degree; while Germany offers a university career to women in Leipzig and elsewhere, but has no means of preparation for it—the higher girls' schools being inadequate on account of their limited range of study, and not comparable at all to the gymnasien of the boys, though efforts to obtain the equivalent of these have already begun.

The doctrine of the equality and similarity of education for boys and girls was first preached and acted upon in America; but even there it is scarcely half a century old. Before the year 1826 girls were only allowed to attend the schools of Boston, Massachusetts, during the summer months, when there were not boys enough to fill them. In that year an attempt was made to establish a high school for girls on the plan of those already existing for boys. Two hundred and eighty-six candidates presented themselves for admission, while the applications for the boys' high school had never exceeded ninety. This eagerness for knowledge, so unbecoming in girls, was too much for the good people of Boston to endure unmoved. In the words of the school committee of 1854, the school had "an alarming success;" and accordingly, after eighteen months' trial, it was discontinued. After this, however, the girls were allowed to remain in the grammar schools throughout the year.

So America has had its days of women's education panic. But in the Western States better counsels soon obtained. Oberlin College was founded in 1833, offering equal advantages of education to both sexes; and both sexes have availed themselves of it; for up to the year 1873 it had graduated 579 men and 620 women, exclusive of 426 men in the Theological Faculty. Soon after, in 1837, Mount Holyoke Seminary, for girls only, was founded; Antioch, for boys and girls, followed in 1852; and Vassar, for girls only, in 1865. These are a few out of the many institutions which are now scattered far and wide through the United States, and act on the principle, still so much contested, that the similarity of mental development in average individuals of both sexes is so much greater than the difference (if there be any), that, for purposes of education, this presumed difference may be considered as evanescent.

Michigan University opened its gates in 1870; Boston, founded in 1871-72, has admitted women from the beginning; and Cornell University yielded to the current in 1875. Harvard and Yale, the two great American universities, still resist all demands and entreaties, and perhaps this is the bitterest grievance of American women, though even it has been slightly alleviated, since some years ago, in 1873, Harvard consented to grant local examinations for girls. But be Harvard and Yale as unyielding as they may, when we turn from the story of the Boston High School in 1826, and observe that in 1867 there were 22 colleges in the States open to men and women alike, and in 1873, by the report of the United States' Commissioner of Education, 97, while Boston itself boasts a university containing, according to its annual report of 1876, 483 young men and 144 young women, the increase per cent. during the previous year having been 28 for the former and 41 for the latter, we are not inclined to think very badly either of the liberality of American men or the energy of American women. *

And it does not seem that the education of American men has suffered from this liberality. "If any have cherished a fear that the admission of women would tend to reduce the standard of work in the University," says the president of Michigan University in 1873, "their attention may be drawn to the fact that during the last three years we have been steadily increasing the requirements for admission and broadening the range of studies;" and again, in 1872: "Their presence has not called for the enactment of a single new law, or for the slightest change in our methods of government or mode of work." Similar testimony reaches us from the other universities. The Boston Report, before referred to, states that in several cases the presence of the women has aided in elevating the standard of scholarship, and that at all times their influence has promoted order, studiousness, and a true social culture.

Side by side with this powerful educational movement, the sister movement of opening up the professions to women has been also making steady way. The attainability of university degrees, and the instruction leading up to them, involves this indeed, as giving the efficiency and the guarantee of it which are the main requirements for entering a profession; but quite independently of the general educational question, the medical education of women early became in America, as elsewhere, a matter of supreme importance. On the first Wednesday in November 1848, the first medical college for women in the world was opened at Boston. This second shock fell hard on public opinion in that city; but twelve women were found brave enough to face the storm and form the first class of lady

medical students. This was the small beginning of a movement that has since spread so rapidly over America and Europe. In 1850 the Female Medical College in Philadelphia was opened, one in New York in 1863, and another in 1868. As a consequence, we find that the census of 1870 reports 525 lady doctors in the States, whereas in 1848 there was not one. Many of these are professors in the medical colleges, or hold public appointments; and their success in private practice leaves no doubt as to the existence of a felt want which they are fitted to supply. The purely medical male institutions have slowly enough recognised their professional sisters. The Pennsylvania College of Dental Surgery opened its doors to women only in 1873, the opportunity being speedily turned to account by two ladies, the first of whom received her diploma in June 1874. The first woman admitted to a medical society in New York was Dr. Mary Green, physician to the Women's Prison Association in that city, who was elected a member of the New York Medical-Legal Society in 1871.

All along, be it remembered, women were studying medicine in the universities open to them, not separately either, but in mixed classes. In reference to this we may again quote from the Boston University Report: "From the first there has been no difficulty or embarrassment on account of co-education. . . . No lecture or operation has been restricted to either class, and the presence of the two sexes has been a wholesome restraint upon all." It is curious to compare this statement from those who have had experience of medical co-education with the woful prophecies of those who have had none. Usually the facts of the past are more believable than the predictions of the future.

Not till a later date did American women turn their attention to law as a profession. But inevitably the legal faculty in due time attracted its share of fair students at the Universities; and in one State after another lady candidates for admission to practice in the courts made their appearance. Chicago, we believe, had the honour of being the first possessor of a woman lawyer. In 1870 there were five in the States, and since then several reports of other cases have reached our ears in England. Two ladies were admitted to practice at Utah, with much complimenting, in 1873. During the same year the first lady lawyer in Iowa was sworn in; and another young lady passed the best examination of any applicant, and was admitted to the bar as an attorney by the Supreme Court of Illinois. There are also several instances of lawyers' wives becoming lawyers, and practising in partnership with their husbands. A lady in New Hampshire was appointed Justice of the Peace in 1871.

Turning from law to theology, we find women as ministers of

religion not infrequently. Their admission to the Theological Faculty at the Universities would lead to this, and we do not hear of any peculiar difficulty in the state of public opinion respecting the adoption of this profession by women, such as we might expect at home, or indeed anywhere in Europe. In 1870 sixty-seven lady preachers recorded themselves professionally in the census.

Besides all these, we find a few isolated instances of women being employed in some of the other higher walks of life. In 1871 there was in Ohio a lady deputy-collector of the revenues, while in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, a lady was appointed chief engineer of the fire department, and in New Hampshire a member of the fair sex contracted to construct a section of the Valley Railroad.

That America is not yet the land of perfect liberty is, however, borne out by the fact that in the profession of teaching, where women so largely outnumber men, their salaries are still for the same work considerably smaller. This points to the fact of considerable tension against them as regards other work generally, which, forcing them in this, the direction of least resistance, keeps up the time-honoured custom of unequal payment. Nevertheless, Englishwomen may well congratulate their American sisters on "their lines having fallen in pleasant places" comparatively. The Englishwomen have an advantage only in this, that when they have won their cause wholly at one of the elder seats of learning, they will practically have won it throughout the country. For Great Britain, despite its hatred of centralisation, has an essential unity running throughout its modes of thought and action in such matters; no one moves till there is a certain preparedness on the part of all, then the leaders move in rapid succession, and the rest follow like sheep. Whereas the world of the United States has to be conquered in little pieces, and the educational and professional facilities granted to women are by no means on a par in all the States. Besides, any small American college can award degrees to its own students instead of submitting them to a true university test as with us, and the value of all degrees and the significance of the admission of women to them are consequently diminished. Even the conversion of Harvard would not be equal in its effects in America to those of the conversion of Cambridge or Oxford with us; and Cambridge has gone a much longer way towards conversion than Harvard has done. It is even possible that America, which was first in recognising women's claims, may be last in recognising them completely. In England, while "use and wont" hold out beyond all reason, the forces of opposition behind them are being rapidly dissolved away, so that soon

there will be only this crust of "use and wont;" and when it yields, all will yield.

In California, a few years ago, a new University was opened to both sexes alike; and even so far away as the ancient capital of the Incas the new principles have found their way and their acceptance. A young lady of Cusco in 1875 applied for permission to study for the degree of Doctor of Laws, to which application the Peruvian Minister of Justice replied that the laws of the Republic recognised no such difference between the sexes as would prevent the lady from being a lawyer. This answer touches the root of the whole matter; whatever difference there may be, it is not such as to justify the restrictions on human liberty and the artificial limitations of human intellect which we have made or allowed to grow up among us. It is quite beside the point to devote pages of physiological argument to proving that there is sex in mind, unless it be also proved (an arduous undertaking) that the mind-difference involved in sex-difference is such as to warrant the practical conclusions unhesitatingly and illogically deduced from the assumption of *some* difference.

While the Far West was working out its solution of the problem of women's education and sphere after the fashion of a republic and a confederation, and while its example was exerting a beneficial influence on the thought and intention of a certain section of the British public, Eastern Europe had engaged itself on the same problem after the manner of a despotic government.

Previous Empresses of Russia had interested themselves in the education of the girls of the nobility, and the schools they established for these girls became models for the voluntary efforts of the bourgeoisie. The present Empress, however, proposed to herself a larger scheme, and in 1855 instituted a grand system of gymnasien for girls of all classes, formed on carefully studied models taken from Germany and Switzerland. In a surprisingly short time, 186 establishments with 23,400 pupils were opened; and to these others have since been added, so rapidly did the demand exceed even this suddenly large supply. For such a work, State aid was indispensable; and there was the less difficulty about this, as the chief funds were derived from the liberality of a former Empress, Marie Feodorovna, widow of Paul I., who had left a large fortune for the education of girls. The curriculum of the new schools comprised Russian language and literature, French, German, geography, arithmetic, geometry, algebra, elementary physics and natural history, pædogy, dancing, singing, and drawing. This was not the curriculum of our girls' schools twenty years ago, and most of us can only add Latin to it now. But to appreciate rightly the significance of this organ-

ised system of girls' schools in Russia, we must remember that it is not so long ago since the education of boys was also generally neglected in that country. Secondary educational provision has been made for both sexes almost simultaneously.

Certainly there were currents of opinion adverse to this education of women beyond their sphere in Russia twenty years ago, as there were difficulties in noble minds regarding the school association of the daughters of nobles and carpenters. But the new schools made answer to all these by distinctly announcing as principle of their action that—A woman is not necessarily and exclusively wife, mother, mistress of a house: before specialising her for any particular destination, it is necessary to give all the development possible to all her moral and intellectual faculties. As for the social difficulty, the gymnasiums very often had princesses for inspectrices and were under imperial patronage; the education was good, and the nobles were soon glad to avail themselves of it.

Educate a woman and she will immediately ask for something to do. The first pupils of the gymnasiums found this something in teaching. After a time passed in the Institution of Pædagoggy—another product of this educational movement—many young women became teachers in the gymnasiums where they had been pupils. Thus the teaching gradually passed more and more into the hands of women, though the still existing want of a higher education necessitated the aid of men in the upper classes. Then the women became too many, and salaries were very low. Now, whatever theories theorists may hold as to suitable feminine occupation, it is certain, as matter of experience in all countries hitherto, that women have always regarded the healing art as next in desirableness to education as a professional occupation. In Russia, however, there existed, and exists, among the tribes of Asia and in the country districts generally, a special demand for medical women of some degree of professional knowledge and skill. Probably this was the reason, so far as it was not the absence of a reason to the contrary, why women were, as a matter of course, admitted to study medicine in the Russian schools, though not to receive degrees. But the number of these students increased, and their position in all likelihood raised itself by the influx of some of the cultivated Russian ladies from the gymnasiums.

The increase of numbers, and perhaps the possibility that these more cultivated women might make a demand for further privileges, must have excited apprehension; for suddenly the permission to study in the schools of medicine was withdrawn by Government.

One Russian student, Miss Suslova, nothing daunted, went to

Switzerland, and by much tact and patience won her way at Zurich, and was admitted into the University in 1864, her admission being speedily followed by that of another Russian lady. The number of lady students of all nationalities grew in this one University admitting them. In 1871 there were 4 students of philosophy and 15 of medicine, and during the next year this 15 grew to 63. But in 1873 the numbers rose to 88 of medicine, 25 of philosophy, and 1 of social science. Out of this total of 114, 100 were Russians, a fact explained by the educational facilities afforded to women in Russia, which we have roughly attempted to sketch. University education is an empty show without the supply of a secondary education high enough to lead to it, and without a public opinion recognising its value ; and so among all these students there were but few Swiss, for in Switzerland the notion of women's education being limited by her sphere, and her sphere by masculine will and convenience, decidedly prevails. Yet with what comparative ease were universities opened to women in Switzerland ! Can it be that the liberality of men in extending their educational privileges to women is inversely proportional to the eagerness with which women of their own country desire them ? We hope not ; and, at any rate, granting them is a likely way of causing them to be desired. There is at present in Zurich a Swiss lady, Dr. Marie Heim Vögtlein, who began her studies at the University in 1868, and is practising with much success. We believe it was thought at first by many Swiss that women physicians would never prosper in Switzerland.

In 1873 a Russian ukase was published, ordering the Russian women to give up their studies at Zurich, under pain of being disqualified, on their return to Russia, for admission to any examination, educational establishment, or appointment of any kind under the control of the Government. The most important reason assigned for this step was to the effect that Zurich had become a centre of Russian revolutionary societies, in which the students were involved, some of them going "two or three times in the year to Russia and back again, taking with them incendiary letters and proclamations." The ukase also stated that those young women who really desired a scientific education had ample opportunities afforded to them in Russia, where the medical schools were then ready to admit them, and other educational facilities had been opened up.

The majority of the students obeyed the order of their Government and returned to Russia ; 12 remained in Zurich, thereby abandoning any intention of returning ; and 21 applied to the authorities of Berne University for admission there. Without much difficulty this was granted, and in the session of 1874-75

there were 32 lady students at Berne—28 of medicine, 3 of philosophy, 1 of law.

By this time women were also admitted to the Polytechnic School at Berne, the Polytechnicum at Zurich, and to the Concordat examinations, enabling them to practise in the Cantons.

Geneva University has followed the example which Zurich set to Europe. This has placed the French Swiss on a level with their German-speaking sisters, as compared with whom they were at a disadvantage before. At present there are two ladies studying medicine at Geneva.

The numbers at Zurich are now reduced to about six, but at Berne there is a larger number. This falling off is, of course, at once explained by the opening of universities elsewhere, and especially in Paris, which has naturally become the chief centre of medical instruction for women.

As regards the intellectual capacity of women for the advantages granted to them, professors at Zurich and Berne have spoken as professors of Michigan and Boston spoke. They, too, have not found the minds of the weaker sex a drag on those of the stronger. Up to the present, fourteen women have graduated at Zurich; and if this seems a small number, we would remind our readers that a great many of the Russian students did not all along intend to complete the course, and therefore, according to that intention, stopped short of the degree.

The first of the Zurich students, having obtained her degree, returned to St. Petersburg, and presented herself for the State medical examination, which it is necessary to pass for admission to practise in Russia, and as a foreign physician she was admitted and passed. Then, after spending some time at the hospitals of Prague and Vienna, she established herself in the Russian metropolis, and is now in very successful practice.

Meanwhile the events in Switzerland had made it evident that Russian women were thoroughly in earnest about obtaining entry for themselves into the medical profession, and in 1872 an imperial decree gave them admission, under certain conditions, to the Russian schools. Classes for women were formed at the Medical Academy in St. Petersburg during November of that year. The professors and lecturers were the same as for the young men; but the requirements for examination were different, and the diploma granted was called a diploma for the diseases of women and children. Though required to attend the lectures on legal and forensic medicine, they were not examined upon these subjects, or, strange to say, upon nervous diseases, but were supposed to go more thoroughly into the special diseases for which they received their diploma; also

the course prescribed for them was reduced to four years instead of the usual five.

Energetic attempts were at the same time being made to obtain a higher general education for women, in addition to the good secondary education which they already had. In 1869 a system of university lectures for women was organised in St. Petersburg; and in 1873 a college for women was opened at Moscow in connection with the University there, the first professors of the University being engaged to teach the classes. And here we may mention, as an interesting fact, and illustrative of the close connection in the public mind of the imperial family and education, that the Russian municipalities, as a mode of complimenting the daughter of the Czar on her marriage, made a number of educational donations, and founded exhibitions for students quite remarkable in liberality. All the gifts were not to girls, but the girls had, it seems, the larger share. Meanwhile the friends of girls' education in England hope to get something in time out of ancient, misapplied, or possible future endowments, and the same class of people in Ireland petition for some of the Irish Church spoils, and the higher education of British girls has struggled into its present hopeful condition by dint of private effort and goodwill.

Turning now to France, we find, on the one hand, universities granting instruction and degrees to women; on the other, a separation of the education of boys and girls surpassing even England ten years ago. The education of boys is wholly under Government control, and is much more in accordance with the modern spirit, and, for the generality of students, very much better as a whole than in England. But for girls there is no system of schools organised by Government, and only a few municipal schools, leaving the chief work of secondary education to be done in the convents, or by the private enterprise of those who object to the convents. When a Government is so paternal as to look after the boys, it seems hard that the fate of the girls should be left to chance. This is not all, however. To protect the youth of France from quack education, every teacher is required to pass an examination and receive a certificate of his efficiency. But nuns are not required to pass examinations, and nuns are allowed to teach young girls, and have been their chief teachers hitherto. The State, so careful of half its children, neither provides for nor protects from imposition the other half. Thus, while the boys are trained to scientific thought, the minds of the girls are steeped passively in superstition, and a little surface smattering is held as the feminine counterpart of solid knowledge; after which the men of France, like men elsewhere, wonder that women are so incapable of reasoning.

We cannot do better than quote M. Leon Richer's description, in "La Femme Libre," of the accepted model of a girl's education.

"The studies pursued in boarding-schools are what we might expect them to be, that is to say, very superficial. Grammar, arithmetic, geography, history—in particular sacred history—a little botany, and a little astronomy (one is reminded of the well-known use of the globes), form their basis; to this certain social accomplishments are superadded.

"But great would be the reluctance to teach the dead languages there, to teach mathematics, geometry, chemistry, physics, philosophy,—above all philosophy! In short, any kind of learning which widens our horizon and develops our intellect—any kind of discipline which teaches us to reason.

"Men have lycceums, women have convents; men have public lectures on law, on literature, on history, on physiology, on anatomy, and medicine. . . . Have women an equivalent for these things? No."

This description might have been written of a section of girls' education in England twelve years ago, but it could not have been written in the year 1877. There may be schools not unlike the French convent, though scarcely so inaccessible to new ideas, in England now; but these exist as a heritage from the past, and are rapidly being either improved or eliminated. The death-warrant of every one of the non-repentant among them is already signed, and beside them the schools of the modern type grow up and flourish not less in numbers than in scholarship. If we ask whether girls in England have the equivalent of boys' schools, we must answer, for a section of the community, certainly yes. In England, too, the education of girls has not a more distinctly theological cast than that of boys, the reverse of which makes the state of things in France so peculiarly mischievous and so peculiarly difficult to cure. Attempts are being made to cure it, however. The education of girls, if not under the guardianship of the State, is not under its control either, and it only remains for private enterprise to take up the matter, as in England, and by successful experimenting convert public opinion from the convent ideal of the past. Schools of a better class are being established in this way, and it may be hoped that the movement from above in the universities will go far towards encouraging this movement from below. We have much faith in French accessibility to new ideas, and French directness in giving them effect, as illustrated by French action respecting the universities.

The first attempt to gain an entrance into these universities was made by Mlle. Daubré at Lyons so long ago as 1861.

Mdlle. Daubré presented herself before the Faculty of Letters, and after causing much astonishment, and the creation of some difficulty, was allowed to pass her examinations. Then she claimed her diploma, which, on reference to the Minister of Public Instruction, was refused. Mdlle. Daubré told her story to M. Arles-Dufour, who set off for Paris the same night, and returned after three days with the diploma in his pocket. Thus the precedent was made; another lady followed in 1869, and she has had her successors. Meanwhile Montpellier also granted a degree in Arts to a lady in 1865.

There were in France during the early part of the century women distinguished in medicine. One, Madame Boivin, who died in 1841, was a member of the medical societies of Paris, Bordeaux, Berlin, Brussels, and Bruges, and as an authoritative writer on obstetrics has an European reputation. She was intrusted with the direction of the Hospice de la Maternité, and of the Maison Royale de Santé, besides other important offices. Before her was Madame Lachapelle, her teacher, who was esteemed one of the ablest teachers of midwifery during the latter part of the last century. She died in 1821.

These women, having made their way to the first rank of their profession, were honoured as exceptions rather than regarded as precedents. But some time between 1860 and 1870 Miss Mary Putnam obtained the permission of the Minister of Education to study in the Paris School of Medicine. Mrs. Garrett Anderson followed her, and obtained her degree in 1870 with congratulations from her examiners on her success. Miss Putnam, who had been taking time for original researches during her studies, graduated in August 1871 with much honour. Paris soon became the centre for medical women, and in 1874 there were twenty students in the Ecole de Médecine. Every one of these, however, had, as every woman must have now, a special permission from the Minister. Not long ago, also, a young American lady succeeded in obtaining the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the "Faculté de Science de Paris," the first to avail herself of the other than medical privileges of that University so far. And just at present one lady, a Russian, is studying in the schools of law.

At the end of last year, 1876-77, there were twenty-two women entered as students in the Medical Faculty—five French, six English, eleven Russians. During that year five women received the degree of M.D.—two English, two Russians, one German. There are now fourteen Englishwomen studying medicine in Paris. We see from these facts that it is quite as much, or rather more, in her character as one of the capitals of the world than in that of capital of France that Paris has

undertaken to supply the demand of women for a medical education. In Paris, as in Switzerland, it was the request of a foreigner that opened the University to women, and in Paris, as in Switzerland, it is to foreigners still the greatest boon.

The education of German girls may be good, but the education of German boys is a great deal better. German girls are educated to be German women; and German women are destined, if not by nature, at least by man, to domesticity of the narrowest type. The party who take exception to this narrowing down of human thought and life—for such a party does exist in Germany—distinctly look to England for light, and covet the action of the English Universities with respect to the secondary education of girls.

Germany has an organised system of Gymnasien and Realschulen for boys under the control of the State, a system which supplies, it may be said without fear of contradiction, the best secondary education in the world. For girls, Government has furnished no equivalent. Private effort has done something to supply the want, and of late years *Hohere Tochter Schulen*, not recognised as part of the State system, have been established. The undefined position of these schools led to a general conference of their directors and teachers in September 1872; and from the resolutions of this conference we learn several facts:—

1. That the object of the Higher Girls' Schools is to impart intellectual culture to the rising generation of girls, and to occupy for them the place supplied for boys by the Gymnasium and the Realschule, and that its future development consists *not in a direct imitation of these institutions, but in such organisation as is adapted to the vocation of women*: that technical training is therefore to be avoided.

That it aims at the harmonious development of the intellect, mind, and will, in accordance with the principles of art, morality, and religion.

3. That the same elementary teaching be given as in elementary schools, such teaching to serve as a basis for further training in general knowledge; and in two foreign languages.

4. That the schools admit pupils from the ages of six to sixteen; the school course to be divided into three sections and to cover ten years.

5. That the staff of teachers consist of a director and masters with university degrees; also experienced elementary masters and certificated mistresses.

6. That the State, in acknowledgment of the fact that the Higher Girls' School shall be a public institution under the immediate control of the municipal authorities, should endeavour to promote its establishment whenever needed, and admit it to

the same State jurisdiction as the Realschule and the Gymnasium, and that the masters and mistresses should enjoy the same privileges as the teachers in those schools.

We see, then, that the scheme of the Higher Girls' Schools in Germany does not rise above the notion that there is in the feminine mind and the feminine vocation some peculiar reason for ending the years of education at sixteen, and excluding classics, mathematics, and science generally from its programme. We see, also, that it is thought desirable to place this peculiarly feminine work almost wholly in the hands of men, for the certificated mistresses rarely hold positions beyond the fourth class. The fairness of this was discussed at the Women's Union Conference at Eisenach the same year, but without arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. If girls' education is to be so limited, however, it is not surprising that there should be hesitation to place much control over it in the women who are themselves products of this limited education.

These schools certainly do not seem to us to supply the equivalent of the Gymnasium and the Realschule, and so think some Germans also. Hence, within the last seven years, attempts have been made in Berlin, Darmstadt, Bremen, and other cities, to give opportunities for further culture to girls above sixteen, by means of courses of lectures somewhat similar to those in England. And at the Women's Union Conference also, in the year 1872, a paper was read by Dr. Wendt on a proposal for the institution of a Parthegogium, or real Gymnasium for girls, in which they should receive the same intellectual training as is given to boys. The Conference expressed interest in the scheme, and no doubt the idea will work and bear fruit in time; but opinion in Germany is hardly ready yet for the actual levelling of the time-honoured barriers that separate mind male from mind female. Dr. Wiese, in his "German Letters on English Education," devotes a few pages, not very much to the purpose, to this novel American gospel of education for women, concluding by the statement that the thing is wholly un-German, and therefore, we suppose he means, to be disliked.

But notwithstanding all this, there have been women in Germany who contrived to "step out of their sphere," and receive, instead of condemnation, university degrees. Early in the century there was a Frau von Siebold who distinguished herself so much in the practice of midwifery, that the University of Giessen bestowed on her the degree of M.D. Frau von Siebold had a daughter, Marianne, afterwards Frau von Heidenseich, who studied at the Universities of Giessen and Göttingen, and took her degree regularly in 1817. She died only in 1859, and was

much esteemed as one of the first authorities in her special branch of science.

We suppose that these ladies, like their French contemporaries, were regarded and admired as quite exceptional, for we find no chain of successors such as would rapidly spring up to-day. The next instance known to us of a degree being granted to a woman in Germany is that of a young Russian lady who had for a long time been attending lectures in law at Leipzig, and graduated there in the early part of 1874. She was not long alone in her studies, however, for at the time of her graduation there were several other women attending lectures in medicine, natural science, and jurisprudence. We believe, however, they were not German women. Later in the same year one of these, a young Jewish lady, received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy; and Göttingen University also conferred a degree of Doctor of Philosophy and Magister of Liberal Arts on another young lady, Miss Kowalewsky. Leipzig is the largest university in Germany, and contains about 300 students. Women are fortunate in having the right of admission within its walls, and the privilege of graduation from it. We hope they will soon be able to bridge over the gulf of secondary education which at present yawns between them and it; but in Germany, where the habit of depending on the State in such matters has been formed, and the wealth of individuals is comparatively inconsiderable, this is not so easy unless the State steps in; and to convert the State is a difficult undertaking.

In Italy we find a low though improving state of secondary education, and universities that in truth were never closed to women. We cannot wonder at the first of these facts, seeing that Italy is still so fresh from the days of her regeneration, while we must greatly admire the disposition at all times implied in the second.

And Italy has not tarried long in regenerating the education, and consequently the general position, of her women. Previously to the year 1861 there was no State-recognised secondary education for girls at all, except that given in the Normal Training Schools for teachers. The sexes were on a perfectly equal footing as regarded these and the elementary schools; and girls, not intending to be teachers, frequently entered the Normal Schools only because there was no other way of continuing their education. This was not a very convenient way, because, while the elementary course was complete at twelve years of age, the Normal School did not begin till fifteen. For those who chose them, there were, of course, the convent schools, which even now outnumber all the others; but these are a negative quantity as regards true enlightenment, though

happily obliged, since 1866, under penalty of dissolution, to employ only teachers having the Government diploma—a great improvement on things in France. There were also some institutions inherited from ex-Governments not differing much in spirit from the convent schools, and six Government colleges, one at Milan, Florence, Palermo, and Verona respectively, and two at Naples, with a course now somewhat similar to that of the new schools. These were and are boarding-schools.

Thus, while it was possible for the poorest boy, from twelve to eighteen years old, to make his way from the elementary school to the university through the gymnasium, and for young men from eighteen to twenty-one to pass through the lyceum, for the girls there were only the elementary schools, and, perhaps, the convents. Frankly recognising as wrong this inequality, the municipality of Milan in 1861 determined to establish a higher school for girls. The report of its scholastic council states the resolution thus:—

“In your work . . . there has been till now a serious deficiency which must be supplied. While, in fact, the instruction for males has a graduated course, that for females is cut short at the elementary course. The law has entirely forgotten that branch of secondary schools, as if women were entitled only to a superficial and most elementary instruction, and as if it were not rather of great moment to educate the intellect of those who are to be the earliest teachers of men. It is, therefore, the duty of the municipality to give to women also that amount of average instruction which none but those occupied in the humblest manual labour should be without.”

The municipality accepted this view of its duty; the project was realised, and no expense was spared to render the new school efficient. In 1864 Turin followed the good example, and then the Government, appreciating the importance of the movement, promised large subsidies to all cities that should do likewise. So now in Asti, Genoa, Venice, Padua, Bologna, Florence, and last of all in Rome also, schools of the same kind have been organised. The Roman school was opened only in January 1874. They are all public day-schools, somewhat similar in scope and organisation to the Endowed Girls' Schools and the new High Schools of the Girls' Public Day Schools Company in England.

“The curriculum is divided into a lower and higher course. The lower, besides the ordinary branches of school instruction, includes the outlines of natural science, domestic economy, and hygiene, geometry, and drawing. The higher course . . . adds the elements of moral philosophy and social economy, the history of Italian literature, foreign literatures, political geography, the history of the Middle Ages and modern times, the elements of physical geography, natural history,

physics, and chemistry. Optional subjects, without extra fee, are French, English, and German, gymnastics, choral singing, and needle-work; with extra fee, landscape and figure drawing, and instrumental music."

Considering the state of things which it followed, this curriculum promises well for the full intellectual recognition of Italian women, when time enough shall have been given for the new ideas to grow and give birth to higher ones. The chief fault that may be found with these municipal schools is the limitation of the learning age to sixteen, but the stimulus given to the education of girls by the opening of the Universities to women will probably lead to some arrangement by which the time and the studies may be extended, at least for some of the pupils.

This limitation of age reminds us of Germany, but in the matter of State recognition the Italian Municipal Schools are very much better off than the German Higher Girls' Schools. The whole course of instruction is drawn up by the Scholastic Council of the Municipality or of the State, according to circumstances; and the schools are placed under the same official inspection, and their yearly examinations are conducted by the same public authorities as those of the gymnasiums and lyceums. Indeed, the interest shown throughout by successive Ministers of Public Instruction in improving the education of girls has been most encouraging, and has considerably smoothed the path to knowledge of women in regenerated Italy.

As regards the higher education, a society for its promotion was formed at Rome in connection with the High School there on its establishment, and courses of lectures were accordingly given to ladies by the Professors of the University. Some classes with a similar object were, about the same time, formed at Genoa. But these attempts were not long left, any more than the attempt to obtain secondary education was left, without aid and recognition from above. In 1876 a State decree formally opened to women the fifteen Universities of Italy. Actually they were not closed before to those earnestly desirous of using them, and many exceptional women had used them in the past; but neither were they actually open in the sense of women having an equal right in them with men. In the year that the Universities were opened a lady received a medical degree at Pisa, and two others are thought likely to distinguish themselves in the Faculty of Arts, one at Bologna and one at Turin.

The higher education of women is now as completely provided for as the higher education of men; but the secondary education of the fairer sex still needs improvement in order to

render it equal to the secondary education of boys. This distinct uplifting of a university goal must, however, accelerate immensely the efforts to improve this education. Last year a movement was set on foot in Florence to provide for girls the same means of pursuing the studies preparatory to admission into the university which the State supplies by gymnasiums and lyceums for boys. We quote from the circular issued by the promoters of this excellent design :—

“All those who have favoured and promoted a higher education and instruction for women must rejoice that, whenever a larger field of education and instruction has been opened to them, Italian women of all classes have eagerly and confidently pressed into it. And the facts have corresponded to the hopes entertained, for each year a goodly number of excellently instructed pupils have issued from all the schools opened up to this time for the instruction of women. These admirable results convinced many of the possibility and expediency of imparting to women a larger and more solid culture than they had hitherto received ; and, inspired by this conception, the Ronglic Regulations admitted them to the universities of the State, to pass through the course of studies required for the laureate,* and for matriculation in any of the faculties there taught. But, to arrive at the university, it is necessary to pass through the gymnasium and the lyceum ; and, as yet, no gymnasiums or lyceums exist for women in Italy. . . . In order, therefore, that the Regulations should not remain a dead letter for most girls, a gymnasium first and then a lyceum should be opened for them, where they could go through the studies necessary for admission to the university.”

Accordingly, the circular announced the opening of a gymnasium in Florence the following November, provided that twenty-five pupils were secured ; and further, that on the application of ten families a lyceum should be opened in addition to the gymnasium. It was proposed that the necessary funds should be raised by shares.

But the history of the education of girls in Italy has not hitherto, as we have seen, been that of a painful struggle, against adverse circumstances, into existence ; and now a law to establish gymnasiums for girls is under discussion, and will, no doubt, soon be passed. When this law is passed, the schools will be gradually established all over the country, and Italy may probably be the first of all civilised nations to obtain a completely organised system of education, from the elementary school to the university, perfectly fair to all classes and to both sexes alike. This would well befit the land on which the first rays of the Renaissance fell.

* Doctorate.

Mention has already been made of the consideration at all times shown to women by the Italian universities. No other country can boast so many early manifestations of liberality or gallantry, whichever it was; and pre-eminent among Italian universities stands Bologna. So long ago as 1209, the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on a lady whose name was Betisia Gozzadini; and other instances not quite so early occurred at Padua, Milan, Pavia, and elsewhere;* while at Bologna, in 1380, there was Maddalena Buonsignori, Professor of Laws. The last century is rich in distinguished Italian women at the universities. At Bologna, in 1733, Laura Bassi was Professor of Philosophy, Maria Gaetana Agnesi, Professor of Mathematics in 1750; and Clothilde Tambroni, Professor of Greek in 1794. Then, about the middle of the century, there was an Anna Marandi Mazzolini, whose husband held the chair of Anatomy. It happened that he fell ill, and she, being a loving wife, sought to supply to him the place of his enfeebled powers. So she became an anatomist, and presently delivered his lectures for him from behind a curtain. She became famous, and was offered a chair at Milan, which, however, she refused, and remained at Bologna till her death in 1774. Her anatomical models in wax are the pride of the Anatomical Museum at Bologna. During the next half century several other women followed in her footsteps, of whom the most distinguished was Maria delle Donne, who received her degree at Bologna in 1806, and was afterwards appointed by Napoleon Bonaparte to the chair of Midwifery in that university.

This will suffice to show what kind of spirit the advocates of the intellectual rights of women had to encounter in Italian universities, and agrees well with the readiness evinced by the State and the secular authorities in general to aid the new movement when it reached the Italian shores. Another story might be told of priestly opposition and adverse influence, but that was to have been expected.

In Austria, there exists at present a considerable movement for improving the education of girls, and in 1873 a powerful society was constituted, originating, we believe, in Gratz, with a view to found schools, and spread the principles which it adopted by organising branch societies throughout the country. It was announced that the first object of the society was to save women from the pernicious influence of the prejudices and superstitions generally propounded under the guise of education; and the programme of studies in the new schools was to include the German language, history, modern literature, and the natural

* "Medicine as a Profession for Women," by Sophia Jex Blake.

sciences. As a scheme of superior instruction, this does not so very much impress us, and we fear the previous state of things which it reveals was indeed sad ; but the upward tendency at all is a great thing, and in its time is sure to have its full effect. A new lyceum was shortly afterwards opened at Gratz. Before this time, however, the University of Vienna had stamped the new movement with approval by admitting women to degrees and as students in its classes where the professors do not object. This was in March 1870. In 1873, there were four ladies as medical students, one of whom took the prize for an essay on "Operative Course in Surgery," and was pronounced by the professor to be one of the best operators in the class.

In Austria, therefore, as almost everywhere else, the professional difficulties of women are fairly solved, and the higher education is placed within their reach. It remains to make them generally capable of reaching it, by completing the reconstruction, already begun, of their secondary education.

In Holland, a State decree opened the examination of apothecaries to women in 1870. The universities have followed in due course ; and in 1873 the first lady medical student in the Netherlands, Mlle. Jacobs, passed her examinations in physics and mathematics at the University of Groningen. The cordon of university education has therefore been broken through in Holland also. Our nearest, and, as we are apt to suppose, slower-thinking blood relations have actually surpassed us in celerity. With regard to the secondary education, it seems that in 1874 the Netherlands possessed forty-seven higher burgher schools for boys, receiving an imperial grant of over £15,000, whereas only seven of the larger cities had a higher burgher school for girls, these seven admitting them from the twelfth to the fifteenth year. Lately, however, a Ministerial order has, we are told, been issued opening every gymnasium as well as every university to women, which bridges the gulf of secondary education in a very simple way.

In 1875 the University of Copenhagen opened to women all its classes and degrees except those of theology. It was expressly provided, indeed, that they should not be allowed to participate in the benefices and stipends set apart for the male students—a reservation which has an odd look of unfairness about it. Still, the admission is the chief thing, at any rate in the beginning. As regards secondary education, this also is going forward. An "association of women" at Copenhagen had been at work in promoting it for some years previous to this action of the University.

Sweden, like Italy, has for the last fifteen or sixteen years been industriously promoting the secondary education of its

daughters, and during the last seven years, the privileges of the universities have been open to them. At Stockholm, a State seminary for the higher training of women teachers was founded in 1861, and a State normal school preparatory to the seminary in 1864. Courses of classes for girls giving a more advanced education than that of the ordinary schools, which in Sweden are exceptionally good, were instituted the following year; and there are now higher girls' schools similar to the normal school for girls in every large town, with the exception of those in the extreme north, while Stockholm can boast of five and Upsala of three. These are all, however, private schools, and it has depended on individual effort to make them what they propose to be—a true preparation for university tests and studies.

In August 1870 a State decree granted to women the right to matriculation and other examinations at the universities. The great Swedish University of Upsala throws open its doors freely, irrespective of class or sex, giving instruction gratuitously to all sorts and conditions of men and women who choose to come and take the gift. With the exception of divinity and law, women are admitted to all the examinations; and as regards the rules and customs of the University, women are exactly on the same footing as men.* Between the year 1871–73, four women passed the matriculation examination, and took their places as students in the University—two in the medical and two in the philosophical department. Even then there were two women who had passed the dentists' examination at Stockholm and were practising successfully, and three who had passed the surgeons' examination.

Before this university movement had opened up the medical profession to women, public opinion had been educated to the idea by the fact that the position and education of midwives was already better in Sweden than almost anywhere else. In 1697, a Dutch physician, Hoorn, who lived in Stockholm, proposed that some knowledge of their profession should be imparted to these women before they entered on it, and accordingly set about delivering lectures to them. After this the profession was from year to year made the subject of regulations. In 1771, the first lying-in hospital was erected, which henceforth afforded means of training to the midwives; and when in 1822 Professor Cederschiold was placed at its head, he reorganised everything, and put the lessons for female students on the same level as those for the male. All that he could do to elevate the position of the former he did, and by his representations he ulti-

* See an article in "Macmillan's Magazine," October 1877, by Professor Thorden.

mately obtained for them the legal right of using obstetrical instruments, another month's study being required to gain the right. The possession of this qualification raises the midwife considerably, and those who have it are more regarded and better paid. Much trust is placed in them, and the physician is called upon only in exceptional cases. There were in 1873 one hundred and forty of these women practising in Stockholm, and in all probability the number has since increased. It is evident that the existence of so large a body of efficiently instructed and thoroughly trusted women leads naturally to the idea of the lady physician, who differs from them only by her wider professional knowledge and higher general culture.

It is not unworthy of mention that in Finland also the cry of women or of men for the higher education of women has gone up and been answered. An academy for this higher education was opened at Helsingfors three years ago, starting with ninety-three ladies as pupils. The curriculum includes, among other subjects, physiology, natural science, and mathematics.

On all sides the desire for a new state of things has issued in fruition, and the days of subjected intellects and stifled or wasted activities are numbered throughout the civilised world.

England, as we know, has not been idle all this while, but her slower methods have enabled her own colonies to outstrip her in liberality. It was not enough that she should be last of all civilised nations to give even to the most exceptional women such a simple recognition of their merit as a university degree; but England proper has tarried behind her dependencies. In the year 1875 there were in Canada, as in England, several lady physicians practising; but during that year a Canadian medical licence was for the first time granted to a woman by the College of Physicians and Surgeons in Ontario.

Canada borders on the United States; but India is only subject in this matter to the ordinary influences of common sense, justice, and practical expediency. The great desirability of women physicians has been evident in India for some time past, and in 1875 the Madras Medical College was opened to women, a limited course of study being allowed, with a certificate of the degree of proficiency obtained, to those who did not desire to take the whole course and study for a degree. The ladies attend the courses of lectures with students of the opposite sex, except for some few lectures which it is thought more desirable to be delivered separately. This is a practical way of solving that mountain-of-a-molehill difficulty, medical co-education. It is so easy to make satisfactory practical arrangements when once the importance of giving women medical education at all is perceived.

Australia had taken up the education question with some vigour meanwhile, and in 1872 girls were admitted to the matriculation examinations at Melbourne University. Two young ladies presented themselves that year and passed. The numbers rose soon, and in December 1873 the successful girl-candidates were nineteen in number, while at the previous examination the only two of all the candidates who passed in the first class were girls. Matriculation was not, however, allowed, though the senate had more than once urged upon the council the desirability of not keeping up the anomalous custom which prevails in England of granting a test without granting the usually accompanying privilege.

But to New Zealand University the real honour belongs of having been the first throughout the British Empire to admit a woman to its degrees. On July 31, 1877, the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on Miss Edgar, a student of the Auckland College and Grammar School.

In England the rapid forward movement of the education of girls cannot be dated much before the extension of the Cambridge Local Examinations to them. After a trial of this extension in 1863, it came formally into effect two years later. The College of Preceptors had, however, in the earlier days of 1860, admitted candidates from girls' schools to its examinations, and improvement up to a certain point must have been going on for some time previously to make the demand for these privileges as eager as it was. But without some such external aid, in presence of the general confusion of ideas on the subject, and the non-existence of any true models in the boys' schools, for the improvement of which these examinations had been organised, the tendency to improve could not have been so widely carried into effect. The peculiarity of English education is its entire irresponsibility: however ignorant the schoolmaster and the public may be, the State does not protect the latter from the former. Now this protective function, which the State fulfils in other countries, the universities have been trying to fulfil for us by local examinations; and whether constant external examining is in itself good or bad, it is quite certain to be better than absolute anarchy.

To the girls' schools the introduction of this regulative principle was the greater benefit, seeing that schoolmistresses had no university or equivalent traditions of their own to guide them, and seeing that the education of girls was so much lower, both actually and ideally, than that of boys. It was something that schoolmistresses who had perhaps scarcely heard of such a thing as mathematics should become acquainted, through uni-

versity regulations, with that science or group of sciences as something to be taught. Slowly but surely new notions of a curriculum and a higher standard within it have filtered into the many obscure nooks and crannies of the female educational world. Year by year the number of girl candidates has swollen, and the quality of their work has improved.

Cambridge having led the way in giving this important helping hand both to those who wanted help and those who wanted light, Oxford followed in 1869, four years later, during which year also the London University and the Cambridge higher local examinations for women were instituted. Oxford has now its higher local scheme also, and a joint-board examination of the two elder universities has been organised within the last few years and extended to girls. Edinburgh was as early as 1865 in instituting its local examinations, and the two Irish Universities looked on for five years, and began respectively their examinations for girls and women in 1870. And last year St. Andrew's University announced itself ready to grant a higher certificate to women, the standard of attainment being the same as that required for the M.A. degree. It has since been decided that the successful candidates are to be allowed to adorn themselves with the title of Literate of Arts (L.A.). How dearly does the British mind love to keep up distinctions of sex in matters to which sex is quite irrelevant! So far as we know, degree certificates and equivalent titles are wholly indigenous to British soil.

So much for the action of the Universities in promoting ideas of improved secondary education. On the other hand, we have the solid work done in establishing good girls' schools and other means of education. The Women's Education Union, which was founded in 1872, publishes a list of "colleges, schools, lectures, and other means of education for women and girls in the United Kingdom." From this we cite a few facts.

There are now 18 endowed schools for girls, 6 of which are in London. The scheme for the first of these, the North London Collegiate and Camden Schools, founded as a private school in 1850, and now numbering between the two schools about 1000 pupils, became law in 1875. Latin is taught in 9 of these endowed schools, mathematics in 10, natural science in 15, political economy in 5, domestic economy in 14, physiology in 10, Greek in 1, moral philosophy in 1, the usual girls' subjects holding, of course, their accustomed place.

Next we find 12 schools of the Girls' Public Day-Schools Company, the first of which was opened at Chelsea in January

1873. The curriculum includes in the schools generally Latin, physical science, and mathematics.

Besides these, there are 26 other high schools, in 20 of which Latin and mathematics are taught, natural science in 18, political economy in 7, physiology in 4, logic in 2, and Greek in 4.

This makes a total of 56, to which we have to add the numerous private schools, many of which have adopted the new kind of curriculum, and send in their pupils for testing at the local examinations.

Then for colleges we have Girton College and Newnham Hall with their Cambridge courses; also a college at Bristol, 3 in London, and 2 in Dublin. These have the usual curriculum, including classics, natural science, and mathematics, taught up to the level of the student's previous attainments. Among them, Queen's College and Bedford College in London deserve special honour as products, and successful products, of the earliest efforts to procure for girls a higher education. Besides these, the public lectures of twenty-six professors of the University of Cambridge, and, in University College, London, the classes of jurisprudence, Roman law, political economy, geology, logic, and mental science, higher senior mathematics, and mathematical physics, are open to women. This last-mentioned class at present consists of five professors, five young men, and five young women; and at the end of the last session, 1876-77, the only young lady which the senior mathematical class could boast carried off the prize far above the heads of her male competitors; nor was this the first instance by several in which lady students had been guilty of similar unkindnesses. In addition to these mixed classes, which solve the higher education difficulty in the readiest and most economical way, we have the lectures of the Ladies Educational Association in connection with University College and delivered by its professors, the lectures and classes of the Society for the Extension of University Teaching in London, the lectures of the Cambridge Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Women, the lectures of the Edinburgh Ladies Educational Association, and lectures in connection with Alexandria College by professors of Trinity College, Dublin.

For those who cannot avail themselves of any of these means of instruction, and yet desire to get rid of the inheritance of ignorance left them by their early education, a system of instruction by correspondence has been organised at Cambridge, and more lately at Edinburgh, by means of which help and guidance are extended far and wide to earnest women struggling into light. A story is told of a lady in some remote corner of Scotland, who, bitterly oppressed with the sense of her own deficiency in arith-

metical knowledge, went to a schoolmaster in the neighbourhood and prevailed on him to let her stand, slate in hand, in the class with his boys till the mysteries of vulgar fractions became plain. To such women the correspondence system is an inestimable boon ; and it speaks well for the thoroughness of this education reform that some such means should have been devised for aiding the victims of past mistake, though we shall certainly be glad when it is no longer possible for women in remote corners of Scotland or anywhere else to find themselves so sadly in need of aid from afar. That section of the community which desires a new state of things is indeed leaving no stone unturned to bring it about, and the stir of thought in the vast mass of thoughtlessness on this subject is felt everywhere. "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump."

The improved secondary education of girls is certainly growing steadily in England, and converting public opinion to approve of it in its growth ; but much still remains to be done in widening the area of its action. The higher education is comparatively better off, by which we mean that it is about as well provided for as the state of public opinion requires. The supply is equal to the demand, and the demand has to be increased by education on the secondary plane, and by the direct encouragement of the established universities. In October 1868 the College for Women was opened at Ilitchin, which has since been removed to Girton, three miles from Cambridge. Meanwhile, in 1870, Newnham Hall was opened in Cambridge. Both these colleges are taught by professors from Cambridge University, and both are full. But what distinguishes these two from all other ladies' colleges is the fact that the papers set for the previous and degree examinations at Cambridge are sent down to Girton and Newnham half an hour after they are given out in the senate-house, and the merits of the girls' answers are pronounced upon by some of the examiners, after which degree certificates are given to the successful candidates, stating in each case which class the owner would be in if she did not happen to be a woman.

There is no use in quarrelling with one's bread and butter, and Girton students are duly grateful for their degree certificates. Still looking at the concession from a little distance, the effect is slightly ludicrous. Is it that the idea of a mere certificate has in it something of an antidote to the unsexing influence of university distinction ? or has it some kind of charm to prevent the overtaxing of feminine minds with masculine study ? Is it necessary to devise some such expedient for keeping women in their proper place, seeing that they *will* be educated ? or would it be too much for the feelings of the poor young men to place

them absolutely in competition with the fairer, and, we are told, sometimes more industrious sex? But, in truth, we suppose the real cause of these curious devices may be found in the extraordinary difficulty which the English mind has in conceiving anything quite different from that to which it has always been accustomed. The English political system has grown up by a slow process of patchwork, and perhaps Teutonic islanders cannot at present, by their mental constitution, grant educational privileges to women except after a similar fashion. But we hope the patchwork is in this instance nearly complete, and that, after a very little more of the present tentative course, Girton and Newnham will be regularly affiliated to the University of Cambridge. When that is done, the demand for higher education will rise rapidly.

A proposal for an Oxford Girton has been lately talked about, and, as extending the new ideas to a slightly different section of the community, we hope it will soon be carried out, and have as much success as the sister project at Cambridge. By the affiliation of such a college, in due time Oxford too, most conservative of universities, may be induced to extend its full privileges to women.

In Ireland the movement for improving the education of girls was early taken up, but the comparative poverty of Ireland makes the lack of endowments a very serious difficulty. In the year 1861 the Queen's Institute in Dublin was founded. This valuable society combines, with the Institute for Technical Instruction, a college for the education of women, which supplies the examinations of Dublin and the Queen's Universities with many of their best candidates. Alexandra College, modelled after Queen's College, London, was established in 1866, and has now a school in connection with it. Its classes are taught by professors from the University, within the walls of which the will to aid the higher education of women is not wanting. Last year a number of the Trinity College students called together a meeting, which was presided over by the Provost, "for the purpose of expressing sympathy with Alexandra College as an institution which is proving effective in promoting the higher education of women." The spirit which this little fact reveals is so pleasant, that we have thought it worth while to state it here. We hardly think that the large number of gallant young Irishmen who attended this meeting would so particularly object to the society of young ladies in their lecture and examination halls, or even at the private lessons of an "Honour grinder." Alexandra College is not the equivalent of Girton. Ireland is poor, and has much to do for the secondary education of her girls; she must provide for their

higher education in the most economical way. And the most economical way is the American way, and the way of all the civilised world except in these our islands, of granting the privileges of the existing universities to daughters as well as sons. Questions of residence would be so easily arranged that they are scarcely worthy of mention. We have faith in Celtic elasticity of thought and practical capacity for leaping over obstacles, and hope that the University which first acknowledged the principle of justice between creed and creed will not delay long in administering justice between sex and sex.

But naturally the younger Irish university will be the first to do this. The Queen's University has, as a University, declared its willingness to grant medical degrees to women; but the colleges have not consented to give the appropriate education, without which the University cannot move. This is a pity, but it is hardly likely that the colleges, under such circumstances, will long harden their hearts; and certainly if they consent to give medical instruction, they can have no difficulty about giving any other, which indeed they might perhaps consent to give first.

But with respect to secondary education, the want of funds stops the improvement sadly. In 1873 a memorial was presented to the Government then in office from the Queen's Institute, Dublin, the Belfast Ladies Institute, and the National Union for Improving the Education of Women of all Classes, asking for a Royal Commission to inquire into the state of education in Ireland, including that of girls, and for the admission of girls to a fair share in the surplus revenues of the disestablished Church. This is a fair request; wherever there is money to be disposed of for educational purposes, it is only just that girls should have the benefit of some of it. And the simplest and most economical way of aiding the secondary education of both sexes is to establish mixed schools for both. Why should not some of the surplus revenues be so expended? Perhaps British mixed education on a large scale may first appear in the West. British medical diplomas have, at any rate. The College of Physicians in Dublin has gained that honour for the western island, and during the past year the ladies who obtained their education in Edinburgh have, after many trials, received their diplomas in Dublin.

The story of the ladies' attempt to gain entrance in Edinburgh, and its ultimate failure, is too well known to need more than mention here. The Universities of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, one of which has just instituted, and the other is considering, a system of higher examinations for women, may

now be before their sister of the metropolis in granting full educational privileges to women; but we hope that Edinburgh University will not be long in recovering the character for liberality and nationality which she has temporarily lost. The educational movement is earnest in Scotland, and as this brings Scotch women in numbers up to the level of requiring professional privileges, the leading Scotch University will no doubt turn from its suddenly perverted ways and repent. The economical advantages of mixed education in the universities is not likely to remain long unappreciated by Scotch common sense. As for the secondary education, the local examinations of the University of Edinburgh have done good work in improving it, but the want of endowments presses very hardly in Scotland as elsewhere.

Medical education for women has long been a difficulty in England—a difficulty of which, however, last year saw the solution. In 1864 the Female Medical Society was established; and in 1866 a hospital for women, with women as physicians, was opened. Between 1869 and 1874, the matter was pending in Edinburgh; but the closure of the doors of that University, which the rejection of Mr. Cowper Temple's bill in 1875 made definitely effective, caused all the chief energy of the effort to be transferred to London. In 1874, a medical school for women was organised, and an excellent staff of teachers secured. But the regulations of the examining bodies require, that medical students should attend for at least two or three years at a hospital which in London must contain not less than one hundred beds. This condition is fulfilled by thirteen hospitals only, and at none of these could female students gain admission; so that, even if the examining bodies had recognised the school, it was unable to comply with their requirements. Labouring under this double difficulty, matters looked dark for the Female Medical School. But the Gordian knot is now cut. The Royal Free Hospital is open to women, the Irish College of Physicians has given its diplomas, and the University of London has promised its degrees. The difficulties of medical women, it seems, are finally overcome; and not only finally but peacefully, for with a separate school wholly their own, and a purely examining University to deal with, the danger of shocking the nerves of the stronger sex ought certainly to be reduced very nearly to the vanishing point.

The question still in the balance at London University is that which bears so closely on the advance of the higher education of women, namely, their admission to equal rights and privileges with men in the matter of degrees generally. On this, our rulers in Parliament will have to decide when the new charter is

applied for, and in the acceptance of that charter, if granted, Convocation will have power as well as voice. We do not indeed fear that Convocation, when the sacredness of its favourite medical degrees is gone, will care to preserve intact the sacredness of the others. The graduates of medicine, at least, will hardly act so as to imply that, among the manifold degrees of the University of London, this one of medicine, and it only, is within the capacity of the weaker sex ; and the arts and science graduates have not such weighty professional and other reasons as the medical graduates have for violent resistance to the invasion of their premises.

The programmes of the women's examinations being already assimilated to the regular University examinations, the only conceivable reason that can be assigned against the opening of these arts and science degrees is that they may and probably will act as a more powerful stimulus to mental exertion, and that in this, women being intellectually and physically less than men, lies a great evil.

We do not believe this assumption as a necessary fact ; but the question need not be discussed here. What if the average woman is capable of less mental work than the average man ? It still remains indisputable that many women are capable of much more than many men, and that the strong women run less risk of overtaxed brains than the weak men. There are women with nerves of iron, and men with nerves of flax : what sort of classification is that which shuts out the one from the higher goals of intellectual effort, and tempts the ambition of the other by them ? Have there been cases of eager girls in England or America who marred their health by overwork ? Have there never been cases of overworked young men ? Have we never heard of the worn appearance of high wranglers and other prizemen,—of energies (male energies) slackened for life because of one great strain,—of Cambridge parlance about senior wranglers killing so many men who tried to keep up with them,—of brain fevers and deaths among too zealous male students,—of things that would give rise to fifty Dr. Clarkes if only they happened to girls ? Are we to be told, because here and there a girl, who escapes control, has the folly and the wickedness (for it is a wickedness) to work herself into a weak state of health, that therefore the goals of a higher education must be withheld from all stronger, or cleverer, or more sensible young women also ? Why do we not shut up our senate halls altogether, and forbid at once the competition of talent because it has had its sad number of young men victims ? Let us be consistent, and visit the sins of the few upon the many all round, or not at all.

It will be well, indeed, when one's duty to own physical organi-

sation is as well understood at Oxford and Cambridge as it is in the new English girls' schools. Meanwhile the universities of the British isles might consider the advisability of passing a byelaw requiring candidates for all degree examinations to undergo a medical examination as guarantee that they had not wickedly offended in the matter of overwork. But, till there is some State or University regulation to prevent the weaker of young men from working for University laurels because they may have the folly to overwork, such paternal arrangements for the weak and strong alike among women are surely very much out of place. Let those among them who can easily (an undoubted number) have their chance, and leave the common sense of English women and men to take care of the rest. Women know very well (better than men, perhaps, so much have they been scolded about it) that "There are twelve hours in the day in which men can work;" and the slower labourers must do their work, not by increasing the number of hours, but by increasing the number of days.

And the women, upon whom most depends, have shown themselves quite able as well as willing to deal satisfactorily with this question of temperance in work. In the principal girls' schools, every pupil has a home time-table on which the amount of time given to each lesson is prescribed, and the parents or guardians are responsible, as part of the school agreement, to see that this time-table is not exceeded. In one school, the largest and most important, a further guarantee has been adopted: each girl brings in every morning on a printed form an account of her home-work, signed by herself, stating when she began her lessons, when finished them, and the total time occupied, the maximum allowed to the elder girls being three hours. Long hours and late hours are thus at once detected, and every one's attention, which is perhaps the most important point, is drawn to the truth that health is a sacred trust to be guarded by this one definite measure, among others, of temperance in the expenditure of nervous force. Trained in this way, and with some knowledge of physiological laws, the young women of the future will not be likely to forget duty to their bodies in fulfilling duty to their minds.

Surely, then, there is no true reason in this health argument to justify us in holding up a lower grade of education for women than for men, or in giving up to a certain point the same standard shorn of the honours naturally accompanying it, lest the attainability of the latter should goad weak brains to mad efforts. As for feminine inferiority of intellect, whether necessary, contingent, or imaginary, it does not affect this matter in the least. If the *kind* of education for which London University degrees are

organised be equally suitable to girls and to boys, and if humanity can or must (surely it must) be trusted to take care of its health as a private undertaking, then the smallness or the greatness of the number of women capable of distinguishing themselves has no importance as bearing practically on what ought to be done. Let young women be tested by the same ordeal as young men, and accept the natural position in the scale of excellence to which that ordeal assigns them. Whether it will be a high place or a low place cannot be absolutely known till the experiment has been fully tried. Only it is worth while to remember that, whenever and in so far as the experiment has been tried elsewhere, women have not found themselves in the lowest rank.

But *cui bono*? we have heard it said. London University does not give instruction which is the solid good; what benefit can it do women to have the degrees which bear no professional significance?

Have the degrees of London University no general educational bearing, then? Are they not, as they profess by implication to be, an important adjunct to the higher education of boys; and would they not be just such an equally important adjunct to the higher education of girls? In fact, the attainability of these University honours would create a new demand for higher education among women, the existence of which demand is indeed the only condition at present necessary for its being supplied. The means of supply, as we have seen, are at hand, capable of development up to any required point; but a certain sufficient demand is necessary to effect this development. Now, a demand for higher education depends largely, first, on good secondary education, and secondly, in the undeveloped state of English thought as to the value of education *per se*, on the existence of some goal of endeavour of sufficient effectiveness on the imagination. The satisfaction of this second need is, from an educational point of view, the *raison d'être* of the University of London, and the boon which it can confer on girls educationally. And girls need it even more than boys; for if English thought is undeveloped on the subject of education generally, much more is it embryonic as concerns the education of women.

The public mind never needed the instruction as to the value of certain ends which an examining University can give more sorely than it needs instruction on this point, and the concession of the privileges in question would be this instruction. The admission of women to the degrees in London would affect people as a sort of national resolve that the kind and degree of education thereby encouraged was to be adopted as a national end; for the action of the Universities in England is, as regards

general education, almost parallel to the action of the State in Continental countries. Nor would the results of this admission be limited to accustoming the public mind to, and therefore creating a demand for, the higher education of women; a high external goal would be set up as a mark of effort for the whole feminine education of the country, the tone of which throughout must inevitably be affected by the attainability of these higher privileges.

Again, it often happens that girls who learn chemistry and conic sections at school are treated as small phoenixes by their friends, these not being accustomed to the association of such subjects with girls, and foolish vanity may sometimes result. Now the elevation of the ideal fixed on as the honourable termination of an educational career will certainly have a bracing moral effect where this state of things exists. *Girls and their parents* will realise mental insignificance in the light of this their final goal of effort more than they do at present in the light of lower goals, just as now they certainly have as individuals a much truer idea of their position in the scale of intellect than in former days, when every woman had actually the right to think herself the equal of every other and of every man, just because she never had any means of knowing better. Education produces humility, especially when its subject knows distinctly that there is a higher plane of education which it may attain if it has the ability. Competition produces humility, especially when the competition is not limited to a class or to a sex. How well it would be for the friends and relations of some women if these had found themselves among the failures in early womanhood!

But there is another kind of woman, clever, well-educated, and often naturally unassuming, to whom it is a severe injustice that she should be unable to obtain that full recognition of her talent which a University degree implies. Without it she is placed at a disadvantage with many a mental inferior who flourishes an honoured title after his name: she needs, indeed, to be possessed of a fair measure of self-confidence to keep uppermost even in her own mind and act upon their relative intellectual merits; whereas any such simple fact as having taken a scholarship which he failed to take would make matters rather easier. The absence in these cases of any common measure, however imperfect, is indeed no imaginary grievance, but a real practical inconvenience where competition for an appointment occurs, and a special trial to those more yielding spirits who cannot assert, and can scarcely believe, what they have not been allowed to prove. Who knows how much the world may have lost by the non-belief in themselves of such?

One word more and we have done. The question at issue stands quite apart from that of the goodness or badness of our whole examination-regulated educational system. It may be that we are ripening towards a thorough reconstruction of this system. It is said that, as the examination test, pure and simple, is bad, we had better not extend it. But the examination test is one means towards an end, and at least better than none. Till some other means is found this means should be extended on all sides equally, so that the education it fosters may grow up equally for boys and for girls. Then if reconstruction does come about, it will find, and therefore make, no difference between the sexes. Meanwhile, if we believe in our present system, we must admit both halves of the nation into it. If we regard it as experimental and temporary, we must apply our experiments consistently. And that we are in a fair way to do this there can happily now be little doubt. We look forward to the day when the University of London will fulfil its function of guide and judge impartially, when Oxford and Cambridge will have colleges for women affiliated to them, and when the universities of Scotland and Ireland will have taken the simpler and more economical way of merely abolishing nouns and pronouns of gender so far as education is concerned. The nouns and pronouns of gender have their origin far too deep down in human nature for us to fear any disastrous result.

ART. IV.—LESSING.

Lessing: His Life and Writings. By JAMES SIME, M.A.
Two volumes, 8vo. London: Trübner & Co.

THE history of literature is the great *Morgue*, where each one seeks out his dead, those whom he loves or is related to. When I see there, among so many insignificant bodies, Lessing and Herder, it sets my heart a-beating. How could I proceed without gently kissing your pale lips as I passed!" So wrote Heine in his "New History of German Literature; and the Past all too fully justified the passionate regret implied in his pathetic yet half-scornful mention of Lessing among the "insignificant bodies" waiting to be claimed by friendly hands. The image is as striking as it is faithful. Lessing's life was an unceasing struggle, unbrightened by any of the rewards that fall so thickly on remarkable merit in our day, and it was long before his posthumous fame was fulfilled. But he, too, was a "brave soldier in the war of liberation," and his emblem, like Heine's, might be a sword. He bore with him in his heart the wounds he had received in his conflicts; but he never shrunk in face of danger, and was never known weakly to raise complaint. Amid uncongenial labour for daily bread, he never forgot the high ideal he cherished of a great German literature; and though tried by poverty and neglected, he was always generous. He was most modest in his personal wants: what to another would have been deprivation, to him was comfort; but he was liberal in giving even where there was no claim upon him; and he was often in great straits, his mind tormented by trivial distresses that might easily have been spared him. His great and only fear was that his work might bear the marks of it. He said of himself, with a pathetic flicker of gentle humour that reminds us of one of Burns's latest utterances, "*I have had no luck!*" He was persecuted and proscribed—treated by those in power as one suspect—at whose hands good order might suffer. Orthodoxy, in those days strong, was up in arms against him, though he was as ready to protect what was of real worth in it against a rabid and destructive Rationalism as to disclose its weakness and dogmatic pretension; appealing from the worship of the dead letter to the spirit of Christianity, and arguing that the Truth which it inspired was more valuable than the truths which it taught. Though he lived a busy and productive life, inspired by the highest and most patriotic aims, he died so poor that the

Duke of Brunswick had to bury him out of the public purse. "The Germans," said Goethe, "need time to be thankful."

The very width of Lessing's range, the decision and completeness with which he did his work, his ceaseless efforts, and his power of passing, as if by a single step, from one field to another, withdrew him from the close and continuous scrutiny which may be the meed of more limited intelligences. He was always *so far in advance* and so active, that he did not seem so great as he really was to those that followed nearest to him. Like a true pioneer, he never rested on the soil he had cleared and prepared, but passed onward to remove other barriers. He has been called the "invisible presence in literature, like a magician working marvellous transformations though himself unseen;" and the figure is not inapt. More and more, as the literary historian and the philosophic critic pursue their way along the lines of modern development, after the manner of intrepid travellers trying to reach the sources of great rivers, Lessing's presence emphatically declares itself. No department of the field of culture but he cast seeds in—seeds that have struck root and grown and flowered, to the innocent delight even of "the dim, common populations" of to-day, who have never even heard his name. For he was no pedant, no dealer in scholastic subtleties, or wire-drawn refinements. He was a *man*, with healthy, frank, and generous impulses, if there ever was one. Even his faults leaned to the side of honesty, Spartan-like virtue, truthfulness, self-respect. Clear, exact, and cautious in his thinking; zealous, impetuous, and self-sacrificing in spirit, yet of a steady will, he was an enemy to every form of bigotry and prejudice, and ruthlessly exposed them, no matter how firmly entrenched behind privilege, influence, and courtly favour. It was one of his great merits that he saw and systematically illustrated the dependence of literature upon life and its simple unchanging conditions, as against artificialised reflections of it; and taught, under every form, the eternal lessons of charity, wise forbearance, and mutual goodwill. A man's dogmatic belief was of less account to him than his conduct: goodness and self-denial were themselves the essentials, of which dogmas were but the shields, or were worse than worthless; and he illustrated this theme in countless forms with such grace and efficiency as have never been surpassed. His motto was "Well-doing is the main thing, belief is secondary." "To patch up a system of religion before one has thought how to bring men to the harmonious discharge of their duties is an inane conceit," he urged. "Are two vicious dogs made good by being shut up in one kennel? It is not agreement in opinion, but agreement in virtuous actions that renders the world peaceful and happy."

His remarkable power of placing himself in the intellectual

attitude of another, and vicariously exhibiting relations that had been overlooked or but dimly apprehended, led to that peculiar, and, we might almost say, self-detached fairness of mind, which, in spite of his intensity and zeal, all his writings exhibit, and also imparted to his style that nervous natural directness and dramatic flexibility which could easily draw illustration from familiar phrase and idiom of every kind. He dealt with real experiences, and sought to read in their light every problem that presented itself. He was one of the most learned men of any time, but he knew that learning inevitably degenerates into pedantry and arid remoteness if not brought face to face with the stir of everyday life and corrected by it. His writings, however abstruse the subjects with which he deals, never smell of the study or the midnight oil; they are redolent of genial and healthy companionship; they hint constantly of the market-place or the coffee-house. To his friend Kleist, who had on one occasion confessed that when he walked out in the fields he went on "a hunt for images," Lessing said, "When you wish to refresh your mind, you take a walk in the country; I go to the coffee-house." Philosophy with him passed naturally into a kind of dialogue; and he loved to veil truth in fable, according to that instinct which led him to see that the "genius of each race brings forth its best products only when it works in harmony with the laws of its own nature, expressing without affectation the ideas and sympathies excited by immediate contact with the facts of life."

The two great defects in Lessing's nature were a total lack of phantasy and little love of nature, as is suggested by the reply to Kleist; but it is a question, on which hereafter we may have something to say, whether he could so efficiently have done the work he did had these elements been added to confirm, as they would no doubt have done, his irresolution in actual production, and to have increased his interests, which, as it was, were too many and urgent. His humour, of which his fables and epigrams show one aspect, and many of his sharp asides in controversy another, allied with his keen social instincts, tended to discourage the concentration that is aimed at and most admired by the mere student. Perhaps his defects in these respects were as helpful to him in accomplishing his great work as were his more positive endowments. And when this can colourably be said, certainly the man was suited to the times in which his lot was cast.

When Lessing appeared, both literature and the drama in Germany disregarded the conditions of the life around them, and dealt with an artificial and alien world. They were slavish imitations of French fashions, French rules; it was a kind of feeble posture-making and adapting—a patching of the garment into a coat of many colours. The learned world was

divided into two classes—courtiers who wrote French, and Academicians who wrote Latin; whilst German remained “the language of horses.” Gottsched, a mere rhetorician, passed for a great poet. No one believed earnestly in the possibilities of the German nation or of the German tongue. It was adjudged utterly unfit ever to be a literary medium. In the capital of Prussia itself there was no German theatre. Patriotism, save as a narrow and purblind self-interest, was not understood. Lessing, who, as we have said, leant affectionately to the facts of real life in the very outset, felt that these were firm and sufficient—the true bases on which literature and art must turn or become frigid, inefficient, and affected. That was his mainstay, and the effort after it will be found to colour his developments and account for some of the more prominent faults of his earlier dramas. His greatest claim to our veneration and gratitude is, that though constantly tempted to pedantry, scholasticism, metaphysical refinement, as he was by one side of his intellect, his large human instincts always prevailed to impart to his work, even when the form of it was most deeply touched by this intellectual tendency, a generous reach of application, a universality and depth which render them enduring. The tendency to a severe, abstract, and formal method in him contended with and was corrected by an incisive but liberal and sympathetic view of life and society. By dint of unwavering application and self-denial he drew from both tendencies the best that they could yield. It was thus that, like the fairy in Eastern fable, transmuting by a touch the common metals to gold, Lessing informed the rude common speech with grace and beauty. And, while he exhibited the vigour and richness of his native tongue, he never forgot that art is not for art, but for humanity; and so, in a time of weak commonplace, prejudice, and pretension, he became the herald of a world-literature. It is not too much to say that but for him Goethe’s field would have been limited; Heine had been but half the poet he was; and even Hegel had hardly been possible. Certainly the “Philosophy of History” had lacked some of its most striking points.

Lessing, therefore, was not only a great teacher, a reformer, a liberator, a witness for the ideal, alike in individual life and in the State; but he was a great creator, if not directly in the sphere of imagination and passion, yet in a field that contributes to that other most immediate and helpful elements. He knew that he did not possess the higher attributes of the poet, and modestly disclaimed inspiration; but he was more of a poet than he claimed to be, else the lessons he taught could never have penetrated so deeply, nor the general taste have been so permanently raised through his effort and example. And he had to forge and polish the very instruments with which he did this great

work. Yet, notwithstanding all the adverse conditions with which he was called to contend in his endeavour to inaugurate a new order of things, in which fact and truth should stand for what they are, he was ever in spirit truly reverent and conservative. He never confused religion with the hateful parodies of it that theologians have put forth, nor ran the risk of being thought to sneer at the essential reality when he exposed the absurdities and pretences and logical contradictions amid which the dogmatists tried to fence themselves. To any one who thinks of Lessing as a mere sceptic, as one who sneeringly delights to subvert the basis of all belief, we should say, Read the two last letters to Goeze on "Bibliolatry." A revolutionary force of the most pronounced character indeed he was; but he never cast down where he was not prepared in some measure to restore. He was often as wise in withholding his hand as in putting it forth. Here he differs from the "destroyers" with whom he is too often classed. He spoke of himself as an *amateur* theologian, on whom there did not fall the stress of systematising or rebuilding, but only of correcting sophistries and extreme positions. Still in his various theological writings there comes to view a simple body of doctrine, sufficient for the purposes of an upright and reverent life. His influence is becoming more potent as time passes on, mainly because of these simple but positive elements in his teaching. While the mere sceptics have fallen into the shade, he emerges more and more into the light, as communicating that which is useful, even amid the divisions and loud calls for reform and reconstruction which are now being raised. In this aspect, as in others, he has been almost as great a benefactor to England as to his native land. It is just, it is but right, that we should acknowledge what we owe to him. Several lengthened lives have appeared in Germany—among which those of Danzel, Guhrauer, Karl Lessing, and Stahr are most prominent. The latter has been translated in America. In these, Lessing's great services have been properly signalised in varying styles. Till now, nothing adequate has been done for Lessing in England. Mr. Carlyle had directed attention to him in his own effective way, as one who had much to attract Englishmen, and Mr. Lewes, with his usual sympathy and perception of heroic character, wrote of him with that subdued enthusiasm which he can so well command on fit themes. But to Mr. James Sime has been reserved the honour of presenting to the English public a full-length portrait of Lessing, in which no portion of the canvas is uncovered; and in which there is hardly a touch but tells. He has studied his subject with that patient care which only reverence and sympathy can support; he has attained the true proportion which can alone be gained by penetration and clear

insight into motive and purpose. Great was the theme, and one that demanded a steady hand. We can say that a clearer or more compact piece of biographic criticism has not been produced in England for many a day; in spite of one or two faults and omissions, to which we may afterwards refer, it casts quite into the shade anything of the same kind which has for the last dozen years been attempted in a similar direction amongst us. The gratitude of all who have the true interests of English literature at heart is due both to publisher and author for such a work as this, filling worthily, as it does, a great gap in our biographical list. With this valuable book in our hand, we shall glance briefly at the leading facts in the life of Lessing, then note some of his characteristics, and, finally, give prominence to some of the great lessons which are in our idea deducible from his works as theologian, poet, and critic.

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing was born in January 1729, in Kamenz, a small Lusatian town in Saxony, which, however, had greater traditions than some larger towns, being one of those that had wrung from the Emperors in the Middle Ages the rights of free cities. The Lessings had for long held respectable positions in Lusatia; some had even risen to be burgomasters. They had often shown great independence; and Gotthold's grandfather, in his thesis for his doctor's degree, defended the right to complete freedom of religious belief. Gotthold's father was also a Lutheran clergyman, and soon after the birth of the boy became pastor primarius. A good many of the father's traits reappear in the son. Though of a hasty temper, the pastor had great self-restraint; and though an orthodox Lutheran, he could afford to look at both sides of a theological question. And he was a good deal of a stoic. Leaving domestic matters entirely to his wife—a commonplace but energetic and affectionate woman—he was content, with the simplest fare, and spent all the time that his duties allowed among his books. For he had been distinguished as a student, and had, not without reason, cherished hopes of being a professor, when fate drifted him to Kamenz and pastoral cares, and fixed him there for life. Gotthold soon showed an inclination to follow his father in his studious ways. As a mere boy his love of books was excessive. Tasks that were hard to others were easy to him: "He is a horse that must have double fodder," said his father. And this prematureness, it is clear, led to confidences that implied something of real companionship. The pastor would take little Gotthold aside and seriously urge him to begin early to watch and control his temper, saying, "Gotthold, take warning by me: be on your guard; for I have a fear

—I have a fear; and I would gladly see myself improved in you." From the first dawning of his fine intellect it was agreed between husband and wife that Gotthold should be a clergyman, and his education was carefully superintended with this object in view.

In the summer of 1741 he was sent to the "Fürstenschule," or Grammar School, of St. Afra, in Meissen, under a scholarship granted by the Carlowitz family. The discipline was strict, and Lessing, though reasonable and patient in many things even as a boy, was somewhat impatient of this kind of discipline. Though the constant pressure of trivial rules irked him, he made such progress as should have delighted the masters, but, it may be, sometimes only caused them concern. The usual period of residence was six years, but before the end of his fifth year Lessing had mastered all that he could learn there, and beseeched his father to release him from it. The pastor was at first much disinclined to this course, but finally consented.

Lessing had already written Latin verses and epigrams remarkable for their elegance and terseness, and had composed a few lyrics in German. His favourite authors were Plautus and Terence, whom to the end he loved to study, and from whom he early derived that taste for comedy which did much to determine his development as a dramatist. One of his boyish productions was a comedy—"Damon; or, True Friendship"—a time-worn theme enough, but enlivened in his treatment by touches of remarkable vivacity. He made a more ambitious endeavour in "Der Junge Gelehrte" ("The Young Student"), which he sketched during a short residence at Kamenz, before he proceeded to the University of Leipzig to study theology. He was now in his eighteenth year.

The change to Leipzig was one that awakened new ideas, new hopes, dim possibilities, that urged him in many directions. But here, as in after years, we see the same clear purpose and energetic will, which, in spite of many temptations, sufficed to keep him in the right road—the road of true self-development. Here he fell into a congenial circle, prominent in which we see the odd, self-absorbed, eccentric Mylius,* and the frank and friendly Weisse, who was determined to complete a defective education

* "According to Karl Lessing, Mylius, with shoes down at heel, worn stockings, and tattered coat, was a familiar figure in the streets. As he was poor, friends would sometimes ask him to share their quarters, but they usually had abundant reason to regret their good nature, for he could never be brought to understand that he was not in every sense at home, and his habits did not commend themselves to a fastidious taste."

and to become a playwright. "Night after night," Mr. Sime says, "Lessing went to the theatre with his friend Weisse; and through the introduction of Mylius he was allowed behind the scenes, and soon became a daily companion of the actors, whose frank manner and freedom from conventional trammels delighted him. . . . The theatre became to him what his parents had intended the lecture-rooms of solemn theologians to be; and sometimes he even seriously thought of becoming an actor."

Naturally the class-books were thrown aside for the study of stage-plays; the passion for the theatre grew as it was indulged; and Lessing translated a play from the French merely that he might be placed upon the free list. His boyish plays were retouched and published in a journal edited by Mylius; and he wrote a play, "Die Alte Jungfer" ("The Old Maid"), and set about a tragedy. "The Young Scholar" was regarded as worthy of trial on the stage, and was put in rehearsal. By this time the news of how Gotthold was spending his time in Leipzig had reached his quiet home in Kamenz, and caused great consternation and distress there. To the simple pastor and his wife it seemed as though their eldest son—in whom all their hopes had centred—had broken loose and cast himself on the downward slope to ruin. Could they do anything to save him—to avert the awful catastrophe? Many proposals were discussed and rejected; and at last it was agreed that, at all hazards, they must get him home, that he might be reasoned with and warned as he could not otherwise be. A pious fraud was practised. A letter was written saying that his mother was seriously ill, and that he must come home to see her. He started off at once, and when he reached home all was clear to him. He was talked to by the pastor, but Lessing had something to say on his side; and when the good man saw that his son's moral character remained pure and unblemished, and that his love for belles-lettres had not caused him to neglect the sciences, he had the good sense to modify the tone in which he spoke of the theatre; and when Gotthold had written and read to the home circle a sermon to show that he could become a preacher any day, his mother's grief over his defection was perceptibly lessened.

Lessing returned to Leipzig. His father saw that it was now impossible that he could become a clergyman, but it was arranged that he should study medicine and philosophy with a view to his attaining a position at the University. He found it as impossible to study medicine as theology; the theatre claimed him, and he threw himself more energetically than ever into dramatic studies. Unfortunately for Lessing, circumstances led to the break-up of the company just when he was about

to finish a tragedy that Koch, the actor, had agreed to play in, and he made up his mind to leave Leipzig. He stayed for a short period at Wittenberg, where his younger brother was now a student; but he declares that this was a most miserable time. Young men do not indulge themselves in the "frank and unconventional" society of actors, and in the privilege of going "behind the scenes," without expenditure, even although very prudent and careful, which Lessing hardly was; and the results of his conduct in Leipzig soon followed him to Wittenberg in the shape of creditors clamorous for payment. As Wittenberg afforded small prospect of engagements, it was with pleasure that he heard from Mylius, who was now editing "Rüdiger's Gazette" in Berlin, that some work might be found for him there. To Berlin he accordingly went. He assisted Mylius a little, made some translations from the French, and wrote plays—a man without profession or fixed status. Once more his parents were in distress about him, and sent piteous appeals. Though Lessing was reduced to great shifts, finding that the shabby clothes of a poor scholar did not readily recommend him for profitable employment, he kept up a brave front to his parents. He acknowledges his position, speaks of his trials in a calm and manly way, and is firm in his justification of the course he has chosen; if he had but a better coat that he might present himself decently here and there, he is certain that he would succeed. And he meets the objections of his father one by one, and defends Mylius from aspersions.

"I see clearly that your hostile opinion of a man who, if he had never before shown me kindness, has done so now, exactly when it is most needed, is the principal reason why you are so much opposed to all my undertakings. It seems as if you considered him the horror of all the world. Does not this hatred go too far? . . . Have I, then, done so very ill in choosing for the work of my youth a department in which very few of my countrymen have yet exercised their energies? And would it not be foolish to stop before one has read masterpieces by me? I cannot comprehend why a writer of comedies should not also be a Christian. A writer of comedies is a man who depicts vice in its ridiculous aspects. May not a Christian laugh at vice? What if I promised to write a comedy which the theologians would not only read but praise? Would you think it impossible to fulfil the promise? *What if I wrote a comedy on the freethinkers and those who despise your office?*"

And with regard to creature comforts he disposes of that point easily at this time as afterwards: "I call comfort that which another would call penury. But what does it matter to me whether I have plenty or not, so that I live? As to my meals,

I have no sort of anxiety about them. I can procure a hearty meal for one groschen six pfennige" (three-halfpence).

So firmly and reasonably did Lessing urge his cause, and so impressed was the pastor by the manliness of his letters, that on receipt of this last he sent him nine thalers and a box containing some things he had left at home. It is to be presumed that now the household at Kamenz reconciled itself to the course he was taking. Even his eldest sister, who in her orthodox zeal had burned some of his dramatic fragments on that unexpected visit he paid to Kamenz, and was *coolly* punished for it, wrote very sisterly letters to him on his birthday. He had been recommended by Mylius for the work of arranging the library of his employer, Herr Rüdiger; and for this he received "free table" and a small sum of money. He also had the honour of translating some documents from French into German for the great Voltaire, to whom he was introduced, and has thus a remote connection with that Hirschel lawsuit which Mr. Carlyle has treated with such humorous touches in "Frederick." During the whole three years of his stay in Berlin at this time, Lessing lived with Mylius; and though there was little stimulus to dramatic production, he sketched several plays, some of which were afterwards elaborated and published.

The condition of things in Berlin at this time was very anomalous. A certain pretence of liberalism and enlightenment contended with the rankest bigotry and tyranny in high quarters. Frederick the Great regarded all religious earnestness as cant, and put a premium on open infidelity. The man whom Mr. Carlyle has attempted to canonise would gladly have stamped out religion altogether. Lessing saw clearly that danger was likely to result from court influence in this direction. He held up to ridicule the logic of the men who thought it a fine thing to attack orthodoxy in order to attract the notice of the King and gain favour. The love of fairplay was too strong in Lessing, and his logic even at this time was far too keen, to let him relish this kind of self-interested "enlightenment." When Lessing was reminded that he was free to write as he did through the toleration of the King, he replied that, as such toleration was yielded only that religion might be more freely attacked and the "newspapers made more interesting," as the King said, it might soon be a very disagreeable kind of toleration indeed, and that on principle he could not admire it. In this way, bigotry, under the mask of refinement in high places, developed bigotry without any mask in the Church. Orthodox preachers railed against the theatre because Frederick encouraged his French players; and strong tendencies were seen to be operating from both sides to defeat what had already risen as a

definite desire in the heart of Lessing—a really national German theatre.

Stahr tells us: "The theatrical profession was then an abomination to all pious persons. Even in the realm of the king of enlightenment, the clergy preached against Peter Hülferding, chief theatre-director of Prussia, who had been privileged by that monarch on his accession. Actors were even denied Christian burial. One must consider this state of feeling to be just to Lessing's father." We must keep this in view also to see how broad-minded he was when he had to deal with his refractory son, and how reasonably he came to view matters.

But other reflections suggest themselves. In midst of this privileged and pretentious freethinking, cruelties were practised, particularly toward the Jews, in a spirit more like that of the Middle Ages than of enlightened Germany in the eighteenth century. Frederick regarded the Jews as without the pale of citizenship or protection. It will ever remain a stigma on his character that here, where bright laurels might so easily have been won, he chose to be retrograde. Under his rule, we may say that the prejudice against the Jews in Germany was intensified instead of lessened. They were driven into the most disagreeable quarters of the cities, and treated with all kinds of ignominy. Every Jew was compelled to pay a heavy toll on his own body as he passed out and in at the city gates, as though he were indeed a chattel; he had protection from the magistrate for only one child, and could sue only in certain processes at law. The iron which then entered into the souls of this people has borne its fruits in many directions in literature. It gave a colour to the patience and dignity of men like Mendelssohn and Gumpertz; it was like an unseen feather on the shaft of Heine's bitterest irony. It was a bold thing for a young writer openly to confront prejudices that were so intense and so firmly shielded by royal favour. But Lessing never considered the value of secondary advantages; nor did he ever trumpet abroad his virtue in this respect, or try to make capital out of his independence. He directed a blow against the bigotry of freethinking in his "Freigeist," and against the treatment of the Jews in "Der Juden." It may be true that the purpose shows too clearly under the movement, and the chief characters are not so much created as "made to be admired;" but we cannot but respect his bravery in showing so forcibly that virtues could blossom among a people proscribed, and that the "freethinker," who holds priests in contempt merely because they *are* priests, may be illustrating the very temper which he is condemning in another, and missing sight of the possibilities of excellence where it ought, on his own principles, to be his greatest joy to find them. The

plot of "The Jews" is of the slightest, but the play is touched with great art here and there; and the parting of the Jew and the Christian baron—whose daughter he has saved, but who cannot be wedded to the son of a Jew, as had been proposed, when the fatal birth-mark has been exposed—is penetrated by vivid pathos. "The Freethinker," too, is undoubtedly feeble, heavy, and slow so far as movement is concerned. But the writer evidently did not aim at swiftness of movement; rather at emphasising the intolerance and insulting arrogance of the "freethinker," and the patient meekness and dignity of Theophrastus, whom Lessing confessedly drew from his own father, as, indeed, the whole play is the redemption of that pledge he had half-humorously given to paint faithfully those who despised the priestly office. The man who could make his first start in literature thus boldly was not likely to become a court favourite and to receive pensions, or at any rate to retain them long, however much he might prove himself a poet and critic and re-creator of literature. In "The Jews" we have the seed that finally blossomed into "Nathan."

Of these early performances Danzel says well: "The astonishing thing is, that the young man of twenty-two was able to place himself with such freedom, firmness, and adroitness above both of the parties, to one of which at that time every one must belong as by a Solon's law."

In the end of 1750 Mylius had quarrelled with Rüdiger, and Lessing, who declined to become editor of the "Gazette" in his stead, agreed to contribute regularly critical articles as he had done before. This connection may be said to have inaugurated his career as a critic, and has thus a special significance, claiming more attention than the other plays which Lessing sketched or wrote at this time—among others, "Der Schatz" ("The Treasure") and "Weiber sind Weiber" ("Women are Women").

In the end of 1751, Lessing resolved to leave Berlin for a time, for two reasons. The first was that his dramatic impulses so lacked stimulus that production failed him; and the second, that he desired to make further study of some things which he regarded as essential to his outfit as a critic, and which he could study better in Wittenberg than in Berlin. To Wittenberg he accordingly betook himself, and went through a very extensive course of reading—more especially in the Latin authors. He also composed many epigrams and lyrics; but he also sent abroad some witnesses of his critical acumen, as Jöcher and others only too keenly felt. This retreat to Wittenberg also is noteworthy for the second association into which it brought Lessing and Voltaire. Lessing had borrowed a book belonging to Voltaire from a friend, M. de Louvain, Voltaire's secretary, and either

forgetfully, or fancying that he might without injury or annoyance to others retain it for a time, took it away with him. When Voltaire found this out, he got angry, stormed at Louvain, and wrote in high dudgeon to Lessing, who answered him in such a manner as he hardly expected; but Voltaire afterwards had his revenge.

Having accomplished what he desired by a stay at Wittenberg, Lessing returned to Berlin at the end of 1752. This second residence in Berlin was notable for the friendship that was then begun between Lessing and Mendelssohn and Nicolai, which left results in many ways. Lessing at once set himself to translation—his unfailling resource in those earlier days—and resumed his connection with the "Gazette," which had now passed into the hands of Rudiger's son-in-law, and had become better known as the "Voss'sche Zeitung," showing a clearness and mastery of his topics that astonished his readers. He attacked Gottsched, but he also treated of Pope as a metaphysician, and defended Horace Walpole, thus indicating that he had recently made extensive excursions in the field of English literature. More to the purpose, he prepared and published a selection from his writings, which, though it was unfortunately a failure in point of sale, gained him friends and admirers. Coincidentally with these labours, however, he had pursued his dramatic studies; and after having retired to Potsdam, and "shut himself up for seven weeks in a garden-house" there, as Kleist wrote, he finished "Miss Sara Sampson." This drama more fully exhibits the effect of his recent studies in English literature during his stay at Wittenberg, and indicates a final escape from French influence. Richardson's "Clarissa" and Moore's "Gamester" may have had a share in suggesting it. "Miss Sara Sampson" is now banished from the German stage; but no student of Lessing can pass it by without a careful and reverent reading, because it marks a definite point in Lessing's dramatic career, and also forms a turning-point in the history of the German drama. By "Miss Sara Sampson," it is not too much to say that Lessing freed the tragedy of common life from the prosaic criminal element, and discovered tragical conflicts peculiar to its situations. By penetrating into the interior of family life, into the depths of the perplexities of individual souls, he obtained also for the lower sphere of human action an arena wherein the absolute worth, and freedom, and sovereignty of the individual could assert themselves. This field is the family. For only in the relations of the family and the affections of the heart can the man whose capacities as a citizen are narrowly circumscribed appear as a sovereign, a hero.

It is easy to see that the theory on which Lessing wrote this

play would have injurious results if pressed to extremes. It would transform all drama strictly into domestic drama; and there is a good reason why, since scenic effect is a necessary part of dramatic art, some value should be attached to variety of accessories. But Lessing's theory is intelligible enough, as he put it, in this fashion: "The sufferings of those *whose misfortunes approach nearest to our own must naturally penetrate deepest into our souls*, and if we would sympathise with kings, it would be as with men and not as with kings,"—an idea which has its counterpart in a remarkable utterance of Dr. Johnson; but what is true of real life itself is not in the same way true of the stage, whose main business it is to create illusions by means of which distinctions that effectively prevail in real life disappear or are modified under demands of sympathy.

It is with a peculiar reluctance that one circumstance must be mentioned with reference to this second residence in Berlin: Lessing, in spite of all his efforts, was in such dire need that he had unwillingly to accept aid from Mendelssohn and Kleist—kindnesses which he never forgot.

In 1755, "Miss Sara Sampson" was acted at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and thither Lessing went to superintend the preparations. He was tired of his life in Berlin, which had led to nothing fixed and certain in the way of income, while the excess of court influence was more and more uncongenial to him. He now, therefore, resolved for a second time to try Leipzig, whither he went, and where he renewed his intercourse with Weisse. He was desirous to see "Miss Sara Sampson" on the Leipzig stage; but he was disappointed in this, for it was not produced there till 1756, in an abridged form, under Weisse's hand. With his customary good-humour, he writes to Mendelssohn that, if the public would but give him one hearing, it would not see or hear anything of him for the next three years. He had been invited by Professor Sulzer to go as travelling companion with him for the next three years, and had consented. They set out in May of 1756. Their intentions were to go to Holland, and from that, after some time, to pass over into England. Lessing greatly enjoyed his residence in Holland; but the tour was stopped through the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, and they returned to Leipzig. Notwithstanding the stir in Leipzig through the presence of the soldiery, Lessing, in the winter of 1756-57, confessed himself "bored;" but he translated some English works, and must have been relieved and cheered when Kleist had joined the army there. The friendship which Lessing had formed with Kleist in Berlin soon ripened into the most ardent attachment, now that they were often together. For a time Lessing lived

with Kleist, and through him formed acquaintances, some of which were to prove useful to him afterwards.

Owing to a tedious lawsuit in which he was unfortunately involved, and the departure of Kleist after the battle of Rossbach to take charge of a military hospital, Lessing resolved in 1757 to return to Berlin. He carried with him the first sketch of "Emilia Galotti," which many critics regard as the finest of his works. A warm welcome was given him by Mendelssohn, Nicolai, and Ramler. His first work here was the issue of a volume of epigrams by Logau, in conjunction with Ramler, who, before the task was done, had reason to complain of Lessing's dilatoriness. The introduction, which Lessing had undertaken to furnish, was not forthcoming till long after the date fixed; but Ramler, though chagrined, excused him by saying, "I cannot take it very ill of our friend: he has ten irons in the fire at once." The "Literary Letters," which were now started in association with Mendelssohn and Nicolai, had a remarkable influence. They were addressed to a soldier supposed to be wounded in the war—in a word, to Kleist. Though Lessing, in adopting the tone that he took in these letters, in some degree sought to adapt himself to the temper of the time that he might the better gain a hearing, he discussed the most varied topics with such clearness, calmness and suggestiveness, as make them still entertaining reading. Nowhere did he ever hit home more directly, or rise more easily from the topics of the moment to universal principles, throwing in efficiently the most forcible and familiar illustrations. "We are in presence of a man, not of a mere book; one who has before him, as he writes, the living men into whose minds he desires to cast seed from the harvest that has slowly ripened in his own."

He wrote also on the question of education, with reference to Wieland's utterances on the subject; he presented analyses of Shakespeare's plays, showing such an appreciation of their deeper qualities as was very uncommon in that day; illustrated the need of childhood for the element of mystery in education, and discussed acutely the nature and true form of the fable. It is very characteristic of Lessing that, in speaking of some passages in Wieland's collection of prose writings called "Experiences of the Christian," he should point out that these experiences, "which, since they are those of the Christian, ought to have been those of all Christians, were mere exercises of an individual fancy that left the heart empty and cold." In the course of this criticism there occur expressions which might almost be presumed to have suggested that whole section of Hegel's "Æsthetic" in which he deals with the ideals that are wrought out by the poet

in isolation and apart from humanity and common interests, and ruthlessly condemns them.

Lessing, too, has much to say in answer to Cramer, who had laid down a theory of education based on the idea of proceeding strictly from simple to complex truth, with the practical application that a child ought first to be taught, not that Christ is the second person of the Trinity, but that He is an example of virtue and a high moral teacher, and that the way would thus be prepared for the reception of dogma. "Lessing," as Mr. Sime well puts it, "offers no opinion as to the propriety of giving any sort of instruction in religion; but he very decidedly states his conviction that Cramer's idea is based on a wholly mistaken theory of human nature. Childhood, he points out—not without a slight touch of sarcasm—is the age at which the mind most readily accepts mystery; and if plain truths alone are then taught, the difficulty of accepting mystery afterwards is increased, since the Socinian and the orthodox conceptions of Christianity are not related to each other as simple and complex, the former conducting to the latter, but are two opposed systems of belief." Lessing is never the logician merely, but delights in regarding human nature in its entire tendencies and needs; and his caution here is as noticeable as his acuteness.

Lessing's relations with Kleist gradually shaped themselves into a delicate but pathetic idyl of friendship, and cannot here be passed by. Smarting under the neglect of the King, Kleist had eagerly sought opportunity to show what spirit was in him, and accepted the first opening for service in the field. At the battle of Kunersdorf he exposed himself after he should have retired, and died either of his wounds or through neglect. The moment Lessing learned that Kleist had been wounded and was taken prisoner, he wrote to him; and as he knew that he would be completely stripped by the Russians, he arranged with Mendelssohn, Nicolai, and Ramley that money should be remitted to him in Frankfort; and in case he should be brought to Russian Poland, in Dantzic. He wrote to all his friends in Frankfort, and to some in Dantzic, commending Kleist to their attention and care. He had even determined to go to Frankfort, though the city was full of the enemy, to seek his friend. "If he still lives, I will seek him out," said Lessing. "Shall I never see him again? Shall I never more in my life speak with him and embrace him?"

He had made his arrangements; but before he could start, the doubt became certainty—Kleist—"our Kleist"—had died. Lessing thus wrote to Gleim on the 6th of September:—

"Alas! dear friend, it is too true. He is dead. We have him no more. He died in the house and in the arms of Professor Nicolai.

He was always calm and cheerful, even in the greatest pain. He greatly longed to see his friends again. Would that it had been possible! My sorrow over this event is a very wild sorrow. I do not indeed demand that the balls should have taken another direction because an honest man stood in their path; but I do demand that the honest man——. See, frequently grief leads me to be angry with him whom it concerns. He had already three, four wounds; why did he not go? Generals with fewer and slighter wounds have retired from the field without dishonour. He wished to die. Forgive me if I am in excess in speaking of him. It is said that he would not have died if he had not been neglected! Neglected! I know not on whom I should take vengeance! The wretches, to neglect him! Professor Nicolai has pronounced his funeral oration; another, I know not whom, has written an elegy upon him. They cannot have lost much in Kleist who can do that now. The Professor intends to publish his oration; it is all so pitiful! I know certainly that Kleist would have preferred to take another wound with him into the grave rather than to have such stuff babbled after him. Has a professor really a heart? He desires now to have verses from Ramler and me to print with his oration. If he has desired the same of you, and you gratify his desire——. Dearest Glenn, you must not do it! You will not do it! At present you feel too much to be able to say what you feel. And it is not all the same to you, as it is to a professor, what you say and how you say it.”

The difference between the characters of Kleist and Lessing—the one so full of sentiment and impulse, the other apparently so remote from sentiment, and obedient to the demands of reason alone—intensifies the sympathy we must feel with Lessing here; and when we know that he was at this period hard pressed both for time and money, his devotion to Kleist comes out in the stronger and more pleasing light.

The peculiar cosmopolitanism which coloured Lessing's patriotism had often so severely tried his loyal friends that there can be little doubt they gladly welcomed any signs of a more reasonable, and, as they would have said, more reliable patriotism. Sometimes he had despised Prussia and exalted his native Saxony; sometimes he appeared exactly to reverse the position; and yet again he seemed to regard all such distinctions and conflicting interests as not only indifferent but mischievous. On these matters he spoke from the mood of the moment, and usually had in his mind considerations not usually regarded as pertaining to any political ideas. Recently he seemed to have reached more fixed and sensible views. Lowositz, Prague, and Rossbach had been fought, and he felt that Frederick had struck a blow for Protestantism and intellectual freedom against Austrian Jesuitism and Russian barbarism, as well as for the

honour of Germany against the vanity and pretension of the French. This, however, was but a passing feeling; there was much that was pretty certain soon to qualify it in the way in which Frederick exercised at home the power that he had won.

Meanwhile Lessing paid his tribute to the patriotic idea as presented in the career of Kleist. A high artistic end was also to be served. He wished to show that he could write a drama, moving by swift action to its climax through a series of striking situations, and at the same time embody a high lesson without such moral reflection or formal teaching as had characterised his previous works. The result was "Philotas," a prose tragedy in one act. The hero is the son of a Grecian king, and is taken prisoner by Aridæus, the enemy of his country, whilst the son of Aridæus shares the same fate in the opposite camp. Philotas knows that the great end he has cherished will be sacrificed through his father's excessive love for him, and that if an exchange of prisoners is proposed he will at once accede to it that he may redeem his son from the enemy's hands. He therefore sends a message to his father, telling him to demand for the extradition of the prince the surrender of the point that had originally caused the war, and intimates that by the time the note is read this will have become the only wise course of action, since the writer of it will have ended his life in order to ensure it. The play is worked up with great skill from point to point; and Philotas, half boy, half hero, is indeed a fine creation. The man who stood as the original of that character was at once a great man and a good man, worthy to rank with the heroes of olden times. Lessing has thus fragrantly preserved record of the noble character of Kleist. "Philotas" is also remarkable for the commanding interest it maintains wholly independent of the sentiment of sexual love.

While living with Kleist at Leipzig Lessing had formed the acquaintance of Colonel Tauentsein, who was enabled at this time to do him a service. By his heroic defence of the capital of Silesia against superior numbers, Tauentsein had attracted the eye of Frederick. He was raised to the rank of general, and made governor of Breslau. Tauentsein, in midst of his administrative duties, greatly wanted the help of a capable and trustworthy secretary. He offered the appointment to Lessing, who gladly accepted it, saying to his friends half playfully that "nothing in particular drove him from Berlin," but he wanted change. Though his official work did not make such demands upon his time as to render production impossible, he wrote little of value during his stay in Breslau, though he collected a good library. Unfortunately, the passion for gambling—his one great

weakness—again asserted its power over him. He said that it relieved him from depression. He fell as if under a fascination: the General warned him, reprimanded him, though always maintaining the attitude of a friend. Whilst he might have amassed a fortune through certain doubtful "mint" operations, Lessing was spending his salary as he got it, sometimes doing imprudently charitable actions; and when five years later he left Breslau, on Taunentsein being appointed governor of Silesia, he returned to Berlin a poorer man than he had left it.

During his residence in Breslau the Professorship of Eloquence at the University of Königsberg was offered to him, which, had it been accepted, would have made him a colleague of Kant; but he declined it on the very characteristic ground that he could not deliver an oration in honour of the reigning sovereign, which was one of the duties of the office.

It is doubtful if Lessing would have turned to Berlin at this time had it not been that his friends were hopeful they might secure for him the appointment of librarian to the King. But Frederick remembered too many things he had heard of Lessing—Voltaire's reports may have been forgotten, but the talk about Lessing's sayings that seemed disloyal were remembered—and he would not listen to the proposal, preferring to accept the services of an illiterate valetudinarian from Paris. The spirit in which the King treated the mention of Lessing affords too good ground for the manner in which afterwards Schlegel inveighed against him, for failing to perceive the merits of men like Lessing and Winckelmann, or to aid them in any way. Turning hopelessly from the idea of help in that quarter, Lessing now devoted himself to the composition of "*Minna von Barnhelm*"—the most powerful and popular of his comedies, in which he dealt with a contemporary theme drawn from an episode in the Seven Years' War—to the "*Laocoon*," and to contributions to "*Die Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*" ("The General German Library"), of which Nicolai was now editor and publisher. "*Minna von Barnhelm*" is a genuine comedy, and has been called the first national comedy, and the only one. It shows great power in imparting to ordinary facts and experiences a vivid ideal interest.

Lessing was now past thirty-seven, still without any assured source of income. "I stood idle in the market-place then," he said afterwards, "and nobody would hire me, doubtless because nobody knew what use to put me to." The atmosphere of Berlin was less likely than ever to attract him, for the success of the Seven Years' War had produced an effusive vanity and superciliousness, and added to that now was the sense of personal slight. When, therefore, it was proposed to him by

Löwen, a bookseller of Hamburg, to go there as director of a national theatre, he willingly accepted the offer. The company, however, did not receive the support that was expected; and it was not so much on account of his work at the theatre as on the issue of the "Hamburgische Dramaturgie," which was begun in connection with it, that Lessing's residence in Hamburg has become historical. Earnestly as he had cherished the idea of a truly national theatre, he was now very bitterly to charge himself with having been too sanguine.

"One might almost say," he wrote, "that the moral character of the Germans is—the resolve to have no moral character of their own. We are still the sworn imitators of everything foreign, especially the humble admirers of the never enough to be admired French. Everything from beyond the Rhine is beautiful, charming, lovely, divine even; we would rather disown sight and hearing than think otherwise; we will make ourselves take coarseness for naturalness, insolence for grace, grimace for expression, a jingling of rhymes for poetry, howling for music, rather than in the smallest degree doubt the superiority which this amiable people, this first people in the world, as it is accustomed to call itself, in everything that is good and beautiful and sublime and becoming, has received for its share from just Destiny."

The man who dealt by the literature of his own country with such terrible frankness as this was not likely to be a favourite in most circles. And he does not content himself with merely negative charges:—

"The best that we Germans have as yet produced are a few *Essays* of young men. Nay, our pedantry is so great that we consider young men as the only proper fabricators of theatrical wares. Men have more serious and worthy employment in the State and in the Church. What men write should besem the gravity of men; a compendium of law or philosophy, an erudite chronicle of this or that imperial city, or edifying sermon, and such like. This solemn pedantry being, and having long been, so fashionable amongst us, let us not be surprised that our elegant literature stands so far behind—I will not say the literature of the ancients, but the literature of all cultivated people; say what we will, it has a *puerile* and childish cast in the middle of the eighteenth century, and will, I fear, long retain it. *Blood and life, colour and fire*, we have in some measure at last, but pith and nerve, marrow and bone, are sadly deficient."

The "Dramaturgie" is, as Mr. Sime has said, one of the most remarkable contributions ever made to the culture of a people. The great need for such teaching and the disinclination to receive it, only make the testimony the more remarkable, and show both the genius and the daring of the writer in the more striking light. Lessing will, for one thing, give French taste no quarter.

He exposes the superficiality in the masterpieces of Voltaire ; in considering the essential qualities of the comic character, he finds the French types are thin, superficial, conventional ; he contrasts the villains of Shakespeare with those of Corneille and Racine, only to the disadvantage of the French writers. And in his hands French tragedy fares no better. His close, careful study of the actor's art is testified in almost every essay. Everywhere he brought practice to a test in the clearest critical principles ; and his arguments were unanswerable here as in other departments, as no doubt poor Klotz felt before he escaped from Lessing's hands, after he had ventured to impugn the statement that the ancient painters did not attempt to represent Homer with pictorial exactness.

Though calm and unexcitable, Lessing was apt to be sanguine over new schemes ; and here, unfortunately, he had been led to join in a printing enterprise along with one Bode. He was hopeful that the issue of his own works, in which the interest was increasing, would form a nucleus, and that others would employ them. The business did not succeed. Lessing had to sell his library, which he had collected with much labour and expense, for a few hundred thalers, and after all little was done to clear off the debts.

Several efforts were again made by Lessing's friends to find a post suitable for him, but without success. At one time it was hoped that he might have been made director of a great national theatre at Vienna, which the Emperor had projected with the idea of carrying away *éclat* from Berlin ; but the scheme never came to anything. At last he was put in charge of the extensive library founded by the Duke of Brunswick at Wolfenbüttel. Lessing's name is henceforth identified with Wolfenbüttel. He keenly felt the change from the bustling life and the varied society of Hamburg to this dull, sleepy little town, with its grim wall around it, set in the midst of its flat marshy meadows. Its solitude severely tried him. Only the visits that he now and then paid to friends in Brunswick made it endurable. His labours were hard and uncongenial ; but he applied himself faithfully, and he was rewarded by one or two discoveries. Among a heap of books in the Wolfenbüttel library he was so lucky as to alight on a copy of the lost answer of Berengarius to Lanfranc. At first he thought of publishing it, but changed his purpose, and devoted the whole summer of 1770 to writing a book upon it. Then he resumed "*Emilia Galotti*"—the story of Virginus cast among modern Italian conditions—which had been thrown aside after his disappointment with theatrical matters at Hamburg ; and he composed his volume upon epigrams, of which Mr. Sime has given a valuable summary, though

we half expected to find there some specimens by way of illustration from Lessing himself, such as are to be found, with a good deal else of interest, in Möhnike's "Lessingiana," to which we do not see that Mr. Sime has referred. Here are a few:—

“Ein einzig böses Weib lebt höchstens in der Welt,
Nur schlimm, dass jeder seins für dieses einz'ge hält.”
(There is but one bad woman! With a groan
Each one assents, and thinks that one his own.)

“Verse wie sie Bassus schreibt
Werden unvergänglich bleiben;
: Weil dergleichen Zeug zu schreiben
Stets ein Stumper übrig bleibt.”
(That poems such as these can die
My credence quite surpasses;
There ne'er can be a lack of men
To write themselves down asses.)

The monostich given by Möhnike is very perfect in its own way:—

“GRABSCHAFF AUF EIN GEHENKTE.

“Hier ruht er, wenn der Wind nicht weht.”
(He rests in peace when the winds do cease.)

And so also is the

“GRABSCHAFF AUF KLEIST.

“O Kleist! dein Denkmal diese Stein
Du wirst des Steines Denkmal seyn.”
(O Kleist! this stone a monument to thee!
Thou wilt, indeed, the stone's memorial be.)

The following show his way of celebrating brother poets:—

“You ask why poet Scmi, he whom all men praise, should be
A miser rich? Because true poets starve, is Fate's decree.”

“The reason why this cunning Jew failed in his knavery
Is simply that a cleverer knave he found in Monsieur V.”

Voltaire had obtained a decision against a Jew celebrated for his sharpness and trickery..

“TO THE READER.

“Who will not mighty Klopstock praise?
Will everybody read him? Nay!
A little less extol our lays,
And read a little more, we pray.”

The following, written in an album which had for design on the cover a cross, has its point:—

“Here will I lie! for here, when life has ceased,
I'll have, if not a stone, a cross at least.”

Lessing's genius, clear, precise, and direct, found a sphere in this kind of composition.

The Wolfenbützel library was so excellent that it made up for many drawbacks. Lessing wrote to his father: "I can now very well forget my books, which I have been compelled to sell. I should like one day to have the pleasure of conducting you about here, for I know what a great lover and connoisseur of books of all kinds you are." But Lessing never had this pleasure; the pastor died a few months after that note was written, having suffered much in his later years from narrow means. It grieved Lessing that he could not give more efficient help. Though still in debt, he now generously took upon himself all his father's pecuniary responsibilities, and made serious sacrifices to help his mother and sister. For some time he thought of composing a memorial of his father, which, as he wrote to his mother, "one would read elsewhere than in Kamenz and longer than six months after the funeral." The plan, however, was not realised.

About this time "*Emilia Galotti*" was acted in Brunswick with splendid success. Its dramatic force and fine insight, especially in the character of the Prince, were admitted on all sides; and though Lessing did not go to see it so long as Döbbelin acted in it, he was cheered by the reports of the impressions which it produced. Goethe said that "it rose like the island of Delos from the sea of works like those of Gottsched, Gellert, and Weisse, in order to receive softly a goddess in labour."

This was but a glimmer of sunshine through overhanging clouds. Solitude and want of means so depressed him, that in an evil moment he was tempted to try the lottery, as formerly he had fallen into gambling. The hope of relieving himself by a lucky stroke from those debts contracted in Hamburg was the great inducement. These, though they amounted to no more than a thousand thalers, greatly tried him. There is every reason to believe, indeed, that had it not been for these debts, and his engagement to Eva König, the widow of a friend in Hamburg, he would have escaped from the shackles of his librarianship, and devoted himself to finishing several works which he had projected or begun. Eva König, too, was unfortunately in difficulties. Her husband's business had been found at his death to be in great disorder, and as the only means of saving something for herself and her children out of the wreck, it was necessary that she should carry it on and superintend it for some years. The letters that passed between her and Lessing during these years of waiting are models of what such letters should be. We see in her an upright, self-respecting, supremely sensible, and deeply affectionate woman, to whom duty stood for

so much, that we cannot for a moment credit what Stahr has said, that Lessing's passion for her was entertained before her husband's death. To his brother Karl he wrote afterwards in reference to her: "If I assure you that I consider her the only woman in the world with whom I could trust myself to live, you will readily believe that she has everything I seek for in a wife. If I am not happy with her, I should certainly have been much more unhappy with any other."

At last, after a long probation of six years, she was able to intimate that her affairs were so far arranged that she could fulfil her engagement with Lessing. Now that she was ready, there came other causes for delay. One of them arose from the circumstance that the young Prince asked Lessing to travel with him in Italy. Lessing hesitated, but, on the point being referred to Eva König, she said she could not selfishly stand in the way of so much pleasure for him. There were reasons of policy too; his going might improve their position at Wolfenbüttel. "What we long for in youth," says one, "age freely gives us." So it seemed to be with Lessing now. Often had he desired to go to Italy, and at last he was to behold it—the fulfilment of a youthful dream, with a further dream of happiness beyond it. Lessing deeply enjoyed, as he could hardly fail to do, the treasures of Italian art. On his return he was married in the quietest manner possible, and settled down to enjoy what of life remained to him. But the sunshine was not to last long. He had but tasted the draught when the cup was dashed from his lips, verifying his own expression, "*I have had no luck!*" His wife, whose comprehension of his purposes and sympathy with his many-sided mind were as remarkable as her prudence and practical tact, died within a week after the birth of their first child. They had only been married fourteen months. The blow to Lessing was terrible. His spirit seemed to be crushed and broken. He wrote with the stoical calm that comes of the feeling that no greater trial need be apprehended. This is how he intimates to his friend Eschenburg at Brunswick the birth of his son and his wife's illness:—

"I seize the moment in which my wife lies without consciousness to thank you for your kind interest. My pleasure was but brief. And I lost him so unwillingly, this son. For he had so much understanding! so much understanding! Do not suppose that the few hours of my fatherhood have made me an ape of a father! I know what I say. Was it not understanding that they had to drag him into the world with iron tongs, that he so soon suspected the evil of it? Was it not understanding that he seized the first opportunity to get away from it? And the little rascal tears his mother from me with him! For there is small hope that she will be preserved to me. I

wished to have things as well as other men. But I have badly succeeded."

A week of uncertainty followed, during which the strong man could do nothing, but walked about, absent and aimless, when he was not at her bedside. He had to write at last to Eschenburg thus:—

"My wife is dead; this experience, too, is now mine. I am glad there cannot be many more such trials left for me to go through, and I am entirely calm. It also does me good to feel assured of your sympathy and that of the rest of our friends at Brunswick.—Yours,
"Wolfenb., 10th January 1778.
LESSING."

It is in such a crisis as this that we see most decidedly what spirit a man is of. Lessing impresses us by the sincerity of his sorrow; the depths of his passionate grief are revealed to us by the very restraints of expression. He is calm, but it is a calmness like that of his Laocoon.

During his residence in Hamburg Lessing had formed a friendship with the distinguished scholar Reimarus, and on the professor's death some of his papers were put into Lessing's hands by his widow. Amongst these was a series of papers entitled "An Apology for the Rational Worshippers of God." Lessing, by special privilege, was free from the restrictions of censorship in so far as publishing matter from documents in the library was concerned, and under cover of this right he issued some chapters from Reimarus's manuscripts, giving them forth as by "an anonymous writer." In these "Fragments" (which afterwards became famous as the "Wolfenbuttel Fragments" through the controversies they aroused) the inconsistency of several of the orthodox positions was exposed with a logical acumen and felicity of style alike remarkable; it was declared also that the historical evidence in favour of revelation lost weight as time passed on; that no faith could be adapted to all races of men alike; and that the contradictions in the Evangelists on the resurrection were really insuperable when the subject was critically examined. The first few "Fragments" produced little or no impression, but a fifth, which had been issued at a long interval, just before the death of his wife, excited a great deal of interest, and called forth several replies from Schumann, Röss, and others. One of them by Goeze, a Lutheran clergyman, has thrown all the others into the shade, simply because Lessing answered it. It was more an attack on Lessing than a grave and deliberate discussion of the points raised, and was couched in such a style as made a reply necessary. Goeze charged Lessing with saying that it was impossible to meet the objections raised by the

"Fragments," and insinuated that Lessing was himself the author, whereas it was very characteristic of Lessing that in the notes which he added he distinctly said that he had annotated the "Fragments" and published them for the purpose of exciting discussion and eliciting truth. He had, in fact, in the notes, contested several of the positions taken by the writer, and had, when dealing with particular objections of Reimarus, so obtrusively seemed to make common cause with the orthodox against him, as to have brought representations from at least one of his friends. Goeze's style stung Lessing into action. This was the origin of the celebrated "Letters to Goeze," or "Anti-Goeze," so often referred to by Lessing's critics and biographers.

It was at the death-bed of his wife that Lessing received the first attack of Goeze. He went from her grave into the theological arena; and it was perhaps a happy thing that duty and honour alike laid this charge upon him. To natures like his, reticent, intense, and faithfully observant of the true laws of modesty* in the expressions of affection or of grief, the only anodyne is complete preoccupation of the mental powers. We are told that immediately after the death of his wife he sometimes had thoughts of casting off the existence that now seemed to him only a dreary burden; and we can easily believe that the duty laid upon him by Goeze had its own remedial effect. These letters to Goeze form at once an admirable illustration of argumentative dexterity and of severe honesty of mind. He enlightens the most abstract points by metaphors drawn from common life. He is serious, satirical, severe, and playful by turns, and he lightens up the theme by skilful repartee, delicious banter, and fables that are almost perfect for sly humour and suggestiveness. Never probably was theological argument made so trenchant and familiar, so penetrated by varied knowledge, so transfigured by humour and keen graceful irony. And through it all the poor, thin, peevish personality of Goeze presents itself, like a fly in amber—a personality which else had been forgotten or disregarded. We have often wondered whether Mr. Matthew Arnold did not learn some of his tricks of theological banter from these letters; such passages as the following, in one of the earlier letters (where Lessing is defending himself from the suggestion of using the privilege of his position as librarian

* " Not to unveil before the gaze
Of an imperfect sympathy
In aught we are, in aught we feel,
Is the main sum of modesty."

ruthlessly to do despite to the truth), almost make us believe it:—

“A pastor is one thing,” he writes, “a librarian another. Their names differ not more in *sound* than their duties and obligations differ in nature. In one word, the pastor and the librarian stand, to my thinking, in the same relation as the shepherd and the botanist.

“The botanist wanders over hill and dale, and carefully examines forest and field, in hope that he may find some little herb to which Linnæus has not given any name. And how it gladdens his heart if he finds one! Little does he care whether the plant be poisonous or no! He reasons that if poisons are not useful (and who will assert that they may not be so?), yet surely it is useful that the poisons be known.

“But the shepherd knows only the herbs of his own ‘run;’ and those only he values and cultivates which agree with his sheep and are liked by them.

“So it is with us, reverend man! I am the keeper of library treasures; and I would not willingly be the dog in the manger, nor would I willingly be the stable-boy who brings hay to the rack for every hungry horse. If I find among the treasures intrusted to me anything that is not generally known, I give full notice of it. First, I place it in our catalogues; then by degrees, as I find it aids in filling gaps, or in setting matters right, by publishing it. I am indifferent whether one person declare it important and another unimportant, whether it edify one and scandalise another. Useful and hurtful are as much relative ideas as great and small.

“You, on the other hand, reverend sir, value literary treasures only by their influence on your congregation, and would rather be too anxious than too indifferent. What matters to you whether a thing be known or unknown, if it might be a stumbling-block to the least of those intrusted to your spiritual care?

“Quite right! and I commend you for it, reverend sir. But while I commend you for doing your duty, pray, do not scold me for doing mine; or, which is really the same thing, for thinking I do it.

“You would tremble before your dying hour if you had taken the least part in publishing the fragments in question!

“I perhaps shall tremble in my dying hour; *before* it I shall never tremble. Least of all for having done what all men of sense now wish the ancient librarians had done, if possible, with the writings of Celsus, Fronto, and Porphyry in the libraries of Alexandria, Cæsarea, and Constantinople. A man well informed in these matters says: ‘For the writings of Porphyry not a few friends of religion in our day would willingly give in exchange a pious father of the Church.’ . . .

“Christianity moves on with its own eternal gradual pace; eclipses do not bring the planets out of their path. But the sects of Christianity are the phases of it, and could not subsist in any other fashion than by the stoppage of the whole course of nature, when sun, planets,

and observer continue at the same point. God protect us from such awful stagnation as this!

“Therefore, reverend man, censure me less severely for having been so honest as to rescue from oblivion, not only a very Christian work of Berengarius,* but also some very anti-Christian fragments.”

When he comes quite to close quarters with Goeze, he thus summarises and lays down in ten propositions the leading points:—

“1. The Bible obviously contains more than belongs to religion.

“2. It is a mere hypothesis that it is equally infallible as regards this excess.

“3. The letter is not the spirit, and the Bible is not religion.

“4. Objections to the letter of the Bible are consequently not also objections to the spirit and to religion.

“5. There was a religion before there was a Bible.

“6. Christianity existed before the Evangelists and Apostles had written. Some time had elapsed before the first of them wrote, and a very considerable time before the canon was completed.

“7. However much, therefore, may depend upon these writings, the whole truth of the Christian religion cannot possibly rest upon them.

“8. If there was a period when Christianity had taken possession of many souls, and when, notwithstanding, not a single letter of what we now hold as Scripture was written, it must be possible that all which the Evangelists and Apostles wrote might be lost, and yet the religion taught by them would abide.

“9. Religion is not true because it was taught by the Evangelists and Apostles; but they taught it because it is true.

“10. By religion’s inner truth must the Scriptures be interpreted; and no traditions or records handed down to us can give it inner truth if it has none.”

When dealing with the seventh point, Goeze had confidently asked him whether, without the books of the New Testament, any trace of Christ’s words and work would have come down to us. He replied, in the spirit of a reverent truth-seeker, thus:—

“God forbid that I should ever think so meanly of Christ’s teachings as to dare to answer this question with a direct *No*! I would not repeat this *No* if an angel from heaven should dictate such to me, much less when a Lutheran pastor seeks to put it in my mouth. Everything that happens in this world leaves traces of its existence, though men may not always find them; and Thy teachings alone, Divine Philanthropist, which Thou didst not command to be written down, but which Thou didst command to be preached, had they been

* Lessing, as we have seen, in 1770 discovered and published Berengarius’s answer to Lanfranc, “*De Corpore et Sanguine Jesu Christi.*”

only preached, would have effected nothing, nor left sufficient by which we may recognise their origin. Must Thy words be first changed into dead letters in order to become words of life? Are books the one way to enlighten and improve mankind? If oral tradition be exposed to a thousand intentional or unintentional falsifications, are not books likewise exposed? Could not God, by the same exercise of His immediate power, have preserved oral traditions from such falsifications, just as well as books, as is said that He has done? Oh, out on who claims, Almighty God, to be a preacher of Thy word, and yet so impudently asserts that, to attain Thy purposes there was but one way by which it pleased Thee to reveal Thyself! Oh, out on the divine who, except by this one way which he sees, boldly denies all other ways because *he* does not see them! Gracious God, let me never become so orthodox, in order that I may never become so presumptuous!"

But in Brunswick the orthodox party were too strong to allow him to go on publishing his "Fragments" in peace. They exerted themselves to get the aid of the civil power against him, and with too much success. They took advantage of the absence of the Hereditary Prince to play upon the fears of the aged Duke, now weak and on a sick-bed. Lessing's exemption from the censorship was withdrawn, and the "Fragments" were confiscated—a thing that only increased the demand for them, not only in Brunswick, but throughout Germany. And the influence of the Goeze controversy did not stop here. "Nathan the Wise" had been sketched years before, and probably would have lain unfinished but for these attacks. He called it "the son of his approaching age, of which controversy had helped to deliver him." In it he urges his pleas for toleration with prevailing power. He himself had no expectation that it would ever be a successful acting play, and named it "a dramatic poem." He thought that, for stage purposes, it lacked passion, was too argumentative, and that the moral was too assertive and permeating for success there. But he also knew the result he aimed at, and was assured that "Nathan" would accomplish it, as indeed it did. If Lessing never soared high nor plunged deep—if he suggested too little of the mystery and wonder of existence—if he afforded few of those glimpses into the world of passion and imagination which awaken even the dimmer understandings to the beauty and terror and tragic pathos of life—he sees his goal clearly, and travels to it with unwavering directness. He thus indicated what he expected of "Nathan" in writing to his brother Karl. "Even you have formed an altogether incorrect idea of the piece. It will be anything but satirical, to enable me to quit the arena with contemptuous laughter. It will be as pathetic a piece as I have ever written. . . . It has nothing to do with our present

black-coats; and I will not barricade its way to the stage, although it might not come there for a century. The theologians of all religions will, indeed, inwardly chafe at it; but they will take care to express no public disapproval of it."

And in writing to another he speaks thus of his anticipations of its future:—"I do not know of any city in Germany where the piece could now be represented. But happy and fortunate the city where it shall first appear!" And he says in a "hundred years" it may be put on the stage.

It could be no disappointment to him, therefore, that it remained unrepresented when he died. In 1783 it was given at Berlin, and his words seemed likely to be realised, for it was pronounced a failure. His own prophecy seemed correct. The times were not yet ripe. But the favouring moment came earlier than Lessing had foretold. It was introduced at Weimar by Schiller and Goethe in 1801; immediately became a favourite, and has kept its place on the German stage. It was even acted by Greek actors at Constantinople in 1842 with success, though we learn that Nathan's frankness with the Sultan was wondered at and almost resented!

It has been well said that "Nathan" is rather a philosophic romance composed in a dramatic form than a drama; but as a romance, it is certainly one of the very best, both in conception and execution, to be found in the whole body of European literature.

As one Jew—*i.e.*, Mendelssohn—is idealised or represented in the hero of "Nathan," another is idealised or represented in its history. There is a beautiful propriety—we had almost said, a kind of poetic justice—in the fact that indirectly we owe the publication of "Nathan" to a Jew. This was Joseph Wessely, a merchant at Hamburg, who had honoured and admired Lessing from the time of his residence there; who had written some penetrating letters on "Emilia Galotti" which were published anonymously; and who now, on hearing of Lessing's distress from want of money, troubled himself to contribute help in such delicate ways as would not wound Lessing's feelings of independence. He offered a loan through Karl Lessing, and proposed to send it without waiting for a letter from Lessing saying that he would accept it. Karl wrote, "But if he does not write to you, will he receive the money?" "I will now send it to him myself, and surely he will acknowledge the receipt of it," answered Wessely.

The offer was accepted, and the loan enabled Lessing to work on with more peace of mind than he could otherwise have commanded. But so honourable and sensitive was he on such matters, that the thought of it troubled him, and as he was composing the last act he wrote to his brother saying how much

he would grieve if the subscriptions were not enough to cover that debt, as he had no other means of paying it. "You cannot imagine," he concludes, "how this thing vexes me; and it will be a miracle if the disquietude under which I am working should not disclose itself in my writing."*

So little did any shadow of personal distress intrude into the drama, that nothing more calm, peaceful, and complete had ever come from his pen. "After that production," said Mendelssohn, "he might well be content to die." One thing of significance there still remained for him to do. This was the full development of an idea which he had announced in one of his earlier writings. With this he now occupied himself. "The Education of the Human Race," his last great work, was the result. When he had finished this, he made a journey to Hamburg in 1780, where he had great delight in a reunion with old friends. The change so exhilarated him, that something of his earlier vigour and vitality of mind appeared in his conversations. "Lessing is here," wrote Eliza Reimarus to Nicolai on the 9th of October, "and perhaps because the society of living friends is better for him than that of the dead, or even than strife with enemies, he is almost the man he was formerly." He wished to make his friends there believe that "this winter he had exchanged heads." But it was the last flicker of the flame. The return to the "everlasting monotony" of Wolfenbüttel was felt the more for the brightness of his Hamburg visit. He made another effort to create a congenial world for himself—to write for the stage; but his energies flagged; his letters became more and more despondent. On December 19, 1780, he wrote to Mendelssohn, "My dear friend, *this scene is over!*" He was spared the trial of a lingering chronic sickness which he had feared. In twelve days from the first symptoms of real illness, and in spite of the best medical care and the devoted nursing of his step-daughter, Amelia König, who was to him as a true daughter indeed, he passed away in his fifty-third year. The aged Gleim, amid tears, braced himself to write—

"Him have we lost who was our greatest pride;

Him who abroad had won our nation fame.

God said, 'Let there be light!'—and Leibnitz came!

God said, 'Let darkness be!'—and Lessing died!"

While Engel, a young man, took up the theme, and set it to a more powerful note—

"Had Britain, not Germania, given him birth,
His dust might share with kings the sacred earth,
And a proud people, grateful for his fame,
Would rear a lasting tribute to his name."

* Mr. Sime refers to the episode of Wessely only incidentally.

To the end Lessing had readily and secretly befriended the poor and outcast, in some instances directly risking the displeasure of the great. In this he reminds us of Samuel Johnson. The Jew Daveson, who had offended the Duke of Brunswick, was visited by him in prison, and found a home in his house after his release. And the story of the poor eccentric "philosopher" Könemann (who was "not always grammatical") and his dog is at once laughable and pathetic. Lessing took them in also to his house at Wolfenbüttel, kept both man and dog, and would not part with them, troublesome though they often were. "The dog is an ornament of the philosopher," said Lessing, when somebody had suggested that they were inconvenient; "for he found it in his wanderings faint and starving. He had two rolls in his pocket; he took one out and gave it to the dog, which ate it greedily; and from that moment it never left its benefactor. The two rolls were all the poor wanderer had at the time to keep himself alive. He shared them honourably; and so long as I have a roll left, the philosopher shall have half of it."

The first quality which may be noted as conspicuously characteristic of Lessing is his sincerity of nature, his complete independence of mind, his determination to go to the root, to see things for himself, to trust no mere authority, and to utter nothing as truth which his whole nature could not unreservedly accept as such. When but a youth of sixteen, he wrote home that he thought it the "duty of every young man not to take his religion on trust, but to examine the subject for himself." Lessing carried the same principle into every department of his work. He did not demand agreement with his opinions; he only claimed that, before assuming to sit in judgment on others, or to teach them, you should have fully satisfied your mind by good reasons, and have at least taken a fair and honest view of the grounds on which others had reached a different or an opposite conclusion. This lay at the foundation of Lessing's peculiar tolerance and fair-mindedness. In demanding this from others, he only asked that which he had faithfully given. He was always disposed to ask of every opinion and conclusion what it had to say for itself on broad and common grounds of reason, and to lay these to the test of his own better judgment. This habit of careful examination and self-examination (for the one in his case implied the other) resulted in two things that are seldom found combined in so full a measure as they were in him—logical clearness, allied with great range of interests, and a kind of dramatic curiosity, far from cold or merely critical, which made him dependent not only on association with others,

but laid upon him a necessity to understand them and to comprehend their ways of thinking. The impulse that urged Lessing to become a dramatist was very intimately associated with this tendency. Now, a very short survey of Lessing reveals the fact that he was remarkably destitute of that imaginative susceptibility or sensitiveness which is so powerful an element in the immediate instinctive comprehension of others. This defect left results in several ways. One of them was, that as Lessing, through the exacting character of his intellectual nature—his demand, as we may say, for reasons clear and satisfactory to himself—always tended to become an intellectual recluse, removed from a common ground with others, he was saved from the coldness generally inseparable from this character by the necessity he was under to test his own thinking by laying it faithfully alongside of other minds, rather than by the shorter process of poetic sympathy. He found in simple patience and care what in great part supplies the place of imagination to other poets. That he became, in spite of this defect, a dramatic poet at all, would be in itself a phenomenon of literature; but that he was at once a successful dramatic poet, and a critic who always rose above the range of narrow and technical and temporary interests, is still more remarkable. It would seem, indeed, as though he made his very defects serve him as other men do their endowments, and that he wholly escaped certain of the perils peculiar to natures that are over-richly endowed on the side of imagination and sentiment.

He observed closely; his mind was vigilant, penetrating, assertive; but the power of passing, as it by instinct or by magic, beyond intellectual processes to motives, was almost lacking to him. He never, in the strict sense, created a character; he only threw into dramatic shapes or forms the most striking elements of character, or rather intellectual tendency, in those whom he had most closely observed through actual association, and had, so to speak, inseparably involved in that constant combined process of examination and self-examination. And yet, by dint simply of the sincerity and thoroughness of his character, these personages not seldom impress us precisely as do the truest creations. Such instances we find in every one of his dramas. When Nathan, for instance, tells the Lay Brother the terrible tale of his calamity, and touches the depths of submission in these words, we feel it to be so:—

Nathan. Already had I lain three days and nights
In dust and ashes and in tears 'fore God—
In tears, said I? almost at war with God,
Raving against myself and all the world,
And vowing deathless hate to the Christian name.

Lay Brother. Ah, I can well believe you in your plight.

Nathan. But reason by degrees returned, and I
In calmer mood could say: And yet God is;
This, too, He suffered—so His will be done!

Lay Brother. Nathan, you are a Christian! 'fore my God
No better Christian lives.

Nathan. Well for us both
That you think so; for what to you makes me
The Christian, makes of you a Jew to me.

It is indeed a remarkable fact that Lessing's leading characters are all confessedly reflections and reminiscences of his immediate friends—his father, Mendelssohn, Mylius, Kleist, and the rest. The subtle shades and intermingling of contradictory elements which appear always in the work of the inspired dramatist, suggesting something of incomprehensibility and inexhaustibleness, have little or no place in Lessing. But he does much to recover the interest in his own way. Even where he seems to forego what might be called the expression of his own personal predilections through the character, as in the "Free-thinker," he only rises to a higher idea, which is dearer to him—that of fairness, toleration. It is much that we can say that he never took a side, and that he was distinctly a dramatist in the condemnation of possible faults and vices in those who as partisans would have classed themselves with him. His great characters—Theophanus, Philotas, Nathan, and the rest—are reproduced by a laborious process of memory on the lines of intellectual discussion, the light that penetrates and imparts something of life being distinctly moral, rather than of the imagination. They are, in a word, the dramatic images of his peculiar methods of questioning and self-questioning. His philosophy lies consciously revealed to us in his poetry; and both have their foundations in the same traits of character. Hence his leading *dramatis personæ* stand to us as embodied qualities or tendencies rather than as men—creatures whose range is predetermined for them by some hard-set intellectual limits. We can hardly conceive of them moving or acting on any ground outside that which has been assigned to them by the poet, but they often affect us precisely as if we could.

The very limitations which we thus find in Lessing as a poet are confessions of that unity of moral purpose which imparts so keen an element of interest to his various works when they can be faithfully viewed in relation to each other. Each reflects him from a different angle; but, like photographs taken from various positions, the different portraits all agree with each other in the leading lines and in the expression. And the conception

of the individuality only becomes more distinct and clear as the scrutiny is perseveringly carried on.

It is thus impossible to detach Lessing from his works, and to view him as the mere thinker and writer, as may be done with some distinguished authors. The works, in his case, in a very distinct and special sense, are the man. He does not work as if from some special faculty, while the moral nature lies aloof or inactive, or is, in fact, moving along quite apart on a line of its own, as is often the case with the poet, the man of over-fine fancy and imagination, creating a world in which ordinary laws and demands of life are set aside. No shadow of such plea as Charles Lamb set up for the dramatists of the Restoration needs to be raised for Lessing. His world of art is one with his world of life, and even with his critical principles, because he was faithful to the moral elements in his character. Here lies the grand reconciling point in Lessing—the man is supremely expressed in everything he did, and his actions are at one with his precepts as far almost as they could be in the life of mortal. Mr. Browning, in "One Word More," has very finely expressed the sense of escape from the over-feverish attractions of the Ideal to the calm bliss and repose of life's true solace in loving companionship :—

" The best is when I glide from out them,
Cross a step or two of dubious twilight,
Come out on the other side, the novel,
Silent, silver lights and darks undreamt of,
Where I hush and bless myself with silence."

In Lessing there are no such reactions or escapes from one sphere to another. He is easily touched to fine issues, but he is never transported or lifted from earth into an aerial world. He treads firmly, looking round, rather than ecstatically looking up. If action is possible in any emergency, very readily and decisively it is done ; if not, it is wise to yield to the inevitable. He is clear and vigorously practical—a self-sufficient, calm contentment and superiority to lesser cares removes him from the *genus irritabile*. He finds his delights in cheerful activity: devotion to the past and its pleasures; the remote and the imaginary, which exercise so great a spell over the lives of the poets who are more strictly to be classed as lyrical, he would regard as weak, useless, and often hurtful, debilitating to the manly powers. It is very characteristic that he always wishes to subdue fine epithets and high-flown expressions in the poems of Kleist and Gleim. The clearness and supremacy of his judgment would have imparted a cold remoteness to his work had it not been for the strength of his moral nature, which always moves in harmony with it. Had he been in the least touched with sentiment and romanti-

cism—inclined to defy rule, and to set up, in opposition to the prevailing standards and tastes, an array of loose and fanciful conceits which could not be justified by good critical reasons, he could never have driven French influence from Germany, or have written "Nathan" or the "Laocoon."

He never, indeed, seems to be under the necessity of seeking relief or of drawing help from a world of fancy; the worlds of fact and of men are enough for him when he needs to escape from the world of his own thoughts. It is this satisfaction, this restfulness, this English-like determination to make the best of things as they are, or to improve them only by appeals to the better reason, which has emphasised in the general mind the idea that Lessing was little of a poet. But if the poet is he who, by the aid of the higher faculties, seeks to bring men into harmony with a noble ideal that may in its leading outlines become a "realised ideal," as he in his own life may be said to have realised it, and if, for this purpose, he shows the power of transmuting, at every step, the actual characters, the common and sordid experiences of life, into symbols, we would almost need to seek for a new definition of poetry that would exclude Lessing. We do not claim that he was a dramatic poet of the first rank; his processes are too evident, and his work too often cold, restrained, and infected by ill-disguised moralisings; but his power of carrying his thought into figure, and bringing it close to the "bosoms and the businesses" of men, indicates a capacity of *vicarious living and thinking* without which there can be no dramatic poetry.

His life is thus seen to impart a new character to his works. They are not faithfully seen till viewed in relation to his character; or rather his character, so expressly read in them, relates them by so manifold and so intimate links to his actual experience, that the two things cannot in strictness be separately viewed. In all poets, except those of the very highest order, the imagination hangs, as it were, a veil between the actual life and the created world; and a sense of revulsion is too often felt in passing from the one to the other. Lessing, if he lacked a powerful imagination, escaped from this revulsion. Looked at from this point of view, we cannot regard Mr. Russell Lowell's endeavour to separate the writer and the man, and his reiterated expression to the effect that the man is more interesting than the writer, as having so much ground as they might appear at first sight to have.

It indicates a great force of moral nature that Lessing should have found in those with whom he was brought into contact so much to furnish him with the images or forms that he dramatically used for his great purposes of teaching and enlightening.

His faithfulness and independence of mind are seen here also in a very striking light; for the qualifications that were so urgently needed for certain determinations of his nature were furnished by the qualities he there discovered and found available for his peculiar art. In Theophanus in "Freigeist" we have in main outline his own father. He is presented to us as having attained to that grace of character which comes only of fine moral elements duly disciplined, and he is not represented as having stripped himself of the integuments of his belief. In the Free-thinker (who again decidedly reflects certain elements in the well-meaning but contemptuous, self-assertive, and eccentric Mylius) we are distinctly taught that penetration and correctness of intellectual perception may after all be divorced from moral elevation and true refinement of nature. The clearness of vision, the balance, the justness of Lessing's judgment, is seen here precisely as in his purely argumentative works, and so also in his other dramas.

We have specially cited the "Freigeist" in order that we pass naturally to a remark which might otherwise be deemed far-fetched or out of place. It is this, that the pause or check which was administered to Lessing's intellectual tendency, saving him from cynicism and from becoming a sneerer and destroyer only, was derived from happy influences to which he had been subject, and which alone inspired him with the enthusiasm that is essential to any form of artistic creation. His father, it is evident, was a powerful influence, and at the very outset of his career, while as yet Lessing was working hard at comedies on the model of Molière, had suggested an absolutely original and individual starting-point. "What if I should show the illiberality of the freethinkers—those who despise the priestly office?" It is not too much to say that the father's influence, as exhibiting a lofty type of character but little touched for evil by the dogmas held, was a main factor in the maintenance of that essentially reverent and religious spirit which so distinguishes Lessing from, say, the Encyclopædists. And this, too, lay very close to that sincerity, that thoroughness and independence of mind, which we have set down as a primary characteristic.

It is here that we find the true rationale of the words which Lessing used of himself when speaking of his debt to criticism.

"People often do me the honour to recognise me as a poet, but only because they do not understand me. They ought not to draw such generous conclusions from some dramatic attempts I have made. Not every one who takes the brush in hand and scatters colours is a painter. The oldest of these attempts was written in the years in which one so gladly takes pleasure and facility for genius. With

respect to what is tolerable in my more recent efforts, I am conscious that I owe it solely to criticism. I do not feel in me the living fountain which works upward by its own force, shoots up by its own force into such rich, such fresh, such pure streams; I must force everything out of me by the fly-press and pipes. I should be so poor, so cold, so short-sighted, if I had not to some extent learned modestly to borrow treasures from others, to warm myself at other's fires, and by the glass of art to strengthen my eyes. I have, therefore, always felt ashamed and out of humour when I have read or heard anything to the disadvantage of criticism. It is said to hamper genius; and I flattered myself that I owed to it something which comes very near genius."

The modesty and self-respecting honesty, the thoroughness of insight, which admits no flattering glosses even in a scrutiny of self, the rare independence of mind, in a word, which could prompt so manly and candid a confession as this, is apt to blind us to the fact that, after all, it is not quite a true report. It separates too cautiously two aspects of one activity, and puts them as though they were different and conflicting. It is true that such they would be in the case of men in whom the intellectual activity was often divorced from, or at least independent of, the movement of the moral nature.

There are various points in Mr. Russell Lowell's estimate of Lessing with which we can hardly bring ourselves to agree; but when he writes as follows, he seems to throw light on our conception rather than on his own:—

"Lessing's advice to his brother Karl, who was beginning to write for the stage, is *two parts moral and one literary*: 'Study ethics diligently, learn to express yourself well and correctly, and cultivate your own character. Without that I cannot conceive a good dramatic author.' Marvellous counsel this will seem to those who think that wisdom is only to be found in the fool's paradise of Bohemia!"

The moral element with Lessing is literally the first and the last; the literary one is secondary, and must flow out of it: and this from the man whose conception of literary form was so exalted and severe! His conception of the dramatist and his equipment is, however, absolutely consistent with his character and with his practice. In the light of this we may the better understand Mr. Sime when he writes:—

"The creative and critical impulses were closely associated in Lessing. Having achieved any particular work, he made it the starting-point for speculation as to the ultimate ground of the class to which it belonged; on the other hand, if he found a body of critical ideas, he was dissatisfied until he had applied them in actual artistic effort. The two impulses were equally spontaneous; they were, perhaps, at first equally deep. They were never quite dissociated, but

in the long-run the critical impulse became the more powerful, and to it we owe the greater and more strictly original result."

Looked at from one point of view, Mr. Sime is strictly right here. But more weight should almost, we think, have been laid on the thought which is so far lost through its merely parenthetical position, viz., that the two impulses in Lessing were never really dissociated. And seeing that, "Nathan"—the last flowering of a long process—was brought to birth, as one might say, and as Lessing himself said, by the stir of theological controversy, we can hardly admit that, in the strict sense, the critical impulse in the long-run became the most powerful, since the fact is admitted that it could still be made the servant of the creative one in the effort to set forth effectively a great moral idea.

Lessing's great clearness of style has made his genius seem simpler in its elements than it really was. This accounts for a good deal of the too dogmatic criticism that has been given forth in reference to him, as though it was the easiest thing possible to understand and to exhaust him. We find, for example, Mr. Hawkins, a well-known author nearly half a century ago, writing thus: "He was esteemed a great poet, but we cannot now concede to him the inspiration of genius. . . . He had a perpetual thirst for new discoveries, and for discovering new views of old ones; but his plan of proceeding was fitful and irregular. He would compose no poem without laying down a theory for his own guidance; he was always calling himself to account and mistrusting his impulses."

The true purpose of criticism is almost completely missed in such writing as this of Mr. Hawkins. One of the most striking points about Lessing was, that he is really as much of the dramatist in his critical and argumentative works as in dramas pure and proper. He never could proceed merely as the controversialist. His dramatic curiosities are too strong, and often carry him whether he would not, it must be admitted, to the injury of his first intention not unfrequently. How his line of reasoning would strike another and a differently constituted mind is constantly present with him, not as a merely speculative consideration, however speculative the idea with which he may be concerned, but as an immediate and practical result. This it is chiefly which has imparted the aspect of fitfulness and uncompleteness that has struck some of the severer critics. Till this point of a pervading moral purpose is clearly seized, we have hardly got at the differentiating quality of Lessing's mental product; we have not found the necessary unit in it, nor discovered how completely such critics as Hawkins have missed

the point. Mr. Sime is quite right when he finds, as he does, the superabundance of familiar figure and illustrations in Lessing's prose work; but it is not till we trace the unity of his powers to a root in the moral character which urged him, partly through lack of imagination, to seek his ideal in a sense of absolute fairness, that we find the point where the man and his work pass into one presence. "It has been well said that the idea of 'Nathan the Wise' runs like a golden thread through the rich and variegated web of Lessing's intellectual life." It forms the chief motive even of his early comedies. When we have seen how completely this idea fills and illuminates every writing from his hand, the fitfulness and irregularity of his effort disappear. Mr. Sime has eloquently signalised this pervading dramatic element in Lessing in two passages which in justice to him we must cite—

"He loved to confront an opinion with its opposite," says Mr. Sime, "to thrill with the stir and glow of intellectual battle. To hear any conviction strongly stated roused in him the desire to qualify it, or to suggest grounds for calling it in question. Thus in conversation he would often take a side with which he had no sympathy; not for the barren pleasure of victory, but to see how much could be said by those who really held that for which he argued. He was sometimes blamed by one party for maintaining views which another found fault with him for rejecting. During the Seven Years' War, for instance, his friends in Leipzig were shocked by his Prussian sympathies; while, after he went to Berlin, he offended his friends there by being, as they thought, too partial to his native Saxony. *Even in his inward life it was through struggle that he pushed to new conclusions. If there was no actual opponent, he imagined one, and equipped him with the surest and most polished armour he could devise.*"

And again, with reference to his style—

"Another and essential characteristic of Lessing's style, which meets us even at an early stage, is his love of metaphors and similes. This quality is found in the same degree in no other German author. It is improbable that Lessing's thought was originally, in his own mind, so concrete as it appears in his works; for, although a poet, he was not sufficiently a poet; he was too much a pure thinker to pass from judgment to judgment by means of individual images. Had the imagination and the understanding been thus fused in him, he would have given us less criticism and more poetry. But because he was so consummate a critic, he knew that thought expressed in abstract forms is for the ordinary intelligence powerless; for the educated, intelligence without charm. Hence he deliberately clothed his ideas in visible and tangible forms; he brought them, as Socrates brought philosophy, from the clouds, and made them appear in shapes that the common understanding would apprehend and take delight in apprehending.

We find this preference for metaphorical expression in all his writings, dramatic as well as critical, theological as well as æsthetic. He ultimately became a master in its use; and *this is unquestionably one of the strongest of the many reasons for the power he still exerts. The objects from which he selects his images are rarely remarkable for grandeur and beauty; he is usually content if they are familiar, precise, and vivid.*"

The colouring of this ideal, which depends on sincerity and a sense of fairness, is as distinctly seen in the veriest trifle of criticism or of conversation as in the dramatic poems; but it is evident that it could not but operate so far to the disadvantage of lengthened trains of thought, if viewed only from the standpoint of formal logic. This, however, is not the test which should be exhaustively applied to a practical man engaged with practical questions, as Lessing always was, however much he might be under the necessity of adopting abstract terms. The presence of this ideal, rooted in moral qualities rather than in the imagination, robust and genial common sense, readiness for allowance and for compromise, and for inclusion of opposites, these things, to our idea, justify in great measure the remark which has often been made to the effect that Lessing is pre-eminently British. A writer of high repute has said—

"His mind is of a quality eminently British. Of all Germans he is the least German; yet he created German literature, and is the idol of his country. He has the qualities Englishmen most admire. He always writes with distinct purpose; the prominent characteristics of his works, contrasted with those of his countrymen, is their direct and practical tendency."

The German heaviness and thoroughness more readily allies itself with vague sentiment and a diffuse egotism, with a kind of rapid self-satisfaction, rather than with sharp sense; and so far the epithet is well applied. But Lessing is not British in so far as he is never insulated or incapacitated from bringing the ideas of others to a test in a kind of cosmopolitan reason; and thus far he would himself, we think, have been inclined to quarrel with the title of "British" as applied to him in any strict and comprehensive way. It is for this reason that, even as a politician, we may regard him as strictly faithful to his own ideal, and in this relation also to have been thoroughly sincere. German patriotism in his day he felt was narrow, alien to true enlightenment. While he would not have moved a finger to stir up discontent in those who were not already alive to the burdens that pressed upon them, he desired to quicken the sense of the enlightened to these burdens, and so to have a true cosmopolitan-

ism based on practical right and justice. He would have corroborated Heine's ideas in the following passage, though he might have been inclined to modify the expression—

"The patriotism of the Frenchman," said Heine, "consists in this—that his heart grows warm, and widens with the warmth, no longer embracing merely its near relatives, but all France, the whole civilised world. The patriotism of the German, on the other hand, consists in this—that his heart grows narrower, contracting like leather in the cold; that he hates what is foreign; that he wishes no longer to be a citizen of the world, no longer even a European, but only a narrow German. There was now to be witnessed the ideal churlishness which Herr Jabn reduced to a system. Now began the mean, dirty, unwashed opposition to the most glorious and holy feeling ever originated in Germany—the feeling of humanity, namely, the universal spirit of fraternisation, the cosmopolitanism to which all our greater spirits, Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Goethe, Jean Paul, as well as all cultivated minds, have ever done homage. What soon after came to pass in Germany is too well known to all. When God, the snow, and the Cossacks had destroyed the best energies of Napoleon, we Germans received the most gracious command to free ourselves from the yoke of the foreigner, and we flamed up in manly indignation against the all too long endured subjection, and we encouraged ourselves by the good melodies and bad verses of Körner's songs, and we reconquered our freedom; for we do everything which our princes bid us."

"Lessing's intellect, like his style," says one, "was clear, sharp, precise; he would tolerate no vagueness, and he hated rhetoric; a keen analytic, healthy intellect, practical in all its aims, decisive in its movement, *inspired by the sincerest love of truth, but never inspired by imagination.*"

Lessing's modest disbelief in his own poetic powers was favourable to his success as a dramatist. He cultivated the study of stage effect, and in one respect verified Carlyle's axiom that "Genius is patience!" He carefully watched every detail, thinking nothing, however trivial, beneath his regard. In the thoroughness with which he entered on the consideration of minutiae he is an example not only for the student and the man of letters, but for the merchant and the manufacturer. If you would succeed in your object, fail not to study and to master every point, however apparently unimportant or trivial, which bears on the technical detail of the work you may be engaged in.

- Lessing's influence has been wider and more healthily pervasive throughout the whole field of culture than that of any other German. Luther regenerated the field of religious life

and thought, and indirectly influenced social life and well-being in many directions; but the tendency of his teaching was to discredit culture where it did not seem directly to serve the ends of religious and conventional morality; and so he becomes one-sided in view, and so far limited in influence. Leibnitz, by a process of logic the most exacting, rescued the foundations of moral sense and of religion from attack, but his "pre-established harmony" is but an ideal conception, and will pass under the influence of that which is more powerfully and acutely demonstrated. Goethe, again, stood too coldly apart from the interests in which common men must perforce find their chief concern, and sought in the ideal of pagan repose and stoicism a salve for the divisions and conflicts of his time. And thus the words of Mr. Matthew Arnold have grave significance—

"Goethe's course few sons of men
May think to emulate."

But any man may emulate the wise career of Lessing, distinguished and exceptional as were the results that flowed from the exercise of what he would have regarded as being, on the whole, ordinary faculties. We may regard him in the attitudes of religious teacher, poet, and critic, and see how, under each aspect, this is borne out.

1. Without going out of our way to claim for Lessing what he would have been too modest to claim for himself, it may yet be said, with fullest confidence, that he was a true Protestant, carrying faithfully into all departments with which he was concerned the spirit of free inquiry, demanding for every man, as of natural right, the unfettered exercise of the individual reason and conscience on all questions. He was, in this aspect, as has been said, a true successor of Luther; he carried the doctrines of the Reformation to their proper and legitimate application in literature, philosophy, and criticism, as well as in what pertains strictly to religion. But religion being regarded by him as a permanent and permeating influence, he refused to regard it as separate from any of the true interests of life. His criticism of Scripture was never irreverent; he distinctly intimated his desire to protect the kernel whatever might befall the shell in which it had for ages been preserved. His leading aim in theology, in fact, was to distinguish clearly between essential and non-essential—form and spirit—and his contests with theologians, as represented in the quarrel with Goeze, were invariably engaged in with the view of making this clear. Sectarian theologians he regarded as the conservators of the letter, of the mere book—men who would have spoken as

though religion would perish with their records, and therefore he continually recalled to their minds, by all kinds of arguments and illustrations, that religion was not dependent on a book, but that books were dependent on religion; and he was firm on the point that nothing final could be predicated of anything drawn merely from any book. He fully anticipated the difficulties that would arise by the progress of modern criticism, and spoke words as wise as any that have yet been uttered on that great theme.

The divorce which is even now being seen to become day by day more and more complete in whole sections of the educated community between the intellectual life and moral conviction we all profess to mourn. Accommodations of all kinds are common. Creeds and formulas are accepted and read in a wholly non-natural sense, a sense completely opposed to the constructions put upon them by their original framers, or by the plain common sense of the men who accept them. If we were required to point to a man whose life was devoted to an exposure of the evil of this tendency at a time when it began to exercise influence, and who has exhibited beyond almost all others the true spirit in which men ought to comport themselves in relation to all such questions and difficulties at whatever personal sacrifice, we should unhesitatingly name Lessing. To illustrate this point exhaustively would involve reference to each work in a long catalogue. For that we cannot afford the space, nor is it necessary. Enough if we indicate very shortly how the sincerity and unhesitating frankness of the man led him to speak words as directly applicable to one of the great perplexities of our own day, which is felt by many who yield under it, and preached against constantly by those who have not yielded or have escaped from the net, as though he were living and writing to-day for the benefit of some of the "broader" minds burdened by the shackles of "subscription." When a distinguished theologian tried to lessen the effects of Berengarius's answer to Lanfranc by accusing Berengarius of having studied ambiguity and retreated from publication under fear of consequences, Lessing made this most moderate but most efficient reply, in which he penetrates to the very essence of the matter—

"God forbid!" he exclaims, "that I should so reproach any man. I know not whether it be a duty to sacrifice happiness and life to the truth; certainly the courage and resolution necessary to such a sacrifice are not gifts which we can bestow upon ourselves. But this I know is duty; *if one attempts to teach truth, he must teach it in its integrity, or leave it alone, roundly, fully, without enigmas or reserves, with a perfect faith in its efficacy and usefulness. The gifts required for such a decision are in our own power.* Whoever will not acquire these,

or, when acquired, will not use them, shows that he has a very poor notion of the human understanding; and he deserves to lose the confidence of his hearers who, while freeing them from some gross errors, withholds from them the complete truth, and thinks to satisfy them by some compromise with falsehood. The greater the error, the shorter and straighter is the way to truth. But refined error can prevent our recognition of its nature, and blind us to the truth altogether. . . . The man who is faithless to Truth amid threatening dangers may yet deeply love her, and Truth will forgive him his unfaithfulness for the sake of his love. *But whosoever thinks of prostituting Truth under every kind of mask and rouge, may be her pimp, but has never been her lover.*"

As furnishing one illustration of the width and efficiency of Lessing's influence in the theological field, it may not be out of place to note a peculiar circumstance in the discussion that arose over the publication of "Essays and Reviews." The combatants in the field—probably because of the dust that was raised by the stampede—were very slow to see their strongest point against Dr. Temple for his production "The Education of the World." But when once it had been pointed out that the essay was in far too large a proportion a presentation of the ideas of a German "heretic," the quickness with which it was discovered that there were many others to whom Dr. Temple might have been indebted was truly astonishing. Seldom has such fertility of resource been seen in a noble cause. Libraries were ransacked suddenly, and lucky discoveries were made. Hegel was the original and then Schelling. One critic fancied he saw some shadow of parallelism in Vischer, and another even stumbled on some semblance of similarity between Dr. Temple and the younger Fichte! The "Quarterly Review" deemed it of importance enough to give a long list of parallel quotations from "The Philosophy of History" and Dr. Temple's "Essay."* As if that were of any importance, seeing that Hegel distinctly acknowledged his indebtedness to suggestions from Lessing; and if the others did not, that was perhaps because they could less well afford it. But when a magnate of the Church of England could translate and adapt Lessing, and, in spite of adverse influence and criticism, find himself by-and-by "translated and adapted" to higher functions, enough has been said perhaps as to the unrecognised influence in later theological thought of this poverty-stricken but potent thinker, to justify in every candid mind the title given him of "the invisible presence in modern criticism."

"What is a heretic?" asks Lessing. "It is a man who

* Quarterly Review for October 1862, p. 472.

wishes, at least, to see with his own eyes. The only question is, whether he has good eyes. In certain eyes the name of heretic is the greatest recommendation that can be transmitted by a scholar to posterity—far greater than the name of sorcerer, magus, exorcist, for these serve to cover many an impostor.”

It may well have been that Dr. Temple was relieved from all charge of heresy, inasmuch as he had, after all, *only seen with Lessing's eyes!* But even this would hardly suffice to explain away the difficulty that may arise hereafter on the philosophic historian when he finds that one of the organs which was most anxious to be just to Dr. Temple wrote thus of Lessing:—

“We need not tell those of our readers who are acquainted with German literature that Gotthold Ephraim Lessing was one of those early Deists who, by the doubts they sowed, prepared Germany for all the long sufferings she has since suffered” (1).

When Gervinus called Lessing “Der Grosse Wegweiser der Nation”—the great fingerpost for the safe roads—he could never have anticipated such a deliverance as this. But then, he may have missed some aspect of his subject.

2. Lessing as a poet cannot be rigidly separated from Lessing as a theologian and thinker. He drew, as we have seen, sufficient supports for both activities from the same source. It is true, as Mr. Sime says, that he employed dramatic forms in the service of a special idea in all his more ambitious works. If, in his criticism and philosophical writing, his thought constantly passes into figure and illustration, in his poetry we see him consciously adapting and gathering illustration for his thought. In one aspect his poetry may seem less spontaneous than his prose. This was doubtless what he himself meant in that modest protest he made against being taken for a poet, and must be held to explain also what a distinguished German critic meant when he said that “Nathan” should have been written in prose. But the purely critical deliverance upon his poetic productions is not fully corroborated by the common judgment; and therein lies a kind of testimony more efficient even than his own. That he could command such interest in the vehicles he adopted for his teaching is as important a point as that he had always a high lesson to convey. If didactic poetry, which in itself, like a chrysalis, carries an element of disruption and division within itself, asserts a right to a lasting place in men's regards, it can only be on account of countervailing artistic merits. This distinctly Lessing's maturer dramas have; and the typical excellences of his style unfold themselves most fully in “Nathan,” though “Emilia Galotti” exhibits best the results

of his long and careful study of stage effect, and the technicalities of the playwright's craft. It has been well said that—

“The object of ‘Nathan’ is not to institute a comparison between the three religions as to their historical genuineness or inherent worth, but solely to rebuke the bigotry of a dominant religion, and to inculcate the simple truth that no man is better for his Christian creed unless the fruits of Christianity are seen in his life. Rötcher, in his ‘Cyclus Dramatischer Charaktere,’ has also pointed out the fine dramatic antithesis of incarnating the principle of humanity in Nathan, who belonged by birth and education to the narrowest and most exclusive of religions, thus reminding the Governments whose laws recognised in an Israelite no rights which a Christian was bound to respect, that ‘our Saviour was himself a Jew.’”

Here we are once more at the point where all the varied lines of Lessing's activity may be said to meet and fortify each other.

It indicates the power of thoroughness, sincerity, and a high purpose that “Nathan the Wise” attained the honour of holding the stage in Germany. Something is no doubt due to the wise curtailment and the adaptations it received at the hand of Schiller, who reduced it to an acting play; but more—far more—to the directness with which the lesson is enforced, and the resources the author skilfully calls to his aid for this end. Mr. Taylor, of Norwich, in his translation of the play which was published in England in 1791, and which did not a little to attract the notice of English literary men of that day to the treasures of Germany, speaks of it as an “argumentative drama;” and he was in a large measure right. It is, as we have said, more a dialogue conducted with a conscious aim after truth and fairness on all sides than a drama; a dramatised romance rather than a play. It appeals to the intellect and to the sober sense of justice and right rather than to the passions, after the manner of the legitimate drama. But how transcendent the sense of effect, how clear the control of all the elements of interest admitted, and how complete the power to mould alien influences to one great purpose, is testified on the part of a man who could thus triumph, as it were, over the very conditions of dramatic art! Lessing, indeed, cast aside, and without any conscious effort in that direction, the traditions of the stage, and elevated it once again to the position of a teacher—a thing for which also he deserves gratitude.

Mr. Fronde, in speaking of the object of “Nathan” as being to teach religious toleration, condemns it as a work of art, on the ground that “nature does not teach religious toleration by any such direct method;” and he adds, that “the play is not poetry, but only splendid manufacture;” that though “the doctrine is

admirable, and the mode in which it is enforced interesting, it has the fatal fault that it is not true;" and he prophesies that "Nathan" will pass away with the mode of thought that gave it birth. But we fail to understand him fully. To teach toleration through a dramatic medium is not to enforce dogma or any abstract form, but to suggest motives for noble conduct—a thing which Shakespeare himself can hardly be absolved from having done, unless we are to reduce him to the position of the wild poet of whom Mr. Tennyson sings, "working without a conscience or an aim."

Religious toleration! What does it imply?—fairness, sympathy for others, mercifulness, the desire to think the best and to hope the best for those who think differently from us. It is the complex sum of which these are the primary elements; and have not all these been taught indirectly through the medium of dramatic creation? Did not Shakespeare teach them? Did not Ben Jonson, and do not those who still faithfully follow them in their art?

3. We have left ourselves little space in which to speak of Lessing as a critic. This, however, is the less to be regretted as the curious or interested reader will find a fair discussion of Lessing's characteristics and claims as a critic in Mr. Sime's book. He was pre-eminently sane and clear. As he was never content till he reached the fundamental principles on which any art proceeded, so he could not rest till he had made experiments in their application—and these experiments were never carried far without a reference to the life that was being lived around him. It is because Lessing never wholly lost the man in the critic that his writings are still of value for all who would follow on the same road. Schmidt has well spoken of the disease of egotistic conceit and cold self-sufficiency which is so apt to lay hold of those who keep aloof from production and devote themselves exclusively to criticism. This kind of cheap reputation had no attraction for Lessing; and the precious heritage of his life and work, exhibiting, as it does, the keenest interest in truth, as that alone which is worthy of man's highest powers, is an inalienable gift to future generations. Literary fashions may change; rules once inflexible as the laws' of the Medes and Persians may be cast aside to make way for new ones equally arbitrary; but Lessing will for ages be recognised as the inaugurator of a new era of literature and light; and the student will turn back with affection and reverence to the pages of the sturdy author of the "Laocoon" for suggestion and for refreshment. "He belongs to that class of writers whose value consists in what they suggest and inspire rather than in what they directly teach." He indeed will have utterly failed to grasp

the character of Lessing who does not perceive that what is most valuable in his criticism is not always what seems most positive in it. It is the lofty but unaffected chivalry which shines through his most trifling productions that is most to be dwelt on and admired. His thoughts were clear; he seldom judged wrongly, but his spirit was always elevated: he was ready to defend good causes, however hopeless—to protect truth, however despised. “If the student wishes to know Lessing properly,” writes one, “he must see him fighting his battles, and in these battles he is not always to contemplate chiefly the matter of the dispute, but the fine play of the muscle, the sure aim of the stroke, the position of the combatant wisely chosen and maintained with a kingly attitude. A hireling fencer he most certainly is not; but you will often be surprised, after much preparation, to see this Titan take his stand against Jove in behalf of some climbing-boy or a poor penniless beggar—some stray heroism on earth not loudly sounded, but recorded by an angel in heaven.”

ART. V.—THE INDIAN FAMINE: HOW DEALT WITH IN
WESTERN INDIA.

THE numerous papers on the Indian Famine published recently are evidence of the intense interest taken by the English public in the great dearths which affect one part or another of our Eastern possessions so often, that they seem, to those who have not fully realised the vast extent and variety of those territories, to recur with appalling frequency. It is not merely the compassion and liberality of the nation that respond to the immediate call: grave statesmen and economists strive to find, besides what may alleviate present suffering, some remedial, or rather preventative, policy which may stand us in stead for the future. This tone of mind, one eminently worthy of an imperial nation, is most faithfully represented by an able writer in the “Times” of October 16th, from whom we quote the following expression thereof. After mentioning the members of the Indian Civil Service (he might have said of *all* the Indian services) as capable of giving advice on the subject, he adds: “It is impossible to believe that their joint wisdom can do nothing for the hard problem before us, that they can

tell us only that the future must be left to take care of itself, and that, do what we will, we can shape it into nothing better than the past." This indeed is what the nation requires of its servants in India: scientific progress in the art of administration, of which the treatment of famine is unfortunately only too important a branch. We shall now endeavour to show that considerable ground has been gained in this very direction.

It is not necessary to discuss in detail the accounts which we have received from tradition of past famines in India, from those which affected the contemporaries of Yudisthira and the subjects of Ramechandra down to the three years' dearth caused or aggravated by the unscrupulous aggressions of the Emperor Alamgir on the Deccan States (of which the best accounts are to be found in the recently published seventh volume of Elliot's "History of India"), and the terrible "Dogi Bura" or "Golgotha Famine," which swept the same country (that now also most affected) in the last years of the eighteenth century. It is hardly more needful at present to treat of the great famine in Bengal under Warren Hastings' rule, or of the many less severe or more local calamities of the same sort up to the time of that which fell upon Orissa within the memory of men still very young, and raised such a storm of righteous indignation in England. For the Orissa Famine was a turning-point in the history of our subject. Up till then, the policy of Mogul and Mysorean, of the Maratha and the English Governments, had always been much the same in the same case, viz., to remit as a favour the land revenue which no earthly power could have collected; to sell grain from State shops; to distribute it gratis in not very discriminate charity, or occasionally as wages upon improvised public works, and to meddle more or less with private trade. In a long record filled with the "damnable iteration" of calamity and mismanagement now lying before us, we find only one flash of original policy which is worth transcribing. It is in a passage from a native history called the "Mirat i' Ahmadi," describing a famine at Ahmadabad in 1682: "The Suba'dar (governor) Muhammad Amin Khan, on his return with a procession on the festival of the 'Id, found himself surrounded by men, women, and children, who complained very bitterly of their condition, and who were instigated by one Shaikh Abn Bakr to abuse and lapidate the Suba'dar. His followers advanced to fight with the people, but he, fearing a riot, managed to pacify the mob, and to reach home safely. This occurrence was reported to the Emperor, who ordered that those engaged in the disturbance should be executed; but the Suba'dar was an old man, and did not lend himself to such severity. He, however, invited several persons to a feast—and quietly managed

to poison *Abn Bakr*." After which he appears to have considered himself *functus officio*.

It should indeed be said for the English officers of former generations that they not only carried out their thoroughly native famine policy with more efficiency and energy than any native Government had ever done, but did on the whole resort more to the use of public works—hardly as a scientific test, but with the view, praiseworthy as far as it went, of "getting some good out of their money." It must be remembered that even much nearer home, viz., in Ireland, the science of employing famine labour was so little understood in the Black Year, that of all the works constructed then in one large county, not half-a-dozen miles of road are of the slightest use to modern traffic. In India, as in Ireland, these incomplete and unscientific measures failed to meet the calamity, and every bad dearth counted its victims by thousands. The horrible history of the Orissa Famine is even now too recent to need recapitulation here. The next event of the sort was the famine of 1868-69, which desolated a large part of Rajputana and Central India, and was severely felt in the Deccan and Khandesh. A large part of the territory most affected on that occasion was under the rule of native princes—many of them very bad specimens of their class, at least in so far that they were, if not selfish, profoundly apathetic and ignorant, and very much in the hands of their *karbharis* or ministers, a set of people who may be appreciated by any reader who will imagine the lowest Irish middleman or English attorney, rather of a novel than of real life (in which middlemen and attorneys are rather like other men of business), stain him black, body and soul, and put him in possession of more power (within his petty local limits) than falls to the lot of many sovereign princes. The nearest European analogues could perhaps have been found within our own time about the sacred person of King Bombalino, but the animal is now fortunately as extinct in Western Europe as the comparatively innocent *cave-hyæna*. In such States the friendly advice and assistance of the English political officers could do little more good than the constant meddling of European diplomatists, "of sizes assorted," does in the Ottoman Empire, and indeed is often received in the same spirit as there. Fortunately there were exceptions among the native rulers; but in general, what they did was of little avail, and their famine-stricken subjects poured along the great routes leading into British territory in ghastly procession, too many dropping by the wayside. The management of the matter in British territory (of which the present writer was an eye-witness) showed a certain advance. The old remedies of remission of revenue and soup-kitchens-were freely used, and relief works

were set a going on a larger scale than in any previous famine. The fault of them was that they were in too many instances under "civil agency," *i.e.*, conducted by the district revenue officers, who are expected to do everything in turn, "from pitch-and-toss to manslaughter," and are often possessed of an amusing confidence in their own power to carry out these multifarious duties by the help of favoured native lieutenants, "most valuable men," the almost invariable end of whom is to be convicted of peculation and relegated to private life or penal servitude, when their special protector takes furlough or retires on his pension. A good many of the tanks built in 1868-69 don't at this day hold water; the roads of the same period don't all assist modern traffic; and in short it was generally felt that there was considerable room for improvement in famine policy. At the same time much had been gained. Relief, in British territory at least, had been efficient for the purpose of saving life;* and although the monsoon of 1869 was late and not very satisfactory in the Bombay Presidency, the country and finances rapidly recovered.

The Bombay Government too began to see the necessity of setting up the management of famines as a distinct branch of administrative science, and directed one of its ablest officers, Major Etheridge (now Colonel Etheridge, C.S.I.), to prepare a report embodying all that could be learnt about the subject in the territories under its immediate or indirect control. This was done; and the work indicated in the note † contains a curious collection of records upon the subject, to which we are much indebted.

The conclusions generally arrived at in the Bombay Presidency were—(1.) That grain wages and the import of grain on Government account were undesirable, and should only be resorted to in the event of such combination among the dealers (an event not only possible, but probable, in Eastern countries) as should constitute a still worse interference with free trade. (2.) That famine works had better be conducted by skilled engineers. Accordingly, when next, in 1872-73, a considerable part of the Presidency (and especially the district of Khandesh)

* An exceedingly good account of the measures taken in the worst part of the Central Provinces is to be found in the "Cornhill Magazine" for October last. The present writer's personal knowledge extends only to the Bombay Presidency.

† Report on Past Famines in the Bombay Presidency, compiled by Lieutenant-Colonel A. T. Etheridge, Alienation Settlement Officer, S.D. Printed for H.M. Government of Bombay at the Bombay Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay.

was visited by a severe dearth, these principles were applied with distinguished success. These were the scientific materials which lay at the disposal of Sir Philip Wodehouse, Governor of Bombay, and his councillors in the summer of 1876.

The system of administration in Bombay, as throughout India, is calculated to give early information to the highest powers of anything likely to threaten the ruling industry of the country—agriculture. The Governor in Council, through the secretaries of different departments, is in constant communication with the Commissioners; these, with the collectors or heads of districts, who assign to each of their assistants and deputies* the charge of one or more "talukas." A taluka is a division of the average size of an English county (though a favoured correspondent of the "Spectator" three years ago chose to translate it "parish," with marvellous results in the way of comparative statistics), and is immediately ruled over by a native official called a mamedar, assisted by a sort of man Friday called an "Awal karkun," or chief clerk, who discharges, as chief clerks are apt to do in regions further west, a good many functions for which his chief is nominally and primarily responsible. A mamedar is, as a magistrate, the criminal court of first instance in petty cases. As a "revenue officer," that is, in the department of general administration, he corresponds direct with the patels (maines) of the hundred or so villages (answering best to the French Communes) forming his taluka. These patels or headmen are generally of the cultivating or military castes, and are nominally assisted but really controlled by the village clerks or accountants called "kulkarni." They have under their control the village establishments of scavengers, watchmen, &c., collect revenue, and, in fact, do all the dirty work of the administration. Side by side, and in close alliance with this symmetrical system, exist the district constabulary and educational departments, and a somewhat rudimentary department of public health and vaccination, with what is called the Local Funds Department. This is more like the Irish grand jury and county cess system than anything else in the United Kingdom, and provides by low rates, chiefly levied on land, for local works, education, and health, in all which it receives some aid from the coffers of the State at large † It may be added, that the village officers, that is, the headmen, accountants, and their underlings, are, throughout the tract affected by the present

* The difference between assistant and deputy collectors is technical only, and through the rest of this paper they will be classed together as district officers.

† It is not here necessary to enter into the distinction, as regards these last, of provincial and imperial funds.

dearth, hereditary public servants. All the rest belong to a stipendiary civil service, for which it is necessary to qualify by examination. Besides all these local officials, the Bombay Government has at its command the revenue survey department, a body of land measurers and valuers necessarily well acquainted with the agricultural economy of the country.

When, therefore, early in the autumn of 1876, the collectors began to report that the state of their districts was such as to justify grave anxiety, the news came to a Government which had every reason to believe that it knew what to do, and had the means of doing it. As things grew worse, and the most serious forecasts were realised one by one, the district officers were directed in the first instance to expend their local funds on the works most calculated to meet the demand of the lowest classes for that labour which, in better times, they would have been getting in the fields. These works were carried out by the district civilians and public works engineers, who are very closely associated in the local fund system. Practically, this amounted only to beginning the ordinary works of the year at a somewhat earlier period than usual, and was rendered possible by the same circumstance which gave rise to the necessity, viz., the absence of the annual rains, which in ordinary monsoons impede the progress of works and draw off the labouring population to agriculture. It soon, however, became necessary to supplement the local funds by imperial grants; and though the use of the word "famine" was still much objected to, what is now called the Bombay Famine may be said to have begun from this period, viz., November 1876. The earlier works had been carried out with great economy; some, indeed, were finished at less than the usual cost in good years; but it was evident that as the existing stocks diminished, the number of persons needing relief would overpower the machinery of the districts, that work would become less efficient, and no longer be worth the almost full rates of pay which had hitherto been granted; in fact, that what was now on hand was to feed the people, the works being but a secondary object.*

* These views have nowhere been better formulated than by Sir Richard Temple in a Minute dated 22d January 1877, of which I subjoin extract:—
 "6. Then, as to the third objection, that $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas per diem will not enable a man to perform taskwork with all his strength, it is sufficient to reply that the task will be regulated according to the strength of the people. It will be out of the question to give high relief wages merely to get a high degree of taskwork. The relief roads and other works are undertaken not so much for their own sake, as for the purpose of affording relief. It is, of course, an object to get as much of good work as can be got. Still it is to be remembered that these operations are undertaken,

The opinion of the Bombay Government was that the relief of able-bodied persons could only be efficiently and economically carried out by a system of large works under the supervision of skilled engineers. It had already advanced as far in this direction as was in its power by placing the management of the famine under the Department of Public Works. People who are fortunate enough not to live under a bureaucracy will hardly understand how bold a piece of policy this was on the part of Sir Philip Wodehouse; for it did, to some extent, supersede his own highest assistants belonging to the Civil Service, the two members of council and the chief secretary, and it placed the whole body of revenue officers, high-spirited, able, and animated by intense *esprit de corps*, under the unwonted command of his public works secretary, General Kennedy, an officer of the Royal (late Bombay) Engineers, who was not personally popular even in his own department. Only under a strong government, trusting and trusted by its officers, would such an arrangement have failed to produce endless discontent and friction; and it is greatly to the credit of Sir Philip Wodehouse and the Bombay Civil Service that he effected, and they loyally accepted, the arrangement in question. The General, whatever had been said before of his *modus*, was well known to be *fortis in re*, and to him were largely due the method and cohesion which characterised the future proceedings of the Presidency *in re* famine. Almost his first step was to strengthen his office as regards that class of local knowledge in which it was naturally most deficient, by taking to himself as famine under-secretary a young revenue officer well acquainted with a large part of the affected districts, and already of good repute in his own branch of administration. The next step was to plunge into a paper war with no less an adversary than the Government of India. To explain this part of the business, it is now necessary to state that the powers of the Presidency of Bombay, *qua* expenditure, only extended to what sums it could raise within its own borders by certain authorised forms of local taxation (this year naturally not very productive), supplemented by a certain sum placed at its disposal yearly by the Government of India. The amount of money which it could thus command, though sufficient for the ordinary purposes of administration, was wholly inadequate to the emergency in hand, and it had there-

not because they are absolutely required in themselves, but because they afford relief. Therefore, considerations relating merely to public works must be subordinated, as I submit, to the financial consideration of disbursing the smallest sum of money consistent with the preservation of human life."

fore to show cause to the imperial financial department why the latter should loose its purse-strings. This it would naturally not do without hearing how the money was to be spent; and, upon hearing that, it proceeded "to make itself disagreeable," after the manner of purse-holders on such occasions. The Viceroy, it should be said, was away from Calcutta on tour preliminary to the Delhi assemblage, and in his absence business was transacted by his Council, with Sir Henry Norman as president, and Mr. Theodore Cracroft Hope, of the Bombay Civil Service, as its spokesman on our subject. Mr. Hope, a revenue officer of the highest repute, held, as it would seem did most of his colleagues in the Government of India, opinions very different from those prevailing at headquarters in Bombay, and not only the general famine policy, but almost every individual work, was hotly and ably debated between him and General Kennedy.

The final victory, however, remained with the latter.

Whether the Viceroy's Council was convinced by his arguments, or the return of Lord Lytton himself from the pageantry of empire at Delhi* to the more matter of fact details of business, brought his influence to bear on the Bombay side of the subject, it is certain that early in the present year the Government of Bombay received pretty nearly a *carte blanche* to draw on the imperial treasury and spend the money in its own way, and celebrated its victory by the issue of the following resolution :—

V. E. RELIEF WORKS.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES TO BE OBSERVED IN CARRYING OUT LOCAL.

No. 33 E.—103 of 1877.

Extract from the proceedings of Government in the Public Works Department, dated 19th January 1877.

Read again the following Government Resolutions and Circular Memorandum :—

Government Resolution No. 206 C. W., 1869 Local of the 21st November 1876, Circular Memorandum No. 119 F. of the 8th December 1876.

Government Resolution No. 312 C. W., 1116 Local of the 26th December 1876.

* Where he had held a consultation on famine policy with Sir P. Wodehouse, Sir R. Temple, and the Duke of Buckingham. ;

Government Resolution No. 314 C. W., 1118 Local of the 27th December 1876.

Government Resolution No. 4 C. W., 8 Local of the 3d January 1877.

Government Resolution No. 32 C. W., 49 Local of the 12th January 1877.

Resolution.—It does not appear that in all instances sufficiently effective steps have been taken to carry out the principles inculcated in these orders, *i.e.* :—

(1.) That relief shall be given to those only who absolutely need it.

(2.) That when relief is given, it shall be to the extent only of a bare subsistence.

(3.) That from relief labourers a full day's work, according to their sex and age, shall be exacted in return for the wages paid to them.

2. As regards the first point, Government direct that no person shall be received on any relief work, or shall be in any way relieved, who is obviously well-to-do, who has property of any description, or who is known to the district officers as a holder or sub-holder of land to an extent that would enable him to obtain credit, or indicate him to be the probable possessor of grain or other agricultural produce; nor one whose appearance is such, when he presents himself, as to indicate that he is not in present need of relief, but has been subsisting on means of his own. Such a person should be rejected at first, though he may be subsequently admitted, when there is reason to believe that his private means have become exhausted.

3. On the second point, the rate of wages given under existing orders have been proved by experience to be sufficient for the maintenance in health of persons performing a full day's work according to their sex and age, *i.e.*, for labourers employed by the Public Works Department on large public works, and it is therefore believed, and may be assumed, that the rates are in excess of a bare subsistence for those who do little or no work, and who, from any cause, cannot or will not exert their physical powers.

4. It is understood that on works under Civil Agency which have been provided, and which must continue to be provided, for the employment of some classes of the people, labourers will not, and cannot, be made to work properly. Government are, therefore, pleased to direct that on these works the relief wages shall be immediately reduced, and shall be fixed as follows :—

A man shall be paid at the rate of half an anna, plus the value of half a seer of eighty tolas, or one pound of grain;

A woman shall be paid at the rate of a quarter anna, plus the value of half a seer of eighty tolas, or one pound of grain; and

A boy or girl employed on the works shall be paid at the rate of the value of three-eighths of a seer of eighty tolas of grain; or, at the option of the directing officer, at the rate of a quarter of an anna, plus the value of a quarter seer of eighty tolas, or half a pound of grain.

5. This reduction is not to affect the orders already passed authorising officers in charge of works to dismiss from their works the incorrigibly idle and the disobedient, who can work for their subsistence but will not do so.

6. As regards the third point, tasks must be enforced. On works under the Public Works Department, the task should be fixed at not less than twenty-five per cent. below the task that would be required from a labourer on full wages in ordinary times (see Circular No. 119 F. of the 8th ultimo). On works under the collectors, from labourers under Class 2, as defined in Government Resolution No. 206 C. W., 869 Local of the 21st November, the tasks to be exacted should not be less than fifty per cent. below those of ordinary times.

7. As regards paragraph 4 of Government Resolution No. 312 C. W., 1116 Local of the 26th December, care must be taken that no children are relieved in the manner therein ordered, except those whose parents have been admitted to relief works under the conditions laid down in these orders.

These orders were accompanied by directions for the concentration of able-bodied labourers upon the large works which it was now in the power of the Bombay Government to undertake. The considerable custom which large collections of labourers offered immediately attracted to them a great private grain traffic; their camps were carefully laid out and organised; and arrangements made for the accommodation and treatment of the sick, and for the employment of those who, though weakly, could still do something for their bread, in special gangs on light work, or on small unimportant works, which remained for a time under the control of the revenue officers (called "Civil Agency"), though even these passed gradually over to the more appropriate management of the trained engineers. All this took time. The labourers, who had already learned how easy it was to shirk their task upon the "Civil Agency" works, at first objected strongly to the stricter discipline and low pay of the better controlled undertakings, and particularly to what was called the "distance test," which consisted in refusing employment to them close to home. There were not wanting intriguers and pseudo-philanthropists who persuaded the ignorant coolies that, if they would strike work, petition, and give enough trouble, the old system of petty works ready to their hand at their own doors, of high pay, and nominal tasks, would be forced upon the Government again. And in some districts local circumstances added to the difficulty. But by degrees things came to their level. Those who really wanted food went quietly to the works, and those whose emergencies were not so pressing, or who could earn higher rates in the open market, went off, the former to their homes, the latter to the great public works which

were being carried on independent of the famine, and on ordinary commercial principles, in Bombay and its neighbourhood, and on the Bhoré Ghat incline of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway. Many also found employment in the enormous grain trade which crowded every road and railway station. Many had already taken their cattle to the less affected districts below the Ghats, where the crops, though not first rate, had fetched high prices, and the shrewd farmers of the Konkan employed their gains in such an improvement and extension of their rice cultivation as had not been seen in any year since the American war. All this was no new or difficult matter to the hardy and thrifty population of the Northern Deccan, of which the very flower does every year so migrate, to earn at the ports, on the railways, and in the great towns, some trifle of hard cash, during the period when most fieldwork is stopped by the dry season.

In Khandesh and the South Maratha country this custom prevails less; the inhabitants are less energetic and shrewd, work is farther off, and the readjustment was slower and less complete. Still even there the relief was sensible. The grain trade was now fully organised, and prices had even fallen somewhat below the level to which panic and combination had raised them in October and November. The Government, too, had sharply warned the dealers that, though it did not wish to come into competition with them, it would not hesitate to take up their duty whenever they might fail in it, and the peace of the country and lives of the people be imperilled by their selfishness or apathy. The silver which Government was pouring into the country offered them a chance of ready-money trade such as they had never had before; the warnings of its officers, where unheeded, had been followed by such small importations of grain as sufficed to give them emphasis and secure them attention; considerable stocks of old grain were known to be still hoarded in more remote districts, and before February was over the Government of Bombay and its officers had got their famine well in hand, had lost hardly any lives, and felt themselves very well able to "pull through it," strong with the strength of discipline, mutual confidence, and the fullest co-operation of all the private thrift, energy, and charity of the country. Perhaps, except an extreme distaste for sensation and exaggeration, no part of the whole business was more characteristic than the constant exchange of "demi-official" letters, not only between neighbouring officers, but between the districts and the Government headquarters. Any one with official experience knows how great a proof of cohesion such a method of transacting business is. There were not

wanting, of course, exceptions to this rule, or to that of general zeal and intelligence; but they were very few indeed, nor did they fail to be promptly dealt with.

While all this was going on, Sir Richard Temple, delegated by the Government of India to be its eye, and ear, and voice in the stricken districts, had passed through the Presidency. The event was not of much importance there. Sir Richard, as far as could be seen, brought no new ideas with him. It was said that he had been warned before his start that the old wasteful policy of 1874 could not be repeated; but in Bombay there was no occasion for any sermon on that text, and he passed on his way with a few expressions of general commendation, and a remark or two upon his own hobby of "village inspection." He also, indeed, supported those officers who objected to the absolute remission of unleviable Government land rents ("assessment"), and preferred to let them stand over till it might be seen whether the bounty of Heaven in subsequent years would enable them to make good their default in an exceptional season. But the practice of either absolutely remitting or ruthlessly collecting the rent of Government lands was one of no old date in the Bombay Presidency. It had been introduced within late years, chiefly at the instigation of the "Budgeteer" school of financiers, whose high-stool labours it considerably simplified. Sir Richard then passed on his way complimenting and complimented, and plunged into exceedingly hot water in Madras, whereof more anon.

The hot weather began now to advance; the old grain, hoarded from previous years, began slowly to disappear from the market; the overworked and underfed* cattle sank slowly under their loads of grain; European officers began to drop out of the line of battle from like causes, and their places were supplied from wherever new ones could be got, chiefly from the ranks of the Revenue Survey. Sir Philip had another and smaller reserve in the covenanted civilians on special duty (that is, selected for, and employed on, the various odd jobs somewhat out of the regular line, which a great administration always has on hand). These, about the beginning of April, he sent into the field in a body, and presently afterwards, his term of service being up, relinquished his command to Sir Richard Temple, and departed for what doesn't seem to be a particularly grateful country, leaving behind him not one man that he had wronged, and a "famine policy" of which others are likely enough to take

* Forage traffic being a branch of trade little known to the country, the Government, with due caution, imported and sold pressed hay, which did some good in saving a few draught bullocks.

the credit. His successor, who already, as famine delegate, approved and concurred in it, has introduced only one or two modifications, neither very important nor very successful.

Towards the end of the hot weather, pestilence, hitherto not a very important factor in the problem, began to show its head. Cholera, already noted in a few places, became general, attacking, it should be noted, quite as much those who were wealthy and well fed as the labourers on the relief works, and the aged or weakly customers of the kitchen, where food was distributed gratis to those who could not be expected to earn it for themselves. Repeated thunder-showers drenched and chilled a people who in all years dispense a good deal with shelter at this season, and produced a plentiful crop of fever and dysentery. Still they gave a great impulse to garden cultivation from wells and streams; relieved the country from the growing fear of a "water famine," and seemed a hopeful presage of the coming monsoon; and in this way the month of May wore through.

The first of the annual rains were due early in June, and were looked for as the prophet's servant looked from Carmel. In many districts they failed altogether. In some, a few treacherous showers induced the cultivator to commit his scanty reserve of seed to the ground, only to watch in vain for the first green blades, or to see them just appear and then wither under the renewed drought. In a few places enough rain fell, but generally speaking, the months of June and July threatened not only "the second volume of the famine" to the districts already affected, but the extension of the calamity to Gujarat and the Konkan, which had in the previous season been able to send of their abundance to their sister provinces in distress.

Those were terrible months to man and beast. Day after day the weary and lonely district officers looked from whatever rough tents they had improvised, or from quarters taken up in some tomb, or temple, or village resthouse (for of course none were allowed to return, as in ordinary years, to their bungalows at the district headquarter stations), upon the same leaden sky lowering with treacherous promise of the rain that never came. Day after day the same howling dust-storm swept the brown plains, filling every corner, paper, and dish with sand, making food loathsome and life a burden. And day after day the local supplies gave out, the last cattle died, till in some districts supplies depended upon importation on men's heads; and in some markets whatever would keep life in man was sold at one uniform rate of 9 lbs. or less for the rupee, so far had scarcity got the better of distinctions between one grain and another. Men who had never allowed the word "famine" to pass their

lips without qualification or protest admitted that "there's no doubt about it now." *

Still the relief system held well together. Under the sliding scale, as prices rose wages rose too; and towards the last it seemed that the labourers on the works, always able to pay ready cash for their rations, were better off than many who were holding out on their private means.

The relief-kitchens were considerably increased, at first in number, and afterwards, as it was thought better to concentrate them, in size. "Relief camps," after the Madras fashion, were little used, because thought likely to be focuses for able-bodied pauperism (labourers on works, of course, were always encamped), and only the old, cripples, &c., who could not stir from their villages, were relieved at home. The famine still remained "in hand," and men only looked to their arrangements as one who looks to strap and buckle for the second heat of a race which he means to win.

The season of the early rains passed in this way, and all now depended upon the winter crop ("rabi"), and that upon the "latter rain," which was looked for as Wellington looked for Blucher. At last it came, and while men were yet wondering whether the first showers were as treacherous as those of June, they were followed by a deluge. The Great Indian Peninsular Railway was damaged; but what of that? A mass of labourers was thrown upon the injured parts of the line, and the interruption disposed of in a few hours. Men went out "just to get a good wetting again." The withered Kharif (early) crops sprang up again from their roots; seed which had not germinated forced its green blades above ground; the cultivators whose cattle had died yoked themselves to their rude implements for the second sowing; and at the moment at which we write the danger in Western India seems over. Much remains to be done and suffered, but the country has been delivered from the appalling calamity which threatened it, and the various religious communities have time to wrangle as to "whose prayers brought the rain!" The Famine Secretary, General Kennedy, and his under-secretary, Mr. Macpherson, have been seft to Madras, where, too, it is now to be hoped there is no further danger.

It remains now to count the loss. Sir Richard Temple estimates the money cost of the Bombay famine at rather under two millions sterling. The loss of life has not yet been added

* "Scarcity akin to famine" was the phrase used by the Honourable Alexander Rogers, of the Bombay Council, when speaking for the Governor at the proclamation of the Empress in Bombay, and many officers of experience used the same tone.

up in any figures accessible to me, but it may safely be said that, of the cultivating yeomanry, the bone and sinew of the country, the loss from want of food has been very small indeed. No man who would work was without the means of buying food; and the all but universal opinion of the officers concerned was that the amount procurable for their wages proved sufficient to maintain men of their calibre, doing the work demanded of them. Amongst another class, indeed, the loss of life was very great. We allude to the mendicant population, very large in India, and also to that class who, without absolutely refusing all work, prefer any other way of filling their bellies. These people persevered long in the endeavour to see for how little work they could get Government to feed them. They would spend three or four days trying to get put on the lists of a relief-kitchen; would go on a work, and be dismissed in a few days for theft, idleness, or insubordination; or would go off of themselves in the vain endeavour to find a more soft-hearted sahib. Wandering about in this way, getting gradually into a worse and worse condition, they would get overtaken by some shower, and succumb after a few hours to fever or dysentery, or would be picked up and carried into the nearest relief-kitchen or hospital, undoubtedly qualified at last for gratuitous relief. How many of them died will perhaps never be known. It is certain that, belonging as they did to no organised community, dying as they did like analogous four-footed prowlers in jungles and by lonely ways, many of their ends must have escaped registration. Nor will many be inclined to grieve much for the fate which they brought upon themselves, and which terminated lives of idleness, and too often of crime, while there is some reason to hope that the lesson has not been lost on the survivors.

The money that was spent in the struggle was chiefly spent in India, and, *pro tanto*, must have benefited the districts of supply; and a portion of it, roughly estimated to cover almost the whole expenditure for which there are not actual permanent works to show, returned to the pocket of the Government in the form of profits on guaranteed railways. The loss in cattle will probably be sufficiently made up in about four years at most; the more so, as a large part of the horned stock held in the affected districts consisted of useless brutes which would here come to the pole-axe, but which the Hindu will neither kill nor keep, and which therefore lead a wretched, unprofitable, and half-predatory life about the village streets and commons, consuming for naught the not-too-plentiful forage of the country. The immense improvements made during the past year in communications will prove the best answer of Indian financiers to the fall in silver, and will accelerate the revival of agriculture.

Altogether, it is not too much to expect that 1882 will see Western India rather the better than the worse for its famine, and ready, if need be, to apply the same remedies with all the practical improvements suggested by experience to any future calamity of the sort.

The victorious administration has not earned its triumph gratis. The terrible strain upon mind and body has sent home many civilians, engineers, medical, survey, and police officers, seriously injured in health and fortune, one or two in brain. Some have died at their work, others will never return to it. The officers of the guaranteed railways deserve special notice,—they worked double tides; and not only did their exertions render it possible to meet the demand for grain which, without a railway, no skill of the other great departments could have supplied, but their own works were particularly valuable sources of relief to men too good to be employed on mere famine works; and it may be added that the unwonted traffic caused a greater loss of life among their staff than any other department had to lament. The civilians, however, were cheered at the very hardest of the struggle by a liberal measure well calculated to improve their rate of promotion, and some method of compensating their equally deserving comrades is said to be under consideration.

It will probably be said, "If the measures which you describe have proved so successful in Bombay, how is it that in Madras we hear of nothing but starvation and discontent; that the Duke of Buckingham has had to appeal to English charity, and that the Viceroy has had to descend from the clouds of Simla to reform and almost to supersede the administration of Madras and Mysore? We hear of nothing but misery and failure, of insufficient pay and rations, and we are told that Sir Richard Temple forced all this upon the unwilling local Government and its officers."

We should hardly have approached so very disagreeable a subject if it were not forced upon us by the storm of attack upon Sir Richard and his famine policy which has raged in the Madras papers for many months, and has not been without echoes in England, especially since the Viceroy appeared in person upon the scene of action. A notable instance appears in a letter signed "Indicus" which appeared in the "Times" of October 16; and the "Madras Civilian," from whose able pamphlet we have already quoted, though he writes with studied care and moderation, evidently thinks that the terrible loss of life which has occurred* was chiefly due to the ill-judged

* The available returns show a death rate in the Madras Presidency of

economies of Sir Richard. With the personal defence of that very able officer we have nothing to do;—no man who serves Her Majesty is better able to take care of himself; and it is evident that he has already completely justified his conduct in the eyes of his official superiors. So far, however, as the policy which we have expounded is implicated, we are bound to show why it did not succeed in Madras. The fact is, that it did not there get the same fair trial; and the reasons of this were both personal and local, but chiefly the former. One of the most curious lies a good way back. The reader will probably remember the case of Mr. Leeds, a magistrate in the North-West Provinces, who was punished by Lord Lytton for passing what the latter considered too light a sentence on a Mr. Fuller. The subject has been discussed *ad nauseam* already, and we shall only remark that such severe action towards an officer who had admittedly acted within the law and to the best of his judgment, did very seriously disturb the official mind throughout India; for, apart from the constitutional question involved, no officer knowing himself fallible and unacquainted with the precise views which Government might take up upon any given matter felt himself secure from the like.

The storm was, however, subsiding, and men were getting into the opinion that such a case was not likely to occur again, when one very analogous turned up in Madras.

The Duke of Buckingham's Government passed a sentence which amounted almost to professional ruin on a Mr. Weld. We do not here propose to review this unfortunate business, or to express an opinion as to whether the Government or Mr. Weld and his local colleagues and superiors were in the right. What is certain is, that the question was so very open, that the Secretary of State's Council, an assembly of grave and reverend seniors, as little given to debate or difference as any such body in the world, divided upon it 5 to 6; one of the very Madras councillors who had punished Mr. Weld voting in the majority,—a case closely analogous to that of a judge sitting in appeal on his own judgment.

The result was a renewal of all the uneasiness which had begun to die away, and this feeling must naturally have been strongest in Madras, where alone the local Government had shown itself disposed not only to copy but to exceed the Vice-regal example. It may easily be understood how paralysing

183,000 odd over the average; from this should be deducted as due to cholera and other diseases independent of famine, probably 20,000; but probably at least 10,000 have escaped registration.

this must have been to the initiative of the district officers at an emergency which demanded the greatest mutual confidence throughout all ranks of the administration.*

The local circumstances of the two Presidencies were not dissimilar. The crops which failed were the same in both, and the people of the most severely affected Bombay districts belong to Dravidian races close akin to those of the Southern Presidency. The systems of revenue management, though differing in many details, are alike in general outline; and there is not a line in the "Madras Civilian's" six introductory pages which we might not have inserted in the beginning of this paper.

It should be said, however, that the Madras Government does not employ nearly so strong an European staff as that of Bombay, and depends a great deal on native agency. A sarcastic military officer acquainted with both said, "In Bombay, the sheristedars (head native clerks) do as much as the sahibs will let them, and in Madras the sahibs do as much as the sheristedars will let them." The remark, though not without the exaggeration inseparable from epigram, illustrates an important matter from the point of view of a shrewd external spectator. The initial steps taken were alike in both Presidencies, but here the similitude ceased once for all. For the Government of Madras, with that strange tendency to follow Northern precedent which it had shown in the Weld case, suddenly, "with the example of the Bengal Government in 1874 before them, made arrangements with a local firm in Madras for the purchase of 35,000 tons of rice."† A moment's reflection might have told them that this quantity, though quite insignificant as a food supply, was enough completely to paralyse the energies of the small local dealers, whom the Bombay Government was at that very time encouraging and stimulating by all means in its power.

At this time, the district officials had, says their spokesman, "*received little or no assistance, and it was by no means rare for one single European officer to have the sole charge of over four thousand square miles.*" A charge by no means too great

* It was stated, even after Lord Lytton had gone down to Madras, that the relief committees were near breaking down, because it was understood that Government did not wish its servants to meddle with them, and that orders had to be issued authorising them to render assistance. In Bombay, the district officers assisted, and even controlled, and, where needful, superseded, the private committees, of their own motion and without waiting for orders. These, however, were issued early in the year, for the sake of uniformity, and to define relative duties.

† "Madras Civilian," p. 9.

for a well-mounted man in time of peace and plenty, but just about 300 per cent. beyond the power of a famine officer.

The Government, however, gave up (probably under imperial pressure) its premature importations, and tried with ultimate success to restore trade. In Bellary, perhaps the worst district, prices were, towards the end of the famine, so much lower than in the not distant Bombay district of Kaladgi, that grain was actually exported thither. But the old failure to comprehend and provide for the emergency still showed itself. While Sir Philip Wodehouse and General Kennedy were organising their forces and fighting for their principles with Mr. Hope, the Duke of Buckingham was actually yachting in a Government steamer about the Bay of Bengal, airing his armorial splendours on state howdas at Delhi (whither the Bombay Governor only went for the shortest time consistent with respect to the occasion), and visiting Sir Richard Temple at Calcutta.

It is no wonder that, as the "Madras Civilian" writes (p. 13), "the distress had assumed proportions quite beyond the calculations of every one. The actual numbers on the works were four times as great as had been expected. Under these circumstances, it may be supposed that *there was as yet no uniformity of system.*" (The italics here and *supra* are ours)

"The affairs of each district and division of a district were left in the hands of the civilian in charge; and each had to select the works he thought most fitted, and to organise such a system of supervision as he was best able with the few materials at hand." Add that "the local officers" (for fear of cholera) "endeavoured to scatter them so that not more than 1500 or 2000 coolies should be at work in one place," which of course increased the difficulty of supervision to the unhappy civilians, unable, like Sir Boyle Roche's bird, to be in two places at once. This was the chaos into which Sir Richard Temple alighted in January 1877, and proceeded to preach economy. It is probable that he also preached uniformity, organisation, concentration, and a few other of the doctrines which he had seen practised with good effect in Bombay; but the fact that he did preach the reduction of wages and the grant of relief only to those in absolute need furnished a good excuse for throwing on the shoulders of that unpopular virtue, economy, all the failure due to want of initiative, of foresight, and of system. It was not his business to furnish the Government of Madras with officers to carry out the policy he recommended, but theirs to understand that more hands were required, and to apply to the Viceroy for them. A good deal has been said about his departure from the lines of 1874. We have already remarked that Sir Richard Temple's virtues, including his consistency, are not in our charge; but

surely it is unfair to taunt a statesman with a growth of mind which involves treachery to no party; and it must be well understood by this time that if Sir Richard Temple were to advocate a recurrence to the mad extravagance of the Bengal Famine at every recurrence of that calamity, he would become a very dangerous neighbour to the Indian Exchequer. The virtue of such consistency would be rather more than doubtful.

The economical policy inculcated by him, and carried out in Madras to a much less extent than in Bombay, failed just as the old extravagant policy had failed before his arrival, just as it has failed again when recurred to after his departure, because the organisation necessary to manage a famine at all was wanting; because the Government had failed to study and understand the lessons of the past half century,* and not only failed to put their house in order for the coming trial, but endeavoured with their weak and loose machinery to carry out an amount of relief which the exchequer of no State could undertake.

To recapitulate, the lessons of the Bombay Famine are, that our improved communications and wealth have put it in our power to foresee and deal with a famine by slightly reorganising and reinforcing our executive, by practising the strictest economy, and by enlisting in our aid, by encouragement and negative compulsion, all the forces of our subjects. Two distinguished writers have, since the "Times" made the remarks quoted in the beginning of this paper, come forward to show that meteorological and astronomical science can be called to our aid as sentries; and a third has well sketched out the great works which must form a part of our progress in India during the remainder of this century. British India is very young yet, and there is every prospect that, as time goes on, the gradual advance of the country will make each succeeding visitation of the sort less terrible than its predecessors.

* Even so able a writer as the "Madras Civilian" quotes Munro, who administered the ceded districts in 1803-4, as an authority upon whose example men were justified in relying in 1876. He might as well have quoted Lord Nelson in favour of the stability of the "Inflexible."



ART. VI.—CHARLES SUMNER.

Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner. By EDWARD L. PIERCE.
2 Vols. London : Sampson Low & Co. 1878.

IT is one of the accidents of political life, both in England and America, that men who in their day exercised great influence on the legislation and administration of their country never attained office, but nevertheless will stand out more prominently on the pages of history than many members of the official hierarchy even of the highest rank. The Earl of Liverpool was Premier for fifteen years. Richard Cobden was never in office at all ; yet who can doubt that when the history of the nineteenth century is read hereafter, the reformer of our commercial legislation, the first parliamentary advocate of international arbitration, will fill a far more prominent position than he whom Lord Beaconsfield called "The Arch Mediocrity." In America, Daniel Webster four times sought a nomination for the Presidency, and each time failed ; yet the name of Daniel Webster fills, and we believe will continue to fill, a far higher position in American history than the names of his rivals, General Harrison, James K. Polk, General Taylor, and Franklin Pierce, who successively filled the presidential chair of the American Union. The distinguished man whose life is now before us is another and perhaps more striking instance of the same kind. Charles Sumner was not only never President, but never even a member of any Cabinet. Webster was twice Secretary of State, but the highest posts Sumner ever held were those of United States Senator from Massachusetts, and when in the Senate, Chairman of its Committee on Foreign Relations during Mr. Lincoln's Presidency ; but in the memories of his countrymen and in the history of his time the name of Sumner stands, and will continue to stand, far higher than that of Webster. "There are," said Mr. Disraeli in reference to the death of Mr. Cobden, "some members of Parliament who, though they may not be present in the body, are still members of this House, who are independent of dissolutions, of the caprice of constituencies, and even of the course of time." We think the spirit of these words is applicable to Charles Sumner. He, next to William Lloyd Garrison, stands highest amongst that group of men and women,

"On Fame's eternal beadroll worthy to be filed,"

who were so vividly sketched by Harriet Martineau in the

pages of this Review,* who raised the slavery question out of the region of mere politics, and made it strike a far deeper-toned chord, arresting the religious feeling of the country, taking strong hold on the consciences of men, and who in the end rooted out the accursed thing from the land. The life of such a man cannot fail to be interesting. The book before us, however, gives only an account of Sumner's early career, and of his training for the public life in which he afterwards played so distinguished a part. The memoir closes with the year 1845, in which he delivered at Boston his memorable address on "The True Grandeur of Nations." "Had he died before this event," says his biographer, "his memory would have been only a tradition with the few early friends who survived him. The 4th of July 1845, a day ever memorable with him, gave him a national and more than national fame. Student though he was to the last, he now went forth from the seclusion of a scholar's chamber, well trained by self-discipline and strong in purpose and hope, to enter upon the work which God had appointed him to do" (Memoir, ii. p. 384). After this it is somewhat disappointing to find the memoir concludes with these words, "How well it was done, with what courage, perseverance, and power, is written in the fourteen volumes of his works, which begin with the effort of this day, and in the history of his country for the twenty-three years he stood in the Senate as the Tribune of human rights" (ii. p. 384). It is only, therefore, of his private life and his less memorable years that we have any account. We have found so much to instruct and interest us in these two volumes, that we can but cherish the hope that Mr. Pierce may be induced to give them their proper complement in a memoir of Sumner's public life and labours.

Charles Sumner was descended from one of the Puritan families who emigrated to America towards the middle of the seventeenth century. The Sumners first settled at Dorchester (Massachusetts), and various branches of the family remained at Dorchester and at Milton, in the same State, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They "were generally farmers, owning considerable estates in fee-simple, and blessed beyond the usual measure with large families of children." Charles Sumner's grandfather, Job Sumner, served with distinction in the War of Independence, and obtained the rank of major in the United States Army. "He was," says our author, "a man of genuine courage, adventurous spirit, and capacity for affairs, generous with his money, and faithful in all trusts. He took life merrily and rejected the severity of the Puritan standards" (i. p. 10). His son, Charles Pinckney Sumner, the father of Charles Sumner, entered Harvard College

* Westminster Review, December 1838, Art. "The Martyr Age of the United States."

in 1792, and graduated in 1796. After trying the work of a schoolmaster, he settled down to the practice of the law, and was admitted an attorney of the Court of Common Pleas at Boston in July 1801. In his early years he took an active part in politics, and was a frequent writer and speaker. His first political speech was made so far back as 1804; it was a plea for the integrity of the Union, for "a common love of all its sections, for faith in popular government, and for confidence in the national administration, and in Mr. Jefferson, its head." He was Clerk of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts for the years 1806-7 and 1810-11. In this last period he was officially associated with his early friend Joseph Story, then Speaker of the House, which office he resigned to become judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. While holding this last office he composed his "Commentaries on Equity Jurisprudence" and his other legal works, which are of the highest authority both in England and America. Mr. Sumner was married in 1810 to Relief Jacob of Hanover. Of this marriage there were issue nine children, of whom the eldest, Charles, the subject of this memoir, and his twin sister, Matilda, were born in Boston, January 6, 1811. The family seem to have been in straitened circumstances until 1825, when Mr. Sumner was appointed Sheriff of Suffolk County, which office he continued to hold until shortly before his death, which took place in 1839. He seems to have been a man of just and conscientious but rigid and cheerless nature, who imposed an iron rule at home which bore heavily on his elder sons. Charles when grown up ventured to intercede on behalf of the younger children for a milder rule. His intervention, though not altogether ineffectual, was resented, and from that time no communication passed between the father and the son. The father was a well-read lawyer, and a scholarly man for his time. "He took pains to lead his son Charles and his other children to the studies which he had himself pursued, teaching them, as their minds developed, to love history and all knowledge. Other homes enjoyed more of luxury, but his was enriched at least with the atmosphere of culture" (i. p. 28). Like most of the more educated men in Boston at that day, the elder Sumner attended an Unitarian Church, but "his religious belief was quite indefinite, and he was indulgent to all shades of doctrine." After his appointment as Sheriff, he thought himself bound to abstain from all political action; but he was always an Anti-slavery man. His papers contain abundant evidence of his strong sympathy with the Anti-slavery movement; and he was accused of allowing this sympathy to interfere with the execution of his duties as Sheriff. It was said that, in a case of reclamation of slaves under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, he permitted or connived at their escape. Accused of having expressed

his sympathy with the fugitives to their counsel, he replied, "Whether I addressed Mr. Sewall as it is said, I cannot tell; but I should be ashamed of myself if I did not wish that every person claimed as a slave might be proved to be a freeman, which is the purport of the words attributed to me" (i. p. 25). His forecast discerned the conflict in which his son was to bear so great a part. So far back as 1820, speaking to a neighbour on slavery, he said, "Our children's heads will some day be broken on a cannon-ball on this question." He was a promoter of the Common School movement, of temperance, and restrictive legislation on the liquor traffic. His wife, whose Puritan descent was indicated by her quaint Christian name, "Relief," is described as "equal, even imperturbable, in her temperament—a woman of excellent sense, and of unusual skill in domestic economies" (i. p. 30). The father did not live to see his son's public career; the mother lived through all its most striking portion, and survived the subjugation of the Rebel States.

Such were the home influences to which the childhood and youth of Charles Sumner were subject, of which we shall see abundant manifestations in his character and after-life.

After his first visit to Europe, and he had become intimate with men who had received the intellectual training, and in many cases won the honours, of Oxford and Cambridge, and who had afterwards received the further training of Parliament and the bar, he was accustomed to speak of his education as "defective."

"I hope," he wrote from Italy in 1839, "that Horace," his younger brother, "when grown up, will not smart as I do under the mortification of a defective education" (ii. p. 98).

It was during this, his first visit to Europe, and while he suffered from the imperfect way in which modern languages were taught in America, that he wrote from Venice to his and his father's friends, Judge Story and the Sumners. "Let a boy," he wrote, "acquire one thing well, and he gets a standard of excellence to which he will endeavour to bring up his other knowledge; and, moreover, he will be aware of his deficiencies by observing the difference between what he knows well and what he knows indifferently. Let the requisites for admission be doubled, and subject all candidates for degrees to a most rigid examination. We must make a beginning, and where can it be done better than at Harvard." We are glad to learn from the editor's note on this letter that in American colleges, and especially in Harvard, great changes have been made since 1839 in the direction to which Sumner then pointed.* So strongly did Sumner feel the importance of educa-

* *Ibid.*, ut supra, and note,

tion, that on his father's death he devoted whatever present or future interest he had in his father's property to the purpose of giving his sisters the best education America could afford (ii. p. 103). If Sumner's education was not equal to that which he would have received had he been sent first to an English public school and afterwards to an University, yet it was as good an education as any young American of his day and generation could receive in his own country. His father originally intended to give him a common English education only, but the boy showed a sort of instinct for classical knowledge, and of his own free will bought with a few pence he had saved a Latin Grammar and a *Liber Primus*. "He studied them privately out of school, and one morning surprised his father by appearing with the books and showing his ability to recite from them. His father, impressed perhaps by this incident, decided to put him in the classical course provided by the public schools" (i. p. 36). At the close of August 1821, Sumner was therefore entered in the Boston Latin School. At school he gave no promise of a remarkable career. "He was not," writes a schoolfellow, "always attentive to his studies at school, that is, to the specially appointed lessons in Latin, Greek, and mathematics. But we boys felt the superiority of his mind and education, though we could get above him at times in school rank. I used to look at him with wonder as I heard him talk on subjects I knew nothing of. He had a full sense of his own knowledge, yet he never intruded it upon his fellows or showed any self-conceit."

He was always thoughtful, studious, and fond of reading; little given to sports, but fond of swimming; rarely seen playing with his mates; but, while thoughtful and somewhat reserved, he was in no respect severe or unsympathetic, and was liked by his schoolfellows. His private pursuit was the study of history, reading it not in an easy, careless way, but with earnest attention, with maps spread out before him. When fourteen years old he wrote a compendium of English history from Cæsar's conquest to 1801. The schoolfellow whom we have before quoted gives us an illustration of the thoroughness of Sumner's self-education, and of his combined study of history and geography:—

"He fell into a dispute one day in the middle of the class exercises with an ill-natured teacher, who undertook to put him down for ignorance on some point of geography—a branch not studied in the school, or made the subject of examination or admission. Sumner, then about eleven years of age, replied with spirit that he could answer any question which the teacher might put to him. The teacher bethought himself a moment, and going to his table, and looking up what he esteemed a difficulty, asked him where Cumana was. The boy replied instantly

with a full and correct answer, and no further question was asked" (i. pp. 39, 40).

If Sumner's school career was not distinguished, it was sufficiently meritorious to gain several prizes; and at the close of his five years' course (August 23, 1826) he was one of six scholars who each received at the hands of John Quincy Adams, then President of the United States, the decoration of the Franklin medal. It now became necessary to choose for him some trade or profession. Owing to his limited means, the father designed him for some occupation in which he could earn his livelihood sooner than in one of the learned professions. The inclination of the future author of "The True Grandeur of Nations" was for a military life. It was thought hopeless to apply for his admission into the National Military Academy at West Point. His father therefore wrote to Captain Partridge, the head of what was called "The American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy," at Middletown, Connecticut, who had advertised that he wished to "employ" some lads in the institution. In this letter Mr. Sumner wrote:—

"My means enable me only to think of usefulness. I wish him to learn all of agriculture, arithmetic, and bookkeeping he conveniently can by a year's attendance, service, and study at your institution; also something, and as much as you think proper, in the elements of soldiership; but, sir, if I send him at all, it must be on a footing of those who seek *employment*, according to that notice of yours which I have recently read, and I wish to know, before you see him, on what terms he would probably be received, and to what employment he would probably be put that would be serviceable to you and not disagreeable to his feelings—feelings that do not incline him to become improperly a burden on you or on me, or to ordinary menial services, that would injure him in the estimation of those lads who are now his associates, among whom he is destined to earn his living, and, I hope, to sustain a respectable rank."

The change in his father's circumstances, consequent on his appointment to the shrievalty of Suffolk County, relieved Sumner from the necessity of seeking such employment. An application was now made to the Secretary of War for a West Point cadetship, but Bellona was not to have him for one of her worshippers; it was unsuccessful, and he began his studies as a freshman at Harvard College, September 1, 1826. Of his college career we find the following estimates given by fellow-students:—

"Though reasonably attentive," writes one, "to his college studies, and rarely absent from the recitations, I do not think that, as an undergraduate, he was distinguished for close application to his college studies. Having been much better fitted for college, especially in Latin and Greek, than the majority of his class, he continued to main-

tain a very high rank in both the ancient and modern languages through his whole collegiate course.

“ He stood also very well in elocution, English composition, and the rest of his theoretical pursuits. In the last year of his college course he failed in all the more abstruse and difficult mathematics.

“ His memory was uncommonly retentive, and it was sometimes said of him that he committed to memory, so as to be able to repeat by rote, some of the more difficult problems in mathematics, with but little apprehension of their import. Morally, so far as I have ever heard, his character while a member of college was without reproach ” (i. p. 5).

Another writes :—

“ Sumner had been accustomed to literary society from his youth, and was brought up among books, so that study was with him a kind of second nature. He never studied, as many young men do, for college honours, but for love of study, and for cultivating his mind—well disciplined and refined at that early age. He was by no means what, in our college days, was denominated a *dig*—one who has to study from morning till night and bring nothing to pass. In his declamations I always noticed a great degree of earnestness, with an entire freedom from any effort to make a dash. It was the same type of subdued eloquence inseparable from the man which he has often put forth on real and important actions in his public life. . . . He was a person of remarkable readiness and self-possession. He was always careful to lead an exemplary and blameless life, full of kindly feelings, and ready to say a pleasant word to all, and punctilious in all the proprieties which refined society is accustomed to observe ” (i. pp. 58, 59).

This last-mentioned characteristic led to his great social success when in after-years he visited England.

Though his college career, like his school course, was not brilliant, yet, as in the one case, so in the other, it was not without distinction. In his senior year he competed for the Bowdoin prize, the subject given being, “ The Present Character of the Inhabitants of New England, as resulting from the Civil, Literary, and Religious Institutions of the First Settlers.” He sent in his dissertation signed “ A Son of New England,” and received the second prize of thirty dollars ; these he laid out in the purchase of books, among which were Byron’s poems, the “ Pilgrim’s Progress,” Burton’s “ Anatomy of Melancholy,” Hazlitt’s “ Select British Poets,” and Harvey’s “ Shakespeare.” “ The last two ” (says his biographer, i. p. 51) “ were kept during life on his desk or table ready for use, and the Shakespeare was found open on the day of his death as he had left it, with his mark between the leaves. At the third part of “ Henry VI.” his pencil had noted the passage—

‘ Would I were dead ! if God’s goodwill were so ;
For what is in this world but grief and woe.’ ”

Those who are acquainted with Sumner's writings and speeches will not be surprised to learn that—

“The tradition is that Sumner's dissertation suffered in the comparison” (with the other essays we presume) “from its great length. Its style, while well formed, lacks the felicity of expression and fastidiousness in the choice of language which mark his compositions in mature life. In method it is manly and serious, never trivial, but wanting in condensation. [We may remark in passing, that the power of condensing was lacking in Sumner to the last day of his life.] He was, as a living class-mate remarks, too ‘full of matter.’ His citations and extracts show that he left nothing unread which could illustrate the subject, and that his reading in English literature was beyond that of most undergraduates. On the whole, the dissertation, while creditable to his industry and thoughtfulness, does not foreshadow a distinguished career as a writer. Although doing justice to the Puritans in many respects, he dwells with some impatience on their narrowness and religious eccentricities” (i. p. 56).

Macaulay's essay on Milton had appeared, of course anonymously, in the “Edinburgh Review” of August 1825, and bearing in mind the antipathy which, as we shall see, Sumner afterwards felt towards Macaulay, it is curious to note that Sumner, in his dissertation, slightly refers to Macaulay's essay as “the apotheosis of the Puritans in the pages of one of the British journals” (*ibid.*, note 1). Later in life, when bearing the labour and heat of the Anti-slavery conflict, and “dealing with the great issues of right and duty,” his views of the Puritan Fathers of his State became modified, and his speech at the Plymouth Festival in 1853, “The Finger-point from Plymouth Rock,” as it is called in his collected works, is a graceful and eloquent tribute to their stern and rugged virtues (*ibid.*, note).

At this time the people of Boston were generally primitive in their mode of living, and the town was more like a large village than a city. In accordance with the simple habits of his neighbours, Sumner, during a vacation tour, travelled on foot. In 1829 he, with four class-mates, travelled, “with knapsacks on their backs and umbrellas in their hands,” to Lake Champlain. More than thirty years afterwards, at a dinner at Northampton of the Hampshire County Agricultural Society, he thus described this tour. The extract is a good specimen of his later style of speaking:—

“I cannot forget the first time that I looked upon this beautiful valley, where river, meadow, and hill contribute to the charm. With several of my class-mates I made a pedestrian excursion through Massachusetts. Starting from Cambridge, we passed by way of Sterling and Barre to Amherst, where, arriving weary and footsore, we refreshed

ourselves at the evening prayer in the college chapel. From Amherst we walked to Northampton, and then, ascending Mount Holyoke, saw the valley of Connecticut spread out before us, with river of silver winding through meadows of gold. It was a scene of enchantment, and time has not weakened the impression it made. From Northampton we walked to Deer Field, sleeping near Bloody Brook, and then to Greenfield, where we turned off by Coleraine, through dark woods and over hills to Bennington in Vermont. The whole excursion was deeply interesting, but no part more so than your valley. Since then I have been a traveller at home and abroad, but I know no similar scene of greater beauty. I have seen the meadows of Lombardy, and those historic rivers the Rhine and the Arno, and that stream of Charente which Henry IV. called the most beautiful of France; also those Scottish rivers so famous in legend and song, and the exquisite fields and sparkling waters of Lower Austria, but my youthful joy in the landscape which I witnessed from the neighbouring hilltop has never been surpassed in any kindred scene. Other places are richer in the associations of history, but you have enough already in what nature has done without waiting for any further illustration" (i. p. 70).

The history of Sumner's college career is thus summed up by Mr. Pierce:—

"If, when entering college, he aspired, as there is reason to believe, to high rank in his class, he soon gave up any ambition of this kind. He studied well such text-books as he liked, neglecting the rest. If he did not outrank others in the appointed studies, he had no rival in his devotion to miscellaneous literature. He delighted in Scott's novels, but most of all in Shakespeare, from whom he was perpetually quoting in conversation and letters. No student of his class when he left college had read as widely. His memory, both of thought and language, was remarkable, and he imitated with ease an author's style. Most of Sumner's class-mates do not appear to have anticipated for him more than ordinary success in life, but those who knew him best were impressed with his love of books, and with something in his tone and manner which gave assurance that he would make his mark in the world. This feeling grew stronger near the end of his college course, and particularly after the announcement of his successful competition for a Bowdoin prize" (i. p. 40).

Sumner passed the year following his leaving college at home, studying many hours daily, and keeping aloof from society. Mathematics, to which, as already stated, he gave very little attention in college, he now felt to be a necessary part of a complete education, and he therefore determined to overcome his deficiencies, but he does not seem to have kept up the study more than five months. He was undecided as to what profession he should follow. A very short experience of what he termed "the harassing, throat-cutting, mind-dissolving duties, pounding knowledge into

heads which have no appetency for it, and enduring the arguing of urchin boys, and all those other ills to which schoolmaster flesh is heir," convinced him that that was not his vocation. He became warmly interested in "the great and good cause of Anti-masonry," on which subject the American mind was at that time much agitated.

He continued the practice of literary composition, and gained a prize from the "Boston Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge" for an essay on commerce. The prize took the form of Lieber's "Encyclopædia Americana," valued at thirty dollars. It was presented to Sumner by Daniel Webster, the president of the society, and then United States senator for Massachusetts. In announcing Sumner to a meeting of the society as the winner of the prize, Webster remarked that "the public held a pledge of him," and added other kindly expressions. Neither of them thought at that time that the pledge would be afterwards redeemed by Sumner succeeding Webster in the Senate, and acquiring a purer and more enduring fame than his. At length Sumner decided on the law as his profession. The spirit in which he entered on his legal studies appears in a letter from which we make this extract :—

"Your method and application are to me an assurance that the studies of the law office will be fruitful; but excuse the impertinence of a friend. I fear that Blackstone and his train will usurp your mind too much, to the exclusion of all cultivation of polite letters. The more I think of this last point, the more important it seems to me in the education of a lawyer. 'Study law hard,' said Pinckney, 'but study polite letters as hard.' So also says Story. The fact is, I look upon a *mere* lawyer, a reader of cases and cases alone, as one of the veriest wretches in the world. Dry items and facts, argumentative reports, and details of pleading, must incrust the mind with somewhat of their own rust. A lawyer must be a man of polish, with an *omnium gatherum* of knowledge. There is no branch of study or thought but what he can summon to his aid, if his resources allow it. What is the retailer of law facts by the side of the man who invests his legal acquisitions in the fair garments of an elegantly informed mind? Every argument of the latter is heightened by the threads of illustration and allusion which he weaves with it. Besides, it is more profitable as to legal knowledge for a student to devote but a portion of his time to the law. A continued application to it would jade the mind, so that it would falter under the burden imposed by its own ardour. There must be a relaxation for a scholar, which will be found in a change of studies" (i. p. 87).

~Such was his advice to his friend, and such was the manner in which he himself studied the law, but he felt that the minutest business details of the profession must also be mastered.

"My own reflections," he wrote to the same friend, "and the advice of others, tell me that it is better to study with one whose business is other than that of a counsellor. The drudgery, writ-making, &c., of an office is what a young student ought to undergo. Give me my first year and a half in the entirely theoretical studies of a law school, and my remainder in a thronged business office, where I can see the law in those shapes in which a young lawyer can alone see and practise it. It is years which make the counsellor" (i. p. 87).

With these views and feelings Sumner joined the Law School at Harvard University, 1st September 1831. The professors were at that time Mr. Justice Story and John H. Ashmun. Story's learning, copious speech, enthusiasm for the profession, and kindly interest in the students under his care, are well known. Ashmun, who died during Sumner's course, is stated to have been remarkable for his acumen and logical method. He "insisted always on definiteness of thought and exactness of expression, and was in the habit of testing the knowledge of his favourite pupils by close scrutiny and criticism" (i. p. 90). This was exactly the discipline which Sumner, with his disposition to too diffusive study, required. We have mentioned the official connection and the personal friendship which existed between Mr. Justice Story and the elder Sumner. A still more intimate friendship sprung up between the Judge and Charles Sumner. "I have in some sort," wrote the Judge to him, "as the Scotch would say, an heritable right to your friendship." "The Judge admired Sumner's zeal in study, enjoyed his society, and regarded him like a son. Sumner conceived a profound respect for the Judge's character and learning, and was fascinated by his personal qualities. This friendship entered very largely into Sumner's life, and for many years gave direction to his thoughts and ambition" (i. p. 91).

On the death of Ashmun, Simon Greenleaf succeeded to the vacant professorship. His treatise on the "Law of Evidence" is as well known and as highly estimated in England as in America. Professor Greenleaf's interest in Sumner was hardly second to Story's, and his friendship for him continued long after his connection with the Law School had ceased. The elder Sumner gave a much needed caution to his son. "Charles, while you study law, be not too discursive. Study your prescribed course well. That is enough to make you a lawyer. You may bewilder your mind by taking too wide a range" (i. p. 98). Some of his surviving fellow-students recall that he was not thought to have "a legal mind." On the other hand, Lord Brougham, a few years after this time, said "that he had never met with any man of Sumner's age of such extensive legal knowledge and natural legal intellect," and predicted "that he would prove an honour to the American bar" (ii. p. 83, notes).

The remark has been made, and we think with justice, that his writings, both in his early and his later years, show that he preferred to write upon the literature of the law rather than upon the law itself. "He is," wrote one of his friends to another, "to the law what he used to be to history, a repertory of facts to which we might all resort" (i. p. 99). His memory was not less extraordinary than his industry. Story said of him, "He has a wonderful memory; he keeps all his knowledge in order, and can put his hand on it in a moment." During his course in the Law School he acted as librarian, and successfully competed for a Bowdoin prize offered to resident graduates for the best dissertation on the theme, "Are the most important changes in society effected gradually, or by violent revolutions?" The spirit in which he dealt with his subject may be inferred from the motto prefixed to his essay, taken from the "Agricola" of Tacitus, "Per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum" (i. p. 95). "The dissertation," says Mr. Pierce, "bears the marks of haste in composition and is marred by digressions. . . . While not falling below the similar efforts of clever young men, it is not prophetic of future distinction" (i. pp. 105-107).

He studied so severely and continuously that his friends feared that his health would fail.

He now began a career as an author. While still at the Law School he contributed two articles on legal subjects to the "North American Review," and he also sent to the "American Jurist" the first of a long series of contributions. The "Jurist" was a law periodical of high rank, and numbered among its contributors many men of eminence at the American bar. The subject of Sumner's first contribution was a review of a lecture at King's College, London, by Professor J. J. Park, on "Courts of Equity." It defined at some length, and with happy illustrations, the distinction between law and equity, and is described by Story, in his "Equity Jurisprudence," as a "forcible exposition of the prevalent errors on the subject," and "as full of useful comment and research."

Mr. W. W. Story, the Judge's son, supplies an interesting sketch of Sumner at this time, from which we make the following extract:—

"He had little imagination or fancy, and better loved strong, manly sentiments and thoughts within the range of the understanding, and solid facts and statements of principles. . . . He was without all those tastes which are almost universal with men of his age. As for dancing, I think he never danced a step in his life. Of all men I ever knew at his age, he was the least susceptible to the charms of women. . . . It was in vain for the loveliest and liveliest girl to seek

to absorb his attention. . . . Though he was an interesting talker, he had no lightness of hand. He was kindly of nature, interested in everything, but totally put off his balance by the least *persiflage*, and if it was tried on him, his expression was one of complete astonishment. He was never ready at a retort, tacked slowly like a frigate when assaulted by stinging feluccas, and was at this time almost impervious to a joke. He had no humour himself, and little sense of it in others; and his jests, when he tried to make one, were rather cumbrous. But in plain sailing no one could be better or more agreeable. He was steady and studious, and though genial, serious in his character. . . . I do not think in his earlier years he had any great ambition. *That* developed itself afterwards. Circumstances and accidents forced him forward to the van, and he became a leader terribly in earnest. He had the same high-mindedness, the same single aim at justice and truth, the same inflexible faith and courage then, that ever after characterised him."

We may add to this sketch, that neither while at College or at the Law School did Sumner show any signs of that power of public speaking which he displayed in his later years. On the contrary, in his appearances at the Moot Courts and the debating society connected with the Law School, he showed a want of such power. He was not fluent in speech, and felt a difficulty in selecting fit words to express his thoughts. A friend whom he consulted on this subject advised "a simpler style, with less effort and consciousness, and the rejection of large words, *sesquipedalia verba* (to which you know you are addicted), and uncommon, brilliant, and Gibbonic phrases. . . . You do not stumble, you utter rapidly enough. To be sure, you have not the *torrens dicendi*, and that is a very fortunate thing" (i. p. 94).

From his letters of this period we make this extract, on account of its prediction of the civil war, not, however, to be fulfilled until nearly thirty years had elapsed. The proclamation referred to is President Andrew Jackson's of December 1832, upon the occasion of the ordinance passed by South Carolina nullifying, so far as that State was concerned, an Act of Congress.

"We are truly in a sad state. Civil war, in a portentous cloud, hangs over us. South Carolina, though the sorest part of our system, is not the only part that is galled. Georgia cannot stomach the high Federal doctrines which the President has set forth in his proclamation, and upon which the stability of the country rests. That is a glorious document, worthy of any President. Our part of the country rejoices in it as a true exposition of the Constitution, and a fervid address to those wayward men who are now plunging us into disgrace abroad and misery at home" (i. p. 117).

The Rev. Dr. Osgood, a well-known minister of the Unitarian

Church at New York, who saw a good deal of Sumner while a law student, writes of him—"He had great strength of conviction on ethical subjects, and decided religious principle; and yet he was little theological, much less ecclesiastical" (i. p. 117). Sumner's religious opinions at this time—which, so far as we know from these volumes or otherwise, he never changed—are expressed in a letter to a friend, then a student at Andover Theological Seminary, who had written pressing the Christian faith on Sumner's attention.

"I attended Bishop Hopkins's lectures, and gave to them a severe attention. I remained, and still remain, unconvinced that Christ was divinely commissioned to preach a revelation to man, and that he was intrusted with the power of working miracles. But when I make this declaration, I do not mean to deny that such a being as Christ lived and went about doing good, or that the body of precepts which have come down to us as delivered by him were so delivered. I believe that Christ lived when and as the Gospel says; that he was more than man—namely, above all men who had as yet lived, and yet less than God; full of the strongest sense and knowledge, and of a virtue superior to any which we call Roman, or Grecian, or Stoic, and which we best denote when, borrowing his name, we call it *Christian*. I pray you not to believe that I am insensible to the goodness and greatness of his character. My idea of human nature is exalted when I think that such a being lived and went as a man amongst men. And here, perhaps, the conscientious unbeliever may find good cause for glorifying his God, not because He sent his son into the world to partake of its troubles and be the herald of glad tidings, but because He suffered a man to be born, in whom the world should see but one of themselves, endowed with qualities calculated to elevate the standard of attainable excellence. . . . I do not think that I have any basis for faith to build upon. I am without religious feeling. I seldom refer my happiness or acquisitions to the Great Father from whose mercy they are derived. Of the first great commandment, then, upon which so much hangs, I live in perpetual unconsciousness—I will not say disregard, for that perhaps would imply that it was present to my mind. I believe, though, that my love to my neighbour—namely, my anxiety that my fellow-creatures should be happy—and disposition to serve them in their honest endeavours, is pure and strong. Certainly I do feel an affection for everything that God has created, *and this feeling is my religion*. 'He prayeth well who loveth well both man and bird and beast,' he adds. "I ask you not to imagine that I am led into the above sentiment by the lines I have just quoted, the best of Coleridge's 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner,' but rather that I seize the lines to express and illustrate my feeling" (i. p. 118, conf. ii. pp. 261-267).

This frank confession of unbelief would certainly have excluded its maker from any of the churches of the Old World or the New;

but if, instead of the creeds and standards of the churches, we take the saying attributed to the author of Christianity, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another" (John xiii. 45), or the test of character by which he proposed to test mankind at the final judgment (Matt. xxv. 31-46), there can be no doubt that Jesus himself would have owned Charles Sumner as one of his disciples in preference to many a rigidly orthodox follower of Luther or of Calvin.

It would appear from a letter to his brother George, written on the death of their sister Mary, that Sumner was a believer in human immortality (ii. p. 321).

In January 1834, Sumner entered as a student the office of Mr. Rand of Boston, a lawyer of great practice and extensive learning, and possessed of a remarkably well-stored library. The drudgery of an office was little to Sumner's taste, and his time was mostly devoted to the composition of articles for the "American Jurist." In the May following he became one of its editors, and contributed more than one hundred pages to the July number. On one of his articles a friend made this critical remark, which was probably applicable to them all, "Your article on replevin was learned, and well and logically expressed. It was an extraordinary article for a young man, but it is not practical. You seem to delight in the speculative in the choice of your articles." His office and literary work was varied by visits to Washington and Philadelphia. At Washington, the friendship of Story secured him unusual civilities from the judges of the Supreme Court, and he made the acquaintance of many eminent members of the bar, as well as of other persons. One of these was Dr. Francis Lieber, a German settled in America, with whom Sumner during the part of his life related in these volumes kept up a constant correspondence. One of his Washington acquaintances "went so far at the time as to predict for him the highest judicial station, unless he should be diverted by literary tastes."

A lady thus describes his appearance and rather eccentric manners at this time:—

"When he came to Philadelphia in 1834, he had finished his course at the Law School, I think; but had almost put out his eyes with hard study, and was forced to come away for rest. He was then a great, tall, lank, creature, quite heedless of the form and fashion of his garb, unsophisticated, everybody said, and oblivious of the propriety of wearing a hat in a city, going about in a rather shabby fur cap, but the fastidiousness of fashionable ladies was utterly routed by the wonderful charm of his conversation, and he was carried about triumphantly and introduced to all the distinguished people, young and old, who then made Philadelphia society so brilliant. No amount of honeying, however, could then affect him. His simplicity, his perfect natural-

ness, was what struck every one, combined with his rare culture and his delicious youthful enthusiasm" (i. p. 127).

Sumner was not impressed by the national capital. His description of Washington is from all accounts as true now as it was when written forty-three years ago. He writes to his parents—

"Here I am in the great city, or rather the city of great design, of spacious and far-reaching streets, without houses to adorn them or business to keep them lively, with a Capitol that would look proud amidst any European palaces, and with whole lines of houses which resemble much the erections at Cambridge port and Lechmere point—poor stunted houses, with stores beneath and boarding above.

"There is nothing natural in the growth of the city. It only grows under the hotbed culture of Congress. There is no confluence of trade from different parts of the country, and no natural, commercial, or manufacturing advantage to induce persons to live here. So, for ought I see, it must for ever remain as it is now—a place of winter resort, as the Springs are of summer resort, and be supported entirely by travellers and sojourners."

While travelling to Washington, he for the first time saw a sight which produced on him an ineffaceable impression. This impression moulded his after-career.

"For the first time I saw slaves, and my worst preconception of their appearance and ignorance did not fall as low as their actual stupidity. They appear to be nothing more than moving masses of flesh, unendowed with anything of intelligence above the brutes. I have now an idea of the blight upon that part of our country in which they live" (i. pp. 133, 134).

How strong the Puritan traditions and influences still were in Boston in Sumner's youth appears from the contrast he draws between a Boston and a Washington Sunday, on which day he dined *en famille* with the judges of the Supreme Court.

"Sunday here is a much gayer day than with us; no conversation is forbidden, and nothing which goes to cause cheerfulness, if not hilarity. The world and all its things are talked of as much as on any other day" (i. p. 137).

With no forecast of the part he was to fill in the Legislature, he writes to his friend Professor Greenleaf—

"I probably shall never come to Washington again, and therefore I shall do myself best service by making the most of this visit. I wish to become acquainted with the manner and appearance of those gentlemen whose speeches I am to read for some years, and with whose fame the country rings from side to side.

"Notwithstanding the attraction afforded by the Senate, and the newspaper fame which I see the politicians there acquire, I feel no envy therefore, and no disposition to enter the unweeded garden in which they are labouring, even if its gates were wide open to me; in

plain language, I see no political condition that I should be willing to desire, even if I thought it within my reach—which, indeed, I do not think of the humblest" (i. p. 141).

On Sumner's return from Washington, Story offered him an appointment as instructor at the Harvard Law School—in fact, Story and Greenleaf seemed to have had a strong determination to have Sumner not only as their colleague, but as one of their successors at that Law School (i. p. 150).

Sumner, however, declined the proffered appointment, and at the beginning of September 1834, being then aged twenty-three, he was, after a recommendation by the bar of Worcester County, admitted an attorney of the Massachusetts State Court of Common Pleas.* On this occasion, with prophetic insight, the same friend whose criticisms on Sumner's speeches and writings we have already quoted wrote of him—

"Let me speak plainly what I discern and feel. You are not rough-shod enough to travel in the stony and broken road of homely, harsh, everyday practice. You were neither made for it by the hand of nature, nor have you wrought and fashioned yourself to it by that less cunning but still most potent artificer, practice. All your inclinations (I but see, through a glass darkly) and all your habits set you on with a strong tendency towards a green eminence of fame and emolument in your profession; but you are not destined to reach it by travelling through the ordinary business of a young lawyer in the courts" (i. p. 128).

For the next three years Sumner followed his profession at Boston, and in June 1835 he was appointed by Story a Commissioner of the United States Circuit Court, and reporter of "Story's Opinions" in that court. In the winters of 1835, 1836, and 1837, he gave instruction at the Law School in Story's absence.

"In the last of these periods he had the chief responsibility of the school in the absence of both Story and Greenleaf. As a teacher he did not make a strong impression of any kind on the students, but he appears to have realised a fair measure of success for so young a lawyer." During these years he also continued in the editorship of the "American Jurist," to which also he was a constant contributor, and in other literary labours, mostly of a legal kind, he was abundant. "My labours in the 'Jurist,'" he wrote, "are pressing and heavy, and lack the exciting stimulus of pecuniary profit. Indeed, I fear that exertions like mine will meet with very slight return in the way of this world's gear" (i. p. 167). But in Sumner's case, as in Macaulay's, "the pleasure of writing paid

* It will be remembered that in America there is not the distinction which exists in England between "the bar" and "solicitors" or the more ancient and honourable but now abolished order of attorneys, of whom the writer may say, "*Quorum pars minima fui.*"

itself,"* and he loved law and knowledge for their own sakes. He wrote to a young lawyer whom he had recommended for editor of some law cases—

"Don't regard the money as the pay. It's the knowledge you will get—the stimulus under which your mind will act, when you feel that you are reading law for a *purpose* and an *end* other than the bare getting of information, every spur and ambition exciting you. Depend upon it, no engraver will trace the law on your mind in such deep characters" (i. pp. 167-169).

"Sumner," at this period, writes Pierce, "succeeded as well as the average of young lawyers, but he did not step into a lucrative practice, nor obtain the business which, with his laborious studies and many friends, he had expected. He was too much absorbed in amateur studies to become a shrewd and ready practitioner, and his mind, while so employed, was less inclined to the petty details of an office. His engagement at the Law School for the first three months of the year—the busiest season for a lawyer—seriously invaded the regularity of office hours, keeping him at Cambridge every alternate day at some seasons. Clients are quick to detect such departures from the professional routine, and prefer some painstaking attorney who is always to be found at his desk. But while with continuous devotion to the profession he would doubtless have attained a very respectable rank at the bar, it may be questioned whether he had the qualities which draw to a lawyer 'litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees.' According to tradition, he weighted his arguments with learning where only a skilful handling of testimony would have been most effective; and was not gifted with the quickness of perception which is as essential in the court-room as in the field. His tastes and qualities of mind fitted him rather for a position as judge or teacher, where his chief duty would be the exposition of the principles of the law. But he expressed no discontent with his profession, and certainly had no thought of leaving it. His enthusiasm in the study of jurisprudence as a science was unabated" (i. p. 149).

He still gave no promise of distinction as an orator, while amongst his acquaintance several men, no older than himself, had already won public favour on the platform. At this time, too, he was persuaded for the first and only time to venture some money in a speculation. He lost all he invested, but he comforted himself under his disappointment with the reflection, that, "if he had lost money, he had gained experience." "I have learned," he wrote to a friend, "a valuable lesson; money and business dissolve all the ties and bonds of friendship."

During these years also he continued to increase his acquaintance. Through Story he became acquainted with the Judge's class-mate, Dr. Channing, whose book on Slavery was published in 1835. The influence which this great and benevolent man had on Sumner's after-life is hardly to be overrated. "He was my

* *True Letters to Napier, Life*, vol. i. pp. 452-464.

friend," Sumner wrote on occasion of Channing's death, "and I may almost say my idol for nearly ten years. For this period I have enjoyed his confidence in no common way." One of Sumner's published orations, "The Philanthropist" (Works, i. 284-298), is a tribute to the memory of his revered friend. At this time Sumner was not in general society nor a visitor at many houses. His most intimate associates were a group of young men of his own age who called themselves "the Five of Clubs." All, says Mr. Pierce, achieved an honourable place in literature, but of them, besides Sumner, so far as we know, only H. W. Longfellow has gained any fame on this side of the Atlantic.

"The 'Five' came together almost weekly, generally on Saturday afternoon. They met simply as friends, with common tastes and the fullest sympathy with each other, talking of society, the week's experiences, new books, their individual studies, plans, and hopes, and of Europe, which Longfellow and Cleveland had seen, and which the others longed to see. They loved good cheer, but observed moderation in their festivities. A table simply spread became a symposium when Felton [professor of Greek at Harvard University], with his joyous nature, took his seat amongst his friends; and the other four were not less genial and hearty. There was hardly a field of literature which the one or the other had not traversed, and they took a constant interest in each other's studies. Each sought the criticism of the rest upon his own book, essay, or poem, before it was given to the public. Their mutual confidence seemed to know no limit of distrust or fear of possible alienation; and they revealed, as friends do not often reveal, their inner life to each other" (i. p. 161).

At this period, unlike most young lawyers, Sumner still took no interest in politics; but his letters show that his spirit was beginning to be stirred within him on the slavery question.

"You," he writes (January 1836) to his constant correspondent, Francis Lieber, "are in the midst of slavery. . . . What think you of it? Should it longer exist? Is not emancipation practicable? We are becoming Abolitionists at the North fast. The riots, the attempt to abridge the freedom of discussion, Governor M'Duffie's message, and the conduct of the South generally, have caused many to think favourably of immediate emancipation who never before inclined to it." And again, to the same friend in 1837, "Miss Martineau's book * will be published in a few days, and will make the feathers fly. From the extracts published in the papers, her work will be of a most decided character, mowing to the right and left with keenness and effect. I hope her castigation will do good. Already calumny has

* Miss Martineau had made the acquaintance of Sumner and his friend Hillard when in the States, and pronounced them to be "glorious fellows."

beset her amongst us, and she is classed with Hall and Trollope. Her comments on slavery are said to be scorching. I do not regret this. I hope through her some truth may reach the South. Perhaps her book may be burned by the hangman; certainly it will be placed on the *Index expurgatorius* of the South. I wonder that your free spirit can endure the bondage to which opinion at the South must subject you, tying your tongue and taming all your expressions" (i. pp. 173, 191).

We make one more extract from the letters of this period, because it contains Sumner's opinion on a matter interesting to English lawyers, and his opinion strikes us as singularly weighty. Writing to Professor Mittermaier, of Heidelberg, respecting the proposed codification of the law of Massachusetts, he says—

"Among us the *codification* proposed is simply *revision* and *redaction*—the reduction of a portion of the vast mass of decided cases (*Jurisprudence des arrêts*) to a written text, thus establishing, as it were, a stratum of *written* law, which will give firmness and solidity to that portion which remains unwritten. By such a course, it seems to me that we in a great degree avoid the evils pointed out by Savigny and the Historical School. We still preserve the historical features of the law, not presuming to frame a new system from *new* materials, without consulting the previous customs, habits, and history of the country. The error of Jeremy Bentham and of John Locke was in supposing that they in their closets could frame *de novo* a code for the people. Locke prepared a code a century ago for one of the North American Colonies, which proved a signal failure" (i. p. 189).

Here is another noteworthy passage from a letter written about this time to his friend Lieber—

"I yesterday talked with Fletcher (member of Congress and afterwards a judge) about your 'political ethics.' We debated the question whether a citizen should be obliged under a *penalty* to vote, as he is to serve on the jury. If voting be a duty and not a privilege, should not the duty be enforced by law? At our recent election two of our wealthiest citizens, whose position is mainly accorded on account of their wealth, declined voting. Their immense property was protected by the law, and yet they would not interfere or assist in the choice of the law-makers. I wish you would ponder this question for your book. I promised Mr. Fletcher that he should some day read a solution of it from your pen" (i. p. 205).

It may one day be necessary for English Parliamentary Reformers to consider this question.

We wish we had space to transfer at length to our pages a letter to a law student, containing most admirable advice how to study law as a science. Should this review fall into the hands

of any of that class of students, we trust it may induce them to study the letter itself. We have room only for these extracts—

“Let me suggest that you should not hesitate to propose to yourself the highest standard of professional study and acquirement. . . . Keep the high standard in your mind’s eye, and you will certainly reach some desirable point.”

“I am led to make these suggestions from knowing, from my experience with law students, that the whisperings of their indolence, and the suggestions of practitioners with more business than knowledge, lead them to consider that all proper professional attainments may be stored up with very slight study. I know from observation that great learning is not necessary in order to make money at the bar, and that, indeed, the most ignorant are often among the wealthiest lawyers; but I would not dignify their pursuit with the name of a profession: it is in nothing better than a trade. . . . Pursue the law as a science, study it in books, and let the result of your studies ripen from meditation and conversation in your own mind. Make it a rule never to pass a phrase or sentence or proposition which you do not understand. If it is not intelligible—so indeed that a clear idea is stamped upon your mind—consult the references in the margin and other works which treat of the same subject, and do not hesitate, moreover, to confess your ignorance or inability to understand it, and seek assistance from some one more advanced in the pursuit.”

Our remaining extract illustrates the tendency of Sumner’s mind to study and write on the literature about the law rather than the law itself:—

“Diligently study the characters of reporters and judges. . . . I assure you it is of comparatively easy accomplishment to familiarise yourself with the character of every reporter, and of all the important judges in English history. To this end read legal biography wherever you can lay your hands upon it. . . . Study legal bibliography; acquaint yourself with the time of publication of every legal work, and the repute in which it has been held; examine its preface, and look at the book itself, so that you may have it bodily before you whenever you see it referred to” (i. pp. 206, 209).*

Sumner had long been desirous of visiting Europe, and especially England. He said, “The visions of boyhood and of the lengthened shadows of youth and manhood will then be realised, and I shall see what has so often filled my mind and imagination.” “My journey,” he wrote to a friend, “will not be peculiarly legal. I shall aim to see *society* in all its forms which are accessible to me; to see men of all characters, to observe institu-

* Sumner afterwards edited Vesey Junior’s Reports, adding valuable biographical notes, of which specimens will be found in *Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 284, *et seq.*

tions and laws, to go circuits, and attend terms and parliaments, and then come home and be happy" (i. p. 192).

Towards the close of 1837 he proceeded to carry out his design. It was a bold venture for one in his position. "In going abroad," he writes in his journal, "at my present age, and situated as I am, I feel I take a bold, almost a rash, step. One should not easily believe that he can throw off his clients and whistle them back, as a huntsman does his pack. But I go for purposes of education, and to gratify longings which prey upon my mind and time" (i. p. 214).

He had not saved enough out of his professional income to pay the expense of the journey, far more expensive then than now, for as yet no passenger steamer had passed between the Old World and the New, and the railway systems both of England and the Continent were in their early infancy. Indeed, it is doubtful whether even that term was then applicable to the Continental railway system. What was lacking in his own resources was made up by loans generously offered by Story and other friends. It was not without serious misgivings that Story and Greenleaf saw their friend and former pupil set out for Europe. "They feared—an apprehension well founded—that the foreign experiences he counted upon would wean him from his profession. President Quincy [of Harvard University], in a parting interview, touched his sensitiveness by telling him rather bluntly that all Europe would do for him would be to spoil him, sending him home with a moustache and cane,—a remark meant in kindness, but with Sumner's reverent regard for the President, disturbing him for months afterwards whenever his memory recurred to his vacant law office" (i. p. 199). The fears of his friends that he would return from Europe spoiled were unfounded. Sumner, in the first entry made in the journal which he kept during his tour, expressed "an unabated determination on his return to devote himself faithfully to the duties of an American."

He was unusually fortunate in obtaining letters of introduction to many members of the English aristocracy, of the bench and of the bar, as well as to men of letters, and through his friend Lieber to several distinguished foreign jurists. His friend Mr. James A. Wortley (the late Recorder of London), truly said of his English tour, "You have had better opportunities of seeing all classes of society, and all that is interesting amongst us, than any other of your countrymen" (ii. p. 140).

It is the extracts from the letters he wrote and the journal he kept during this tour, especially those relating to his visit to this country, which are the great attraction of this book for English readers.

He sailed from New York for Havre, December 8, 1873. As

was natural in a New Englander, he notes, on nearing the coasts of Devon and Cornwall, "My mind has felt a thrill under the associations of these waters; it is my first experience of the rich memories of European history. On my left now are the cliffs of England, Plymouth, from which the Pilgrim ancestors of New England last started to come to our bleak places" (i. p. 215). His first European experiences were gained at Havre, where he landed December 28, "with antiquity staring at him from every side." The chief points in which he found Havre to differ from an American city "were (1) antiquity; (2) dress of women with caps, and without bonnets in the street; (3) labour of women; (4) presence of the military and police, a soldier or policeman presenting himself at every turn; (5) narrowness and dirt of the streets; (6) houses of stone, and narrow and chimney-like" (i. p. 219). Another point of difference struck the descendant of Puritans. "Here," he writes, "Sunday shines no Sabbath day," all things proceed as on week-days.

At Rouen he first saw one of those great historic monuments which have such a peculiar charm for educated Americans, who feel, as Sumner felt, that theirs is a country which has no prescription, no history, and no associations (i. p. 264).

"The cathedral (of Rouen) is the great lion of the North of France, and is said to be the finest specimen of Gothic architecture on the Continent. Certainly it is vast and elaborate, transcending all that my imagination had pictured as the result of this architecture. The minuteness of the workmanship testifies that it was done by those who commanded hands for labour with a facility not unlike that which summoned the thousands of labourers who raised the pyramids of Egypt. I can hardly imagine such a work at the present day. No building, unless it be Westminster Abbey, abounds more in historical associations. Enlarged, if not built, by the ancient dukes of Normandy anterior to the conquest of England, it is the chosen place where the bones of many of them repose. Here are the remains of Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy and the ancestor of the Conqueror, and over them an effigy of William the Long Sword, his son; of Henry, the father of Cœur de Lion; and here the Lion Heart was itself deposited. At a later day the remains of the Duke of Bedford—the English regent of France, discomfited by the Maid of Orleans—were deposited here, and an inscription behind the great altar marks the spot. Different parts in the neighbourhood of altars are occupied by inscriptions and engraved effigies of bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and other eminent men, whose standing or character gave them admission after death to this company. Over all was the vast Gothic roof, stretching on with its ancient and numerous arches in imposing perspective; and the light which was shed upon this scene came through richly painted windows, where were martyrdoms and sufferings and triumphs such as

the history of Christianity records; and here was I, an American—whose very hemisphere had been discovered long since the foundation of this church, whose country had been settled, in comparison with this foundation, but yesterday—introduced to these remains of past centuries, treading over the dust of archbishops and cardinals, and standing before the monuments of kings, and the founder of a dynasty the greatest and best established of modern Europe. Now, indeed, may I believe in antiquity, and in the acts which are recorded. Often, in fancy, have I doubted if such men as history mentions ever lived, and did what we are told they did; if William of Normandy actually conquered England, and if indeed such a place as England existed for him to conquer. But this fancy, this pyrrhonism of the imagination, is now exploded. These monuments and their inscriptions, with the traces of centuries upon them, in this holy place, bear testimony to what I have read" (i. p. 222).

From Rouen, Sumner went to Paris, where he was present at the closing of the once notorious gaming-house Frascati's, having for that purpose hastened to be in Paris by New Year's Eve, after which date all the "hells" of Paris were by law to be closed. But it was not for such sights that he came to Paris. He devoted himself, in the first instance, to acquire the French language, and with so much energy and success, that although, when "he arrived in Paris, he could understand hardly a sentence in French when spoken to him, in less than a month he could follow a lecturer, in six weeks participate in conversation, and at the end of three months he served as an interpreter before a magistrate on the examination of a fellow-countryman" (i. p. 228).

His industry while in Paris was immense. He attended 150 or more lectures, not only on law, but other departments of knowledge. He frequented the hospitals, and witnessed the leaders of the medical profession, surrounded by their pupils, attending on the patients. To the Chambers and the theatres he was a frequent visitor. A visit to the Bibliotheque de St. Genevieve, with its 200,000 books and 30,000 manuscripts, led him to this reflection: "What is authorship? Here are 200,000 volumes? Who knows the names of the wise, and learned, and laborious who built on them confident hopes of immortality on earth? The pages of an unread catalogue are the only roll of fame on which most of their names are inscribed, and dust gathers over the leaves of the works on which long lives have been consumed. It seems like passing through tombs and a city of the dead to walk through a large library; for here how many aspirations—proud and high-reaching as the stars—hopes, and longings, lie buried" (i. p. 230).

A comparison of the French, English, and American press caused him "to feel strongly the pettiness of the politics of his

country, their provincialism, and their lack of interest for the cosmopolite" (i. p. 235).

When attending a lecture on the Institutes of Justinian by Professor Ducaurroy, he saw a sight which no doubt tended to influence his future actions, for on more than one occasion afterwards he publicly referred to it.

"Among the audience I noticed two or three blacks, or rather mulattoes—two-thirds black, perhaps—dressed quite *à la mode*, and having the easy, jaunty air of young men of fashion, who were well received by their fellow-students. They were standing in the midst of a knot of young men, and their colour seemed to be no objection to them. I was glad to see this; though, with American impressions, it seemed very strange. It must be, then, that the distance between free blacks and the whites among us is derived from education, and does not exist in the nature of things" (i. p. 242).

The then existing Chamber of Peers appeared to him—

"A highly respectable assembly. The style of debate," he adds, "was entirely creditable; it was animated and courteous. Indeed, I can hardly imagine an assembly appearing more respectable, or a debate conducted with more of that spirit by which truth and the public good are best advanced. Yet I cannot help recording that I observed a peer standing in a most prominent place, on the elevation of the President's chair, and in conversation with the President, with his thumbs stuck in the armholes of his waistcoat, which I remember hearing years ago was a Yankee trick" (i. p. 262).

He conceived a great admiration for Louis Philippe.

"There is no individual," he writes, "about whom I have more changed my mind by coming to Paris than Louis Philippe. I had hitherto esteemed him a sensible, prudent, but ordinary sovereign. I find him a great one—truly great—mingling in business as much as his Ministers, and controlling them all. He is more than his Cabinet. Measures emanate from him. With skill that is wonderful, he has reined in the Revolution of July" (i. p. 262).

This is high praise of him who one who knew him well called "le plus grand fourbe de l'Europe."*

It would be unjust to condemn for want of foresight a young man of twenty-seven, which was Sumner's age when in Paris; but it was Louis Philippe's control of his Ministers and his reining in the Revolution of July, for which Sumner pronounced him to be a great sovereign, which led to the overthrow of the monarchy of July, as is well shown in the recently published Memoirs of M. Odillon Barrot.

* M. Thiers, *vide* Sir John Bowring's "Recollections," p. 137.

The following sketch of the Chamber of Deputies of 1838 is interesting—

“I was infinitely disappointed in the appearance of the President. It was ordinary, and almost vulgar; and yet he is the famous M. Dupin, the editor of Pothier, the writer of sundry matters of law, and the sayer of several smart and memorable things. His head was partially bald, and the hair left was brushed smooth and sleek. Perhaps, on seeing this famous man nearer, I might alter the above impressions; but they are those of a first sight. I noticed in the Chamber of Peers what I thought was a Yankee trick; in the Chamber of Deputies I noticed others. For a good part of the debate, a *huissier*, whose place was very conspicuous, being directly on a level with the President, sat with his chair on its hind legs. Another, M. Salvaney, the Minister of Public Instruction, sat for some time cutting with his penknife the mahogany desk before him. There were a good many speakers, one of whom was quite prominent, being able, eloquent, and humorous. This was the Count Joubert. He made a very severe attack on the Ministry, which produced a sensible effect. He was very witty and caustic, and was constantly interrupted by cries of ‘*Tres bien*,’ or by murmurs of dissent, or more frequently by laughs at his sarcasm. I observed all the distinguished members of the House and scanned their features. Guizot is justly eminent. His literary labours have been immense, and his political elevation is now as distinguished as his literary. He is no longer in the Ministry, but he is intensely regarded by all parties for the expansion of his views and their deep philosophical reflection. His forehead is high, but he is not bald, though his hair is thin. His face is mild and gentle in its expression. M. Thiers, the celebrated author of ‘The History of the French Revolution,’ is a most distinguished member of the Chamber. I did not hear him speak, but I narrowly regarded him. He is but little above the middle size, with sleek black hair, and with a bright countenance, which seemed to content itself with short and momentary looks. Lafitte sat on the extreme *gauche*; that is, at the extreme of the Liberal section. He was the great leader of the Revolution of July. His appearance is prepossessing. One would hardly expect to find in the gentlemanly person with silver locks, who sat so quietly during an exciting debate, the leader of a revolution. Odillon Barrot sat by his side, and his whole frame and features seemed to be in constant motion. His appearance was neat, attractive, and gentlemanly; but I saw him from a distance, so that I could not discern his particular features. The great astronomer Arago, who has mingled very much in politics, and who is an extreme Liberal, sat by his side. On the opposite side of the house was Lamartine, a tall, thin man, looking like a poet, of whom I had but an imperfect view; also Berryer, the eloquent Carlist, with his blue coat buttoned high up in his neck, and his burly face full of blood and passion. The members of the Chamber sat with their hats off, and generally preserved a respectful deportment; but they interrupted the speaker at

pleasure, with notes of admiration or dissent, to as great an extent, I should think, as in the English Parliament" (i. p. 268).

At the different courts of justice Sumner was a constant attendant and a shrewd critic.

"A French court," he writes to Judge Story, "is a laughable place. To me it is a theatre, and all the judges, advocates, and parties 'merely players.' In those particulars in which they have borrowed from the English law, they have got hold of about half of the English principle, and forgotten the rest. Thus they have juries. These they imported from England, but with none of the regulations by which the purity of our verdict is secured."

"In the Court of Cassation," he notes in his journal, "I heard M. Laborde, on one side, make what I thought a very beautiful speech, animated, flowing, *French*. He used a brief, which appeared to contain the quotations only which he made. I think the whole argument had been written out and committed to memory. Dupin was quiet and dry in his delivery, having his whole argument *written out*, reading it without pretending to look off his paper. He appeared here, as in the Chamber of Deputies, 'vulgar.'"

In a letter to Story he wrote, "Dupin, the first lawyer of France, is not equal to Daniel Webster." To another friend he wrote—

"I am diligently studying the French code, in which I find much to admire. The whole *procedure* has struck me most favourably. I will only say at present, that those who have spoken and written about it in England and in the United States have not understood it, or else have calumniated it grossly. A *tertium quid* which should be the result of the French and English manner of procedure would be as near perfection as I can imagine; but I am inclined to think—indeed, I am convinced—that if I were compelled to adopt the *whole* of either without admixture, I should take the French. My mind is full of this subject, but I will not enlarge upon it at present" (i. pp. 282-284).

Although he admired the French law, he did not extend his admiration to French lawyers.

"The *horizon* of the French lawyer," he writes to Professor Greenleaf, "is extremely limited. Foreign nations, with their various laws, are nothing to him. Strong in the Chinese conceit that France is the celestial nation, he neglects with a truly Mohammedan indifference all but his own peculiar jurisprudence, and in the study of this I am strongly inclined to believe that he generally bounds his labours by the perusal of the codes and some few of the commentators. I write this with some hesitation, not, however, because what I have seen has left any doubt upon my mind, but because I am reluctant to judge foreigners. But one of the most distinguished of their professors made a confession to me similar to what I have stated above."

Writing to Story, he reiterates this opinion, and adds—

“I cannot hesitate in saying that the learning of the profession is of the most shallow kind. The Code is the *vade mecum*, ‘the be-all and end-all’ with the French *avocat*: this he possesses in a neat pocket edition, the different codes designated by the different colour of the leaves, and carries with him to court. Among the younger lawyers whom I have met, I have found the greatest ignorance with respect even to the modern authors of France. . . . I can assure you without vanity (for between us there is no such thing) that I have several times felt that my acquaintance with the literature of French jurisprudence, and with the character and merit of its authors, was equal if not superior to that of many of the Frenchmen with whom I conversed. With them now it is indeed *Nil præter edictum prætoris*, the Code and nothing but the Code. Ignorant as they are of their own jurisprudence, it would seem superfluous to add that they know nothing of foreign jurisprudence, nothing of English and American in particular” (i. pp. 287, 292).

His admiration of the Code increased.

“I have been most agreeably disappointed in the penal code. There is much in it which we must adopt. Would that I could draw a sponge over all our criminal law, whether by statute, custom, precedent, or however otherwise evidenced. When I see the simplicity, neatness, and common sense of the procedure here, I sigh over the cumbrous antiquated forms and vocabulary which we persist in retaining. But this is not to be discussed at the end of a letter. I shall return not simply a codifier, but a *revolutionist*, always ready, however, I trust, to be illuminated by the superior wisdom of my friends” (i. p. 288).

His avowedly strong preference for some points in the French procedure alarmed the Professor.

“Greenleaf,” writes Lieber to Sumner, “runs up and down the coast of the Atlantic like an anxious hen, while you, a young duck, swim lustily on the ocean. He is very much afraid you will become too *principled* and too *unprecedented*” (ii. p. 7).

The impression produced on Sumner by his sojourn in Paris is thus stated to Story—

“I have never felt myself so much an American, have never loved my country so ardently, as since I left it. I live in the midst of manners, institutions, and a form of government wholly unlike those under which I was born; and I now feel in stronger relief than ever the superior character impressed upon our country in all the essentials of happiness, honour, and prosperity. I would not exchange my country for all that I can see and enjoy here; and dull must his soul be, unworthy of an American, who would barter the priceless intelligence which pervades his whole country, the universality of happiness, the

absence of beggary, the reasonable equality of all men as regards each other and the law, and the general vigour which fills every member of society, besides the high moral tone, and take the state of things which I find here, where wealth flaunts by the side of the most squalid poverty, where your eyes are constantly annoyed by the most disgusting want and wretchedness, and where American purity is inconceivable" (i. p. 288).

Sumner left Paris for England 29th May 1838. With what feelings he approached this country we see from another letter to Story.

"I start for England, and how my soul leaps at the thought! Land of my studies, my thought, and my dreams! Then indeed 'shall I pluck the life of life.' Much have I enjoyed and learned at Paris, but my course has been constantly impeded by the necessity of unremitted study. The language was foreign, as were the manners, the institutions, and laws. I have been a learner daily; I could understand nothing without study. But in England everything will be otherwise. The page of English history is a familiar story; the English law has been my devoted pursuit for years, English politics my pastime, and the English language is my own. I shall then leap at once to the full enjoyment of all the mighty interests which England affords, and I shall be able at once to mingle with its society, catch its tone, and join in its conversation, attend the courts, and follow all their proceedings as those at home" (ii. p. 294).

"Sumner's acquaintance with English society," truly says his biographer, "was wider and more various than any previously enjoyed by an American, and even exceeded that of most Englishmen."

"While in London or journeying in other parts of the British Islands, he mingled with the best society. His associations were not confined to any one set, but embraced persons widely divergent in professional callings, politics, tone of thought, and rank—judges, lawyers, and divines; scholars eminent in literature, metaphysics, and science; titled persons who combined good breeding and intelligence; statesmen (Whig, Tory, and Radical), some of whom were aged and full of reminiscences of great orators; women, whose learning, cleverness, or grace enriched the thought and embellished the society of their day."

Sumner's opinions on English society and manners and institutions, and his judgments on the statesmen and lawyers he met, are given with unrestrained frankness in his journals and in his letters, especially those to Story and Greenleaf, and will be read with interest in this country. Some of the most striking of them we will transfer to these pages. We have seen with what feelings he anticipated his visit to England. He again gives expression to them in a letter to Story.

"My pulses beat quick as I first drove from London Bridge to the tavern, and, with my head reaching far out of the window, caught the different names of streets so familiar by sound, but now first presented to the eye. As I passed the Inns, those chosen seats of ancient Themis, and caught the sight of Chancery Lane, I felt—but you will understand it all" (i. p. 313).

This is surely the only instance in which that very squalid and dingy street, Chancery Lane, excited poetical feelings in any one's mind. "Paris," he said, "is great, vast, magnificent; but London is powerful, mighty, tremendous. The one has the manifestations of taste and art all about it, the other those of wealth and business."

Describing his first visit to the House of Commons, he writes to Story—"The business was dull, and—you will read it with astonishment—I slept under the gallery of the House of Commons."

His second visit was more successful. He was present on the 12th June 1838, during a debate on the Irish Municipal Corporation Bill.

"Need I tell you," he continues, "the interest was thrilling during the whole time. Peel made a beautiful speech—polished, graceful, self-possessed, candid, or apparently candid, in the extreme. We have no man like him. Lord John Russell rose in my mind the more I listened to him. In person he is diminutive and rickety. He wriggled round, played with his hat, seemed unable to dispose of his hands or his feet; his voice was small and thin; but notwithstanding all this, a house of upwards of five hundred members was hushed to catch his slightest accents. You listened, and you felt that you heard a man of mind, of thought, and of moral elevation. Sheil then broke forth with one of his splendid bursts, full of animation in the extreme. He screamed and talked in octaves, and yet the House listened and the cheers ensued. Sir Edward Sugden [afterwards Lord St. Leonards] tried to speak; but calls of 'Question,' 'Divide,' and all sorts of guttural expectorating sounds from members in a corner or outstretched on the benches of the gallery prevented my catching a word of what he said during the half hour he was on his legs. Sir John Campbell, the Solicitor-General (Rolfe), and Follett all spoke; and of these, Follett was by far the best. O'Connell spoke several times, but only long enough to give me a taste of his voice, which is rich in the extreme, more copious and powerful than Clay's, though less musical" (i. p. 316).*

- Sir Charles Vaughan, once English 'Minister to the United States, had been, when at Washington, on friendly terms with

* Of Lord John Russell Sumner wrote to Lieber, "You are right in your supposition about Lord John Russell. He is one of the greatest men I have seen in England."

Judge Story; this led to a correspondence between Story and Mr. Justice Vaughan, the Minister's brother, then one of the Judges of the Common Pleas. Through him Sumner became acquainted with the judges and the leading members of the bar. With the English bar Sumner was highly impressed. "I cannot," he said, "sufficiently express my admiration of the heartiness and cordiality which prevade all the English bar. They are truly a band of brothers, and I have been received among them as one of them." The relations between the bar and the bench made a like impression on Sumner to that which they produced on Berryer.

"J'ai assisté," he said on his visit to England in 1865, "à toutes les cours de justice de votre pays, à toutes les deliberations judiciaires; j'ai été frappé de la situation qu'on y fait au barreau. Rien ne pouvait plus me toucher que ces entretiens familiers entre le juge et l'avocat. Cela prouve à ce dernier l'attention qui lui est accordée; et j'y vois une garantie pour le sentiment d'indépendance qui doit appartenir à cet noble profession." "I know nothing," wrote Sumner to Greenleaf, "that has given me greater pleasure than the elevated character of the profession as I find it, and the relation of amity and brotherhood between the bench and the bar. The latter are really the friends and helpers of the judges. Goodwill, graciousness, and good manners prevail constantly, and then the duties of the bar are of the most elevated character. I do not regret that my lines have been cast in the places where they are, but I cannot dismiss the feeling akin to envy with which I regard the noble position of the English barrister, with the intervention of the attorney to protect him from the feelings and prejudices of his client, and with a code of professional morals which makes his daily duties a career of the most honourable employment" (i. p. 326).

We commend this opinion to those sciolists, as we venture to call them, who would efface the distinction hitherto existing in England between the senior and the junior branches of the legal profession.

Sumner heard—

"Lord Brougham despatch several cases in the Privy Council, and one or two were matters with which I was entirely familiar. I think I understand the secret of his power and weakness as a judge, and nothing that I have seen or heard tends to alter the opinion I had formed. As a judge he is electric in the rapidity of his movements; he looks into the very middle of the case when counsel are just commencing, and at once says, 'There is such a difficulty (mentioning it) to which you must address yourself, and if you can't get over that I am against you.' In this way he saves time, and gratifies his impatient spirit, but he offends counsel. Here is the secret.*"

* The late Lord-Justice Knight Bruce, especially when, as Vice-Chancellor, he sat alone, was habitually guilty of the same fault.

“In the meantime Brougham is restless at table, writes letters, and, as Baron Parke assured me, wrote his great article in the ‘Edinburgh Review’ for April last at the table of the Privy Council. I once saw an usher bring him a parcel of letters—I should think there must have been twenty-five—and he opened and read them, and strewed the floor about him with envelopes; and still the argument went on; and very soon Brougham pronounced the judgment in rapid, energetic, and perspicuous language—better than I have heard from any other judge on the bench.”

This account of Brougham’s judicial manner corroborates Mr. Greville’s description of his demeanour at the hearing of the remarkable case of *Swift v. Kelly*. “On Saturday,” writes Mr. Greville, “the court met, but no Brougham. They began, and in about two hours he made his appearance, read his letters, wrote notes, corrected some paper (for the press, as I could see), and now and then attended to the cause, making flippant observations.” * Sir David Brewster told Sumner “that he received several letters from Lord Brougham, written in court when Chancellor, on *light*, one of them fourteen pages long” (i. p. 365). We fear that light must have been wanting in the Chancellor’s judgment in the case during the hearing of which his scientific dissertation was composed.

Sumner was introduced to Brougham by Joseph Parkes, the well-known Liberal solicitor, whose services to the party were recompensed under Lord John Russell’s administration by his appointment, not to the benefit of the suitors or the profession, to the valuable office of Taxing-master in Chancery. Brougham took instantly to Sumner, and at their first meeting invited him to stay at Brougham Hall, saying, “Come down, and we will be quiet, and talk over the subject of codification.” Sumner paid him the visit, but the subject of codification seems never to have been again mentioned between them. His account of Brougham at home is almost Boswellian, and exceedingly interesting. It confirms the accounts of Brougham’s affection for and duty to his mother. The wife and daughter, as we believe was generally the case, were absent and from home, and Brougham’s mother, then eighty-six, was the lady of the house. With her Sumner, like all those who had the honour and pleasure of her acquaintance, was particularly impressed and delighted.

“Never,” he notes, “did I see a person who bore her years so well. During the dinner [Sumner writes to a friend] his Lordship was constant in his attention to his mother, addressing her as ‘Mother,’ and urging her to eat of particular dishes.”

The title question was a puzzle to the young American.

* Greville’s Journal, vol. iii. p. 260.

"I heard," continues Sumner, "Mrs. Brougham address her son as 'Lord Brougham.' I could hardly make up my mind and my tongue to address this venerable woman as 'Mrs. Brougham,' which is all that belongs to her, and then speak to her son as 'My Lord.'

"His Lordship took very little wine, less than I have seen any gentleman take at the head of his table in England; but if he have not that vice, which has been attributed to him,—and I fully believe he has it not,—he has another, which is perhaps as bad; certainly it is bad and vulgar beyond expression—I mean *swearing*. I have dined in company nearly every day since I have been in England, and I do not remember to have met a person who swore half so much as Lord Brougham; and all this in conversation with an aged clergyman. His manner was rapid, hurried, and his voice very loud.

"He seemed uneasy and restless, and of course made me feel the same. His language, as you may well suppose, was vigorous and to the point. He told some capital stories of King William, from which I should infer, notwithstanding all the reports to the contrary, that he was on good terms with that monarch.

"You remember Denman's famous appeal on the Queen's trial, alluding to the slanders of the Duke of Clarence, 'Come forth, thou slanderer!' Brougham said that the Duke of York, sitting in one corner of the House, said to a peer near him, 'There is my brother William, he is always in some scrape;' while the Duke of Clarence, sitting on the other side of the house, whispered to his friend, 'My brother Frederick is always saying some d——d absurd thing,' each supposing the other referred to by Denman!"

When asked by Sumner who then at the bar was most like Erskine, Brougham replied, "Nobody! there is a degenerate race now; there are no good speakers at the bar except Sir William Follett and Mr. Pemberton." He further spoke of Lord Langdale (then Master of the Rolls) as a person who had never done anything, and would never do anything, and who was an ordinary man,—an estimate which was certainly correct. A dinner at Lansdowne House was, according to Brougham, "a great cure for Radicalism."

"Thus," continues Sumner, "he passed from topic to topic, expressing himself always with force, correctness, and facility unrivalled; but I must say with a manner not only far from refined, but even vulgar. He had no gentleness nor suavity, neither did he show any of the delicate attentions of the host. He *professed* an interest in America, but did not seem to care to speak about it. He said he should certainly visit us, for, with the present facilities of intercourse, it were a shame in an Englishman to be ignorant of the practical working of our institutions. 'I am a republican,' said he, 'or rather, I am for intrusting the people with the largest possible degree of power.' He spoke to me," continues Sumner, "in the most disparaging terms of the aristocracy; but I shall be afraid that he will not speak so much for truth's sake so as to promote his own fame and power, or perhaps to gratify a personal pique."

Sumner's acquaintance with Brougham is but an illustration of the old saying, "Familiarity breeds contempt." He might have said to Brougham, as Bentham used to say, "Harry, if you want to study insincerity, stand before a looking-glass."*

"I am almost sorry," he writes, "I have seen Lord Brougham, for I can no longer paint him to my mind's eye as the pure and enlightened orator of Christianity, civilisation, and humanity. I see him now, as before, with powers such as belong to angels; why could I not have found him with an angel's purity, gentleness, and simplicity? I must always admire his productions as models of art, but I fear that I shall distrust his sincerity and the purity of his motives. . . . I am disposed to believe that there is in him a nervousness and immense activity which is near akin to insanity, and which at present jangles with the otherwise even measures of his character."

Mrs. Brougham told Sumner that once Brougham, when Chancellor, apologised to William IV. for troubling him with so many petitions, when the King promptly replied, "I shall be glad to see you take anything out of the bag except the Great Seal." This shows that, in spite of the generally rude and rough demeanour of the Sailor King, he was not without some of the craft and duplicity which his father showed in his intercourse with his Ministers.

The well-known friendship between Brougham and Lyndhurst is illustrated by another Boswellian account of a dinner party at Brougham's, at which Lyndhurst and Sumner were amongst the guests:—

"Lord Brougham presented me in the quiet way in which this always takes place in English society—'Mr. Sumner, one of our profession,' without saying of what country I was. We had been at table an hour or more before he was aware that I was an American. I alluded to America and Boston, and also to Lord Lyndhurst's relations there, with regard to whom Lord Brougham had inquired, when Lyndhurst said, 'When were you in Boston?' 'It is my native place,' I replied. 'Then we are fellow-townsmen,' said he, with a most emphatic knock on the table, and something like an oath.

"He left Boston, he told me, when a year old. I was betrayed by the frankness of his manner into saying the rudest thing I have to my knowledge uttered in England. Brougham asked me the meaning and etymology of the word 'caucus.' I told him it was difficult to assign any etymology that was satisfactory; but the most approved one referred its origin to the very town where Lord Lyndhurst was born, and to the very period of his birth; in this remark alluding to his age, which I was not justified in doing, especially as he wears a chestnut wig. Lord Brougham at once stopped me. 'Yes,' said he, 'we know what period you refer to, about 1798. 'Somewhere in the latter part of the century,' I replied, anxious to get out of the scrape

* *Vide* Sir John Bowring's "Recollections," p. 294.

as well as I could by such a generality. I was gratified by Lyndhurst's calling upon me a few days afterwards, because it showed he had not been disturbed by my unintentional impertinence. The style of intercourse between Lyndhurst and Brougham, these two ex-Chancellors, was delightful. It was entirely familiar. 'Copley, a glass of wine with you.' He always called him 'Copley,' and, pointing out an exquisite gold cup in the centre of the table, he said, 'Copley, see what you would have had if you had supported the Reform Bill.' It was a cup given to Lord Brougham by a penny subscription of the people of England. It was very amusing to hear them both join in abuse of O'Connell, while Charles Phillips entertained us with his Irish reminiscences of the 'Agitator,' and of his many barefaced lies. 'A damned rascal,' said Lyndhurst, while Brougham echoed the phrase, and did not let it lose an added epithet" (ii. p. 67).

This interview with Lord Lyndhurst probably modified the highly unfavourable opinion of him which Sumner had previously formed. "I heard Lyndhurst, and I cannot hesitate to pronounce him a master orator. All my prejudices are against him; he is unprincipled as a politician and a man. Notwithstanding all this, Lyndhurst charmed me like a siren. His manner is simple, clear, and directly enchainning the attention of all; we have nobody like him" (i. p. 323). It is interesting to read that

"Lord Grey told Lord Wharncliffe on the evening of Brougham's speech on the Reform Bill that it was the greatest speech he ever heard in his life, and his life covered the period of Pitt and Fox.

"In this judgment Lord Wharncliffe concurred. Mr. Rogers told me Sir Robert Peel said that he never knew what eloquence was till he heard Brougham's speech on the abolition of slavery in the West Indies" (ii. p. 48).*

Brougham's estimate of himself, and of the object of his great aversion, Lord Durham, is shown by this characteristic anecdote.

"Brougham said to Roebuck, 'They say there will be a great contest between Durham and myself in the House of Lords. There will be no such thing. It were affectation not to know that I am a very great debater, and that Lord Durham is a very poor one; there can be therefore no contest between us' (ii. p. 21).

Lord Durham's appreciation of Brougham's truthfulness is shown by this occurrence. "I happened to tell a story," writes Sumner, "that I had heard from Lord Brougham. Durham looked me in the eye, and asked my authority for it. 'Lord Brougham; I had it from his own lips.' 'Did you ever verify it?' was the short but significant reply" (ii. p. 39).

* The speech referred to by Lord Grey was that on the second reading of the Reform Bill, October 7, 1831.

With Lord Denman Sumner was equally intimate. He told Sumner that he considered the "wig" the silliest thing in England, and that he should try to get rid of it. The late Mr. Justice Allan Park, "a believer in the divinity of wigs," told Sumner "that it was all a piece of Denman's coxcombry; that he wished to show his person." Lord Brougham also seems to have been a believer in wigs, for he gave Sumner his "twelve-guinea full-bottom wig" in which he made the speech on the Reform Bill to which Earl Grey referred. Lord Denman is long since gone, and there have been many changes in the law and its administration since his time, but the "wig" has survived them all, and to all appearance will continue to be the official head-dress of English lawyers. Sumner gave Brougham's wig to the Law School at Harvard. If it still exists, the students no doubt contemplate it with feelings akin to those of the Wesleyan Conference when on one occasion an old wig of John Wesley's was exhibited to its delighted gaze.

The sketches of the bar and bench as they were composed in the first years of the present reign are full and accurate. The especial object of Sumner's admiration among the judges was Lord Denman. So strong was the impression made by Denman on Sumner, that on Sumner's second visit to England (1857), at a dinner in Lincoln's Inn Hall, he said of him, "To have known him is among the valued possessions of life; to have seen him on the bench, in the administration of justice, was to have a new idea of the elevation of the judicial character." The other judges whom Sumner especially admired were the Chancellor (Lord Cottenham), Chief-Justice Tindal, Mr. Justice Patteson, and Mr. Baron Parke (Lord Wensleydale), although he pronounced the last to be not a little conceited and vain. "From Baron Alderson I heard a higher display of the judicial talent than from any other judge in England. The bar, however," he adds, "think him often unsafe." Lord Abinger he calls "The great failure of Westminster Hall." Among the members of the bar he considered the Attorney-General (Sir John, afterwards Lord Campbell) "a very powerful lawyer, but his manner is harsh and coarse, without delicacy or refinement."

Those who remember the late Sir William Follett,—they are not many—will read with pleasure and assent the following sketch.

"Sir William Follett is a truly lovable person, and one great secret of his early success has been his amiability. As a speaker he is fluent, clear, and distinct, with a beautiful and harmonious voice. He seems to have a genius for law; when it comes to the stating a law point and its argument, he is at home, and goes without let or hindrance or any apparent exertion. . . . Strange thing in the history of the bar; he is

equally successful in the House of Commons, where I have heard them call for 'Follett, Follett,' and here he shows a parliamentary eloquence of no common kind, and also wins by his attractive manner. . . . I do not think his politics are much founded on knowledge.' Circumstances have thrown him into the Tory ranks, where he will doubtless continue. He has little or no information out of his profession, seems not to have read or thought much, and yet is always an agreeable companion. I feel an attachment for him, so gentle and kind have I always found him."

Of Follett's colleague (the late Sir Frederick Pollock, afterwards Chief Baron) Sumner writes to Story, "He is dull, heavy, and, they say, often obtuse at the bar." The editor, in a note (vol. ii. p. 93) quotes a letter of Lord Denman's written on the bench while Pollock was arguing, in which he said of him, "He bestows tediousness in a spirit of prodigality." He carried the same habit to the bench, and indulged in it so freely as frequently to draw from a member of the bar, his connection by marriage, and afterwards one of his puisnes, the pointed remark, "Hark to that d——d old parrot!"

The almost forgotten Charles Austin, of Parliamentary Committee fame, was thought by Sumner to be "the only jurist" at the English bar.

We cannot pass over the following characteristic witticism of Chief-Justice Tindal on another nearly forgotten lawyer (Mr. Serjeant Bompas), who, under the name of Mr. Serjeant Buzfuz, will enjoy a longer posthumous fame than under his own. "In argument," writes Sumner, he (Bompas) is very earnest and noisy, sometimes confused. Chief-Justice Tindal was once asked if he thought Bompas a *sound* lawyer. 'That will depend,' said the Chief-Justice, 'upon whether *roaring* is an unsoundness.'" Those who remember the habits of the late Mr. Justice Talfourd, and the praise so often bestowed in his two volumes of "Vacation Rambles" on the wines of the countries through which he travelled, will appreciate the remark made by him on an eminent member of the bar distinguished for his temperance: "He is a humbug; he drinks no wine." "Here," says Sumner, writing of the Garrick Club, "Talfourd takes his *negus* on passing Westminster Hall in the morning, and his midnight potation on returning from Parliament."

But we must pass from the legal to the literary world. Here is an account of Sumner's first meeting with Walter Savage Landor—

"Landor was dressed in a heavy frock-coat of snuff colour, trousers of the same colour, and boots; indeed, he wore a morning dress, which one is more inclined to notice here than among us, where the difference between morning and evening dress is less imperiously settled. . . . Conversation turned upon Washington. . . . I spoke of 'the ashes of Washington,' saying 'that his ashes still reposed at Mount Vernon.

Landor at once broke upon me with something like fierceness. 'Why will you, Mr. Sumner, who speak with such force and correctness, employ a word which in its present connection is not English? Washington's body was never burnt; there are no ashes—say rather *remains*'" (i. p. 327).

Sumner visited Wordsworth at his home.

"I cannot," he writes, "sufficiently express to you my high gratification at his manner and conversation. It was simple, graceful, and sincere; it had all those things the absence of which in Brougham gave me so much pain. I felt that I was conversing with a superior being, yet I was entirely at my ease" (i. p. 357).

From the Lake country Sumner went on to Scotland. He visited Abbotsford in the company of Sir D. Brewster, at whose house he met at dinner Sir Adam Fergusson (well known by name to every reader of Lockhart's "Life of Scott"), who, in reference to the well-known line in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," "assured him that Scott never saw *Melrose by moonlight* during all his life;" and Sir David added, "that he had heard Scott say that twenty times. The truth was, Scott would not go there for fear of bogles." Abbotsford Sumner describes as "a confused pile—a folly made sacred by the memory of its great author. As I saw this building, I felt the fatal weakness of Scott's character more than ever, and sighed to think he could not have had the simple tastes which I found in Wordsworth. . . . The house is in wretched taste" (i. pp. 357, 358).

Sumner visited Jeffrey at Craigerook.

"Never," he writes, "have I heard any one express himself with such grace, beauty, precision, and variety of word as did Jeffrey when I introduced Jeremy Taylor." Again—"Jeffrey against all the world! While in Edinburgh I saw much of him; and his talent, fertility of expression, and unlimited information (almost learning) impressed me more and more. He spoke on every subject, and always better than anybody else."

"Sydney Smith" (whom Sumner visited at Combe Florey) "is infinitely pleasant, and instructive too; but the flavour of his conversation is derived from its humour. Jeffrey is not without humour, but this is not a leading element. He pleases by the alternate exercise of every talent; at one moment by a rapid argument, then by a beautiful illustration, next by a phrase which draws a whole thought into its powerful focus, while a constant grace of language and amenity of manners, with proper contributions from humour and wit, heighten these charms."

"What a different man," writes Sumner elsewhere, "is Lockhart. He is without words, conversation, heart, or a disposition to please, throwing nothing into the stock of social intercourse, and keeping himself aloof from all the hearty currents of life."

Sir William Hamilton he thought "quite learned, but brusque and *gauche* in manner" (i. pp. 359-361).

Amongst other men of literary and political reputation with whom Sumner became acquainted was John Arthur Roebuck, of whom he writes to Story, "I know Roebuck, and like him much. He is young, confident, ambitious, and full of great things, accomplished, and a *republican!*" (i. p. 344). *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* It would have been interesting if Mr. Pierce—as he could have done—had told us Sumner's opinion of Roebuck after the outburst of the slave-owners' rebellion, when he was constantly advocating in Parliament the recognition by England of the slave-owners' confederation, of which Sumner said, "Better for the fast-anchored isle that it should be sunk beneath the sea, with its cathedrals, its castles, its fields of glory, Runnymede, Westminster Hall, and the home of Shakespeare, than it should do this thing." On further acquaintance with Roebuck, Sumner pronounced him to be "rash, self-confident, and unassimilating. His party is himself, for he will brook no shadow of variance from his own opinions." In this respect at least there is no difference in the earlier and later days of Mr. Roebuck.

At Milnes's (Lord Houghton) Sumner sat next to Macaulay, and opposite Bulwer (Lord Lytton). Sumner found "it was a relief from the incessant ringing of Macaulay's voice to hear Bulwer's lisping, slender, and effeminate tones. I liked Bulwer better than I wished. He talked with sense and correctness, though without brilliancy or force" (ii. p. 68). Macaulay Sumner thought "oppressive." He did not leave on him "an entirely agreeable impression;" still he confessed his great and magnificent attainments and powers (ii. p. 65). In truth, Sumner—himself a great talker, and used in America to be *primus inter pares*—in Macaulay's company felt himself overclouded. On another occasion Sumner met Macaulay at Holland House. "Macaulay," he wrote, "was dinning, but more subdued than I have ever before seen him. That common expression 'her' and 'me' for, as some say, 'she' and 'I,' was ingeniously discussed. Lord Holland defended the use of 'her' and 'me' as good idiomatic English, thus: 'No one is handsomer than her,' and 'He is absent oftener than me.' Lord Holland said that his uncle, C. J. Fox, had studied these points, and used these expressions. Macaulay was strong the other way, but was much struck by the authority of C. J. Fox. Thirty years after his death, the genius of the great Whig orator governed the frequenters of the venerable mansion in which he was born" (ii. p. 80).*

* "In his choice of words," writes Lord Brougham of Fox, "he justly shunned foreign idioms, or words borrowed whether from the ancient or modern languages, and affected the pure Saxon tongue, the resources of which are unknown to so many who use it, both in speaking and writing."

Of Lord Beaconsfield Sumner relates :—“Mrs —— said to Disraeli (the conversation had grown out of ‘Vivian Grey’), ‘There is a great deal written in the garrets of London.’ Putting his hand on his heart, Disraeli said, ‘I assure you “Vivian Grey” was not written in a garret’” (ii. p. 123).

Sumner’s experiences of English society were by no means confined to London. He travelled through the south and west of England, through Winchester, Salisbury, and “down even to Bodmin in Cornwall, where the assizes of the Western Circuit were being held.” There Sumner was the guest of the bar, as he was also of the Northern Circuit bar at Liverpool. At the meeting of the British and Foreign Scientific Association, his health was proposed by Bishop Maltby (of Durham), whose guest he afterwards was at Auckland Castle.

Not only very few foreigners, but very few young Englishmen in the same social position as Sumner—a young barrister, not as yet distinguished in his profession—are admitted as freely as Sumner was into the highest aristocratic society. He was the guest of Lord Wharnclyffe at Wortley Hall, of Lord Fitzwilliam at Wentworth House, and also at Milton. While at Wentworth he had—

“A good opportunity to observe the way in which the wealthy sons of the aristocracy pass their time. The young Lord Milton had invited some of his friends, of about his own age, and keen in their love of horses, to visit him and have some private races. Milton offered, amongst various prizes, a gold cup and a dessert set. Among the young men were the future Lord Scarborough, and Lord De Mauley. They were all dressed as jockeys, with the cap, the close blue or red or yellow silk jacket, the leather breeches, and the white topboots. I observed a strong habit with them all; a remark could not be made without an offer to support it with a *bet*. If they were walking in the garden, one observed on the distance of a certain object, and straightway a bet was offered and taken with regard to it; and on one occasion the young De Mauley—who, besides being the heir of a peer, and at present a member of the House of Commons, has just married one of the handsomest women I ever saw in any country—offered to bet that he could run a certain distance within a given time. The bet was taken, the ground measured, he took off his boots and coat and waistcoat, ran, and gained the bet. At cards they were always disposed to make the sum played for quite high. I have found it universal in England to play for money. One evening I played with a *clergyman*. I won, and the clergyman paid me five shillings. Now, I must confess that I have disliked all this very much. I do not fancy cards in their best state; especially do I not fancy them when so nearly allied to gaming” (i. p. 373).

Since this was written—nearly forty years ago—the passion for

gambling in the shape of racing, betting, and card-playing has increased amongst and extended over all classes of English society. From Wentworth Sumner paid a visit to the town of Boston, after which his native town is named; "and whence," he writes, "John Cotton, 'whose fame was in all the churches,' went to settle our New England. I saw the old parsonage which Cotton left for the woods of America, and tapped at the back-door with a venerable triangular knocker, which, I doubt not, the hands of the Puritan preacher had often known before he forsook the soft cushion of the Established Church and the shadow of that fine Gothic pile, on which, even in his days, so many centuries had shed their sunshines and showered their storms." From Boston, Sumner went to the Earl of Leicester's at Holkham, "which," he wrote, "seems to me to blend more magnificence and comfort, and to hold a more complete collection of interesting things, whether antiques, pictures, or manuscripts, than any seat I have visited." Here he found a portrait of Sir Edward Coke, and saw his handwriting in annotations on many of the books in the library. "You may imagine" (he writes to Greenleaf), "that I have felt no common thrill in being thus permitted to look upon these things." "Lord Leicester," he writes elsewhere, "is now old and infirm. He is a very great friend of America, and recounts as the proudest event of his life the motion he made for the recognition of our independence. He speaks of Fox with the warmest friendship; of George the Fourth in no measured terms" (i. pp. 374-376).*

At Windsor, Sumner was invited to breakfast with the household, and those who remember Baron Stockmar's account of the total want of organisation in the Palace, before Prince Albert, at Stockmar's instigation, undertook the reform of its domestic affairs, will appreciate this extract:—

"I went down to breakfast, where we had young Murray (the head of the household), Lord Surrey, &c. Lord Byron—who you know was a captain in the navy—is a pleasant, rough fellow, who has not many of the smooth terms of the courtier. He came rushing into the room where we were, crying out, 'This day is a real *success*, it is a *rum* one indeed. Will her Majesty go out to-day?' Lord Surrey hoped she would not, unless she would ride at the 'slapping pace' at which she went the day before, which was twenty miles in two hours.

* The Earl of Leicester here spoken of was earlier known as Coke of Holkham. He was long member for Norfolk, and was created a peer on the Queen's accession in 1837. He was the direct descendant of Lord Chief-Justice Coke, whose library is preserved at Holkham. Lord Leicester was in the habit of speaking of the Georges in unmeasured terms. He it was who called George III. "a bloody-minded parasite."

. . . Lord Byron proposed to breakfast with us, but they told him he must go upstairs and breakfast with 'the gals,' meaning the ladies of the bedchamber and maids of honour. . . . Very soon Lord Byron came bouncing down, 'Murray, "the gals" say there is nothing but stale eggs in the Castle.' Again, the ladies sent a servant to Murray complaining that there was no Scotch marmalade. Murray said it was very strange, as a very short time ago he paid for seven hundred pots of it" (ii. 16).*

At Oxford, Sumner was lodged in All Souls', and "enjoyed the pleasing delusion" that he was a Fellow of that peculiar institution. Thence he went to Cambridge. "Oxford is more striking as a whole," he thought, "than Cambridge, but less so in its individual features." At Cambridge he saw "most of the persons eminent at the University, and visited the various Colleges."

The Christmas week of 1838 Sumner spent with Lord Fitzwilliam at Milton. Here he was brought, for the first time, face to face with the peculiar institution of England—fox-hunting. "I think," he wrote, "I have never participated in anything more exciting than this exercise." After describing how, contrary to his first intention, he had been led into the run, he continues—

"My first fence I shall not readily forget. I was near Lord Milton, who was mounted on a thoroughbred horse. He cleared a fence before him. My horse pawed the ground and neighed. I gave him the rein, and he cleared the fence. As I was up in the air for one moment, how was I startled to look down and see there was not only a fence but a ditch! He cleared the ditch too. I lost my balance, was thrown to the very ears of the horse, but in some way or other contrived to work myself back to the saddle without touching the ground. How I got back I cannot tell; but I did regain my seat, and my horse was at a run in a moment."

Those who remember Sumner's gaunt and ungainly figure will be as much surprised at his escape as he was himself. His feelings probably resembled those of the hero of a tale told by one who in his day was well known with the "Fitzwilliam," which described a leap of such width "that the rider, a pious man, said the Lord's Prayer in the air." Encouraged by the success of his first hunting expedition, Sumner the next day made a second, which had its incidents, one of which was, "I rode among the foremost, and in going over a fence and a brook together, came to the ground. My horse cleared them both, and I cleared him, for I went directly over his head." One feature of the hunting-field particularly impressed him, as it was sure to do one of Pūritan descent.

* Stockmar's Memoir, vol. ii. p. 118.

"I should not fail to commemorate the feats of the clergymen, as they illustrate the position of this body in England. The best and hardest rider in this part of the country is reputed to be a clergyman; and there was not a day that I was out that I did not see three or four persons rejoicing in the style of 'Reverend,' and distinguishable from the rest of the *habitués* by wearing a black instead of a red coat. They were among the foremost in every field, and cleared fences with great ease. Once we came to a very stiff rail fence; and as the hounds were not in full cry, there was a general stop to see how the different horses and riders would take it. Many were afraid, and several horses refused it. Soon, however, the Rev. Mr Nash, a clergyman of some fifty years, came across the field, and the cry was raised, 'Hurrah for Nash! Now for Nash!' I need not say that he went over it easily. Change the scene, and imagine Mr. Greenwood or Dr. Lyman Beecher* riding at a rail fence, and some thirty or forty persons looking on and shouting, 'Hurrah for Greenwood!' 'Hurrah for Beecher!'"

Were an American now to visit the "shires," we believe that he would find the clerical element conspicuous by its absence, though it may be, as Mr. Froude says, that the total merging of the country gentleman in the ecclesiastic has tended to weaken rather than strengthen the influence of the country clergy in their parishes.

Describing the dinners and evenings at Milton, he says:—"Conversation goes languidly. The boys are sleepy, and Lord Fitzwilliam serious and melancholy;" and this leads him to pass the following judgment on English fox-hunting:—"I was excited and interested by it. I confess I should like to enjoy it more, and have pressing invitations to continue my visit, or renew it at some future period. But I have moralised much upon it, and have been made melancholy by seeing the time and money that are lavished on this sport, and observing the utter unproductiveness of the lives of those who are most earnestly engaged in it, like my Lord's family, whose mornings are devoted to it, and whose evenings are rounded by a sleep" (ii. pp. 32, 33).† In this we cordially agree, but we are in the minority. Since Sumner's first visit to England the passion for fox-hunting has deepened and widened throughout society.

The hospitality shown to Sumner was not confined to the Whig aristocracy; he was received on equally intimate terms by several leading Tories. Amongst these were Lord Wharncliffe and Sir H. Inglis, of whom he writes:—"Their strong Tory principles no one can doubt, and their beautiful private characters have invested these principles with a charm for my mind that they never had

* Well-known American ministers of that time.

† One of the boys of 1838 has since met his death in the hunting-field.

before. Not that I am a Tory; but meeting Tories of such a character has made me charitable and catholic, and convinced me that everything that proceeds from them is from the purest hearts and most cultivated minds" (i. p. 336).

Of English society, in comparison with that of his own country, Sumner formed this opinion:—"In England, what is called society is better educated, more refined, and more civilised than what is called society in our own country. You understand me to speak of society as society, and not of individuals. I know *persons* in America who would be an ornament of any circle anywhere; but there is no *class* with us that will in the least degree compare with that vast circle which constitutes English society. The difference of education is very much against us" (ii. p. 78).

In March 1839, Sumner left England, and with that event the interest of the book ceases for English readers. We have dwelt so long on this portion of the memoir that we must compress our remarks on that which remains. Sumner travelled through Italy and through Germany, where he made the acquaintance of many distinguished jurists. While at Paris, on his way to Italy, the relations between England and the United States were embittered by the "North-eastern boundary question," and Sumner, at the request of General Cass, the United States Minister at Paris, drew up the argument on the American side, which was published in *Galignani*. It was well received both in this country and in his own. In the United States it was considered a clear and able statement of the American view, and Lord Brougham told him it was "unanswerable." In May 1830, Sumner landed at New York, and thence went home to Boston, where he slowly returned to professional and literary work; but he "never took kindly to the details of law business," and "at times could not refrain from confessing to intimate friends that he had little heart for its drudgery." Law is a very jealous mistress, and "bears no rival near her throne;" and, as was to be expected, Sumner never obtained that eminence at the bar which might have been expected from his love of the study of jurisprudence, his knowledge, if not of law, about law, and his argumentative and rhetorical powers. He was gradually drawn to political life. "Questions of international law, growing out of the institution of slavery in the United States, supplied the first topics in the discussion of which Sumner participated after his return from Europe." The English as distinguished from the American view of the "right of search" was maintained by him in papers which received the strongly expressed approbation of both Story and of Chancellor Kent. At this time the Abolitionist party were urging the dissolution of the Union. William Lloyd Garrison denounced the national constitution "as a pro-slavery instrument, a covenant

with death, and an agreement with hell." Sumner, while equally urgent for abolition, refused to be a party to breaking up the Union. He was not at that time, therefore, in the strict party sense an Abolitionist. In January 1843 appeared his article, "The Nation's Duty as to Slavery," which the late Earl of Carlisle—one of Sumner's most intimate friends—thought "very close, clear, and unanswerable." Its arguments may be thus summed up:—"It cannot be doubted that the Constitution may be amended, so that it shall cease to render any sanction to slavery. The power to amend carries with it the previous right to inquire into and to discuss the matter to be amended; and this right extends to all parts of the country over which the Constitution is spread—the North as well as the South" (ii. p. 240).

He continued his contributions to various periodicals on questions of general as well as legal literature. One of them, on the "Number Seven," which appeared in a law magazine, appears to have been a most singular production. But the slavery question gradually absorbed him. In 1843 we find him writing to the author of a pamphlet on "Caste and Slavery in the Church," "Is it not strange that the Church, or any body of men upon whom the faintest ray of Christianity has fallen, should endeavour to exclude the African, 'guilty of a skin not coloured as their own,' from the freest participation in the privileges of worshipping the common God? It would seem as if prejudice, irrational as it is uncharitable, could no further go. Professing the religion of Christ, they disapprove that equality which He recognises in His precepts; and they violate that most beautiful injunction which enfolds so much philanthropy and virtue, 'Love thy neighbour'" (ii. p. 261). Popular education and prison discipline were also among the subjects which engaged his attention.

The turning-point of his life drew near. In commemoration of an episode in the War of Independence, known as the Boston Massacre, the town of Boston instituted an annual oration, "Upon the danger of standing armies stationed in populous cities in time of peace," which is yearly delivered on "Independence Day," July 4th. Many of the greatest American speakers have delivered the oration. On this occasion, "The Mayor and Aldermen, Common Council, and other city officers march in procession with music and military escort, accompanied by a crowd of citizens, to the appointed place to hear the speaker of the day."* Sumner was chosen to deliver this oration on the 4th July 1845. The subject he chose was "The True Grandeur of Nations." It was emphatically a "speech of peace."* It reads like one of Richard Cobden's

* The words in which Sir R. Peel described his last speech in the House of Commons.

Peace Congress speeches. Sumner had, while in England, been introduced to Cobden, not yet a member of Parliament. In 1845 Cobden was absorbed in the work of the Anti-Corn Law League, and had not commenced his second career as the apostle of reduced armaments and international arbitration. Yet Sumner in 1844 writes in the very spirit of Cobden to his brother-in-law, then at Paris—

“The age of war among civilised nations has passed, and each year of peace is an additional testimony to this truth. . . . I cannot but think you regard with the complacency of another age the immense military establishments and fortifications by which you are surrounded. What a boon to France if her half-million of soldiery were devoted to the building of railways and other internal improvements, instead of passing the day in carrying superfluous muskets! What a boon to Paris if the immense sums absorbed in her fortifications were devoted to institutions of benevolence! She has more to fear from the poverty and wretchedness of her people than from any foreign foe; nor do I set much value upon any defence that can be made against any invading force that has once seen the smoke of the capital. The principles of free trade, now so generally favoured, are antagonists to war. They teach, and when adopted cause, the mutual dependence of nation upon nation. They, in short, carry out among nations the great principle of division of labour which obtains among individuals. It was a common and earnest desire among our statesmen after the last war to render our country *independent*, for its manufactures and fabrics, of foreign nations. Far better would it be, and more in harmony with God’s providence, if we were dependent upon all nations. Then would war be impossible. As civilisation advances, the state of national dependence is promoted, and even England at this moment can hardly call herself independent of the United States.” *

When we turn to the “oration” itself, we shall find the same coincidence of thought. Hitherto on these occasions the speakers of the day had been careful to conform “to the prevailing opinions of the moment.” Sumner was the first to attack “a custom and opinions approved by popular judgment and sanctioned by venerable traditions.” The main thesis of his oration was “In our age there can be no peace that is not honourable; there can be no war that is not dishonourable.” We have space but for one or two extracts. His opening rather savoured of the pulpit, referring to the day “as the Sabbath of the nation, on which we put aside all the common cares of life;” adding, “May he who now addresses you be enabled so to direct your minds that you shall not seem to have lost a day.” He then proceeded, according

* Memoir, vol. ii., pp. 314, 315. See other letters, containing the germs of the oration, vol. ii. pp. 82, 263, 264, 275, 296, 297, 311, 312.

to custom, to pay homage to the Fathers of the Republic in a rhetorical passage, "borrowed," says Mr. Pierce, "almost literally, from the words attributed by Plato to the Fathers of Athens, in the beautiful funeral discourse of the Menexenus" (ii. p. 347). In the course of his address there occurs a passage in the style of Cobden, pointing out that "for the annual sum that is lavished on one ship of the line, *four* institutions like Harvard University might be sustained throughout the country." The practical point which he urged on his hearers was this, "Let us now, in this age of civilisation, surrounded by Christian nations, be willing to follow the successful example of William Penn surrounded by savages. Let us, while we recognise these transcendent ordinances of God—the *law of right*, and the *law of love*—the double suns which illuminate the moral universe—aspire to the true glory, and what is higher than glory, the great good, of taking the lead in the disarming of the nations."

Again: "If it be asked why, on this national anniversary, in the consideration of 'The True Grandeur of Nations,' I have dwelt thus singly and exclusively on war, it is because war is utterly and irreconcilably inconsistent with true greatness (ii. pp. 350, 351). Enumerating the peculiar victories of speech, his Anti-slavery feeling, ever strong, was stirred within him, and he broke forth in a passage which reminds us of, and was probably inspired by, Brougham's Anti-slavery speeches.

"When the day shall come (may these eyes be gladdened with its beams!) that shall witness the peaceful emancipation of three millions of our fellow-men, 'guilty of a skin not coloured as our own,' now held in gloomy bondage under the Constitution of our country, then there shall be a victory in comparison with which that of Bunker's Hill shall be as a farthing candle held up to the sun. That victory shall need no monument of stone. It shall be one of the great landmarks of civilisation; nay, more, it shall be one of the links in the golden chain by which humanity shall connect itself with the throne of God" (ii. p. 353).

Towards the close of his address, not foreseeing the events of fifteen years later, and the course he should then take, he said, "Here, in ampler ether and diviner air, are untried fields for exalted triumphs more truly worthy the American name than any snatched from rivers of blood. War is known as the last reason of kings; let it be no reason of our Republic" (ii. p. 354). The closing sentence of his too long and too ornate peroration was, "Let us now, on this Sabbath of our country, lay a new stone in the grand temple of universal peace, whose dome shall be lofty as the firmament of heaven, as broad and comprehensive as the earth itself" (ii. p. 355).

If it be—as according to Lord Beaconsfield it is—the first property of eloquence to produce a sensation, this oration of Sumner's may rank amongst the masterpieces of the world's eloquence. Such an outspoken declaration of "peace principles" had scarcely ever before, if at all, and certainly not on such an occasion, been made in America. The press throughout the States rang with praises or censures of the speaker and his subject. With the account of this oration, the circumstances of its delivery, and the criticisms it produced, the memoir closes at the threshold of Sumner's public career.

We cannot but reiterate our feeling of disappointment at the abrupt close of the work, and the hope that the writer may be induced to conclude his task, and give the world the public life of Charles Sumner. Meanwhile we tender him our respectful thanks for the interesting volumes he has given us. The memoir, though perhaps too long, is well executed. Though not in style to be compared with "Stanley's Arnold," it is framed on the same principle. The biographer stands aside, and lets the subject of his biography tell the story of his life in his own letters and journals. Both these works possess what may be called, in the words which Macaulay uses of the fourth Gospel, "the peculiar charm of the narrative of the disciple whom the teacher loved." The memoir is enriched with notices of the statesmen, lawyers, and men of letters, both in England and on the Continent, whom Sumner during his European tour saw or was intimate with. They are wonderfully accurate, and show an extensive knowledge of men and facts. Mr. Pierce's familiarity with the lives and careers of former celebrities in Parliament, on the bench, or at the bar, is another illustration of how much there is in common between the peoples of the United States and of England; how the fame of our statesmen and advocates is amongst the cherished possessions of America.

We must conclude. Had space permitted, we should have liked to trace Sumner's career as the bold unflinching leader of the Abolitionists in the Senate; to narrate his denunciations of slavery until the time when the exasperated slave-owners resorted to the appropriate argument of physical force, and felled him to the floor of the Senate House; and to have described his re-appearance in the Senate (4th June 1860), when, with true moral heroism, he "resumed the discussion precisely where he left" it, and made his great speech on the "Barbarism of Slavery," which circulated by the thousand throughout the States, and powerfully contributed to the election, during the ensuing fall, of Abraham Lincoln to the chair of the Union.

Sumner's humanitarian views were rudely tested by the outbreak of the slave-owners' rebellion, and his "voice was for war"

to an extent not easily reconcilable with the principles of "The True Grandeur of Nations." Still less consistent with them was his proposal, strongly urged at the conclusion of the war, to treat the Confederate States as a conquered country. The policy of our Government at that time seemed to estrange Sumner from his well-beloved England; but after the subjugation of the South he once more visited our country, "and passed the last night before sailing on his return with John Bright at Rochdale, when he spoke with admiration of England and of her public men, and with much tenderness of the many friends he counted among her well-known names" (ii. p. 341). The estrangement, therefore, was only temporary.

It is difficult to part with our subject without making a comparison between Sumner and the only other American orator and statesman who was as well known in England—Daniel Webster. In point of oratory, Sumner must yield the palm to Webster. Webster, in his massive logic, his simple language, and his power, resembled Fox, Bishop Wilberforce, and Bright. Sumner's style was too diffuse, too ornate. He weakened his argument by the length to which he drew it out, and his speeches were overlaid by illustrations and quotations. His later style illustrated the deteriorated taste in oratory of his countrymen. But as a statesman, and in moral character, Sumner stood high above Webster. Those who remember Theodore Parker's scathing exposure of Webster's tortuous and sinister career as regards slavery, which he delivered in his "Oration on the Death of Daniel Webster," and contrast it with Sumner's statesmanlike foresight of the consequences of the aggressions of the slave-owners, and the unflinching resistance he offered to them, will agree in the judgment we have ventured to pronounce on the relative merits of these two great Americans.

ART. VII.—THE TELEPHONE.

OF all modern inventions connected with the transmission of telegraphic signals, the telephone, devised by Mr. Alexander Graham Bell, has excited the most wide-spread interest and wonder. Wherever Mr. Bell has appeared before the public to give an account of his invention and the researches which have led up to it, crowds have assembled to hear him. Nor is this astonishing; for the telephone professes not only to convey intelligible signals to great distances without the use of a battery, but to transmit in facsimile the tones of the human voice, so that a voice shall be as certainly recognised when heard over a distance of a few hundreds of miles as if its owner were speaking in the room by our side. And the telephone does not fall short of its profession. Scientific men have had their wonder and curiosity aroused even more than the unscientific public, since a scientific man appreciates the enormous difficulties to be overcome before such an instrument can be realised. Had any hardy speculator a few years ago proposed a telephone which should act on the principle, and be constructed in the form, of Mr. Bell's instrument, he would probably have been considered a lunatic. The effects are so marvellous; the exciting causes at first sight so entirely inadequate to produce them. For a telephonic message differs as widely from an ordinary telegraphic message as a highly finished oil-painting differs from a page of print. In the one you have only white and black, black symbols on a white ground, the symbols being limited in number, and recurring again and again with mere differences of order. The painting, on the other hand, discloses every variety of colour and arrangement. No sharp lines of discontinuity offend the eye; on the contrary, the tints shade off gradually and softly into each other, presenting tone and depth in endless variety. The page of print is unintelligible without the aid of a key; the painting tells its story plainly enough to any one who has eyes to see.

Let us inquire for a moment what is the nature of the apparatus which we have been using for the last thirty or forty years for the transmission of telegraphic signals. The instruments chiefly employed have been the single-needle telegraph and the Morse instrument. In the former a coil of wire surrounds a magnetised needle, which is suspended in a vertical

position. When an electrical current passes through the coil, the needle is deflected, to right or left, according to the direction of the current. The sender by means of a handle can pass either positive or negative currents into the circuit. The right and left deflections of the needle are combined in various ways to form the letters of the alphabet, and the letters form words. Thus at the sending station a message is broken up into little bits, each bit or part of a bit transmitted separately, and the process of building these up again performed at the receiving station. Some of the letters of the alphabet are indicated by a single movement of the needle, that is, by a single current; for others, as many as four are required.

In the Morse instrument only one current is utilised, which may be either positive or negative, and the requisite variety is obtained by allowing the current to pass through the circuit for a longer or shorter interval. The essential part of the instrument consists of an electro-magnet with an iron armature attached to one end of a lever. At the other end of the lever is a pointer or pencil, and a paper ribbon moves at a constant rate in front of the end of the pointer. When the coils of the electro-magnet are traversed by a current, the iron armature is attracted, and the pointer comes in contact with the paper ribbon, on which it makes a mark, long or short, according to the duration of the current. Thus are produced the dots and dashes. These are combined in a similar way to the right and left movements of the needle in the needle instrument. In some of the more refined instruments letters are indicated and even printed directly at the receiving station. This is of course a great simplification; but with such arrangements we cannot have more than this. The page of print represents the limit of what such instruments and methods can do for us. It is true that a skilled operator with the Morse instrument can interpret the signals as they arrive without looking at the marks on the paper, simply by using his ears. Every time the circuit is made or broken a click is heard, and long practice has taught him to rely on the evidence of his ears with as much confidence as one less accustomed to the work would trust his eyes. Nevertheless he hears only a succession of clicks, which must be interpreted before they become intelligible to any one but himself.

In these forms of apparatus, it will be observed, the currents are intermittent; each current, circulating through the coil, is followed by an interval of rest. They begin and end abruptly, and all perform the same kind of work; that is, they deflect a needle, or produce marks on a piece of paper. Telephonic currents, on the other hand, rise and fall, ebb and flow, change in

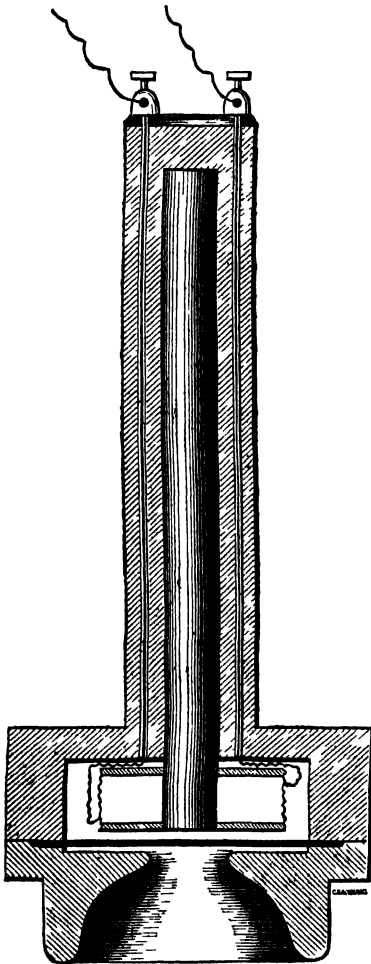
intensity within comparatively wide limits, but preserve their continuity so long as continuous sounds are being uttered in the neighbourhood of the telephone. They are called undulatory currents, to distinguish them from the intermittent currents of the ordinary telegraphic apparatus; and their peculiar character is an essential feature of the telephone.

No skill or training is required for the effective use of the telephone. The operator has merely to press the instrument to his ear to hear distinctly every sound transmitted from the distant end. For this, it is true, an effort of attention is required, and some persons use the instrument at the first trial with more success than others. Individuals differ in the facility with which they are able to concentrate their attention on one ear, so as to be practically insensible to what goes on around them. But this habit of attention is readily acquired, and when it is once acquired, the telephone may be used by any one who has ears to hear and a tongue to speak. In sending a message, the instrument is held about an inch in front of the mouth, and the sender merely talks into the mouth-piece in his ordinary natural manner. The words are repeated by the instrument at the other end of the circuit with the same pitch, the same cadences, and the same relative loudness. But what strikes one the most is that the *character* of the speaker's voice is faithfully preserved and reproduced. Thus one voice is readily distinguished from another. No peculiarity of inflection is lost. Nor is this result effected over short distances only. No doubt a sentence will be heard with diminishing distinctness as it comes over an increasing distance. In this country experiments have not yet been made, so far as we know, over very long distances; but Mr. Bell states that he carried on a conversation without any difficulty between Boston and New York, 258 miles apart, through an ordinary telegraph wire. A man's breathing was distinctly heard 149 miles away. At the Newport torpedo station, in Rhode Island, speaking was carried on through a line, including five miles of submerged cable and an equal length of land wire. Resistance coils were added, 2000 ohms at a time, until 12,000 ohms were introduced into the circuit, without interfering with the transmission of speech. The importance of this test will be understood when it is remembered that the resistance of the Atlantic cable is equal to 7000 ohms only. The experiments at Newport were continued by the addition of a total resistance of 30,000 ohms, but beyond 12,000 ohms the sound was found to diminish in intensity. Mr. Bell states that the *maximum* amount of resistance through which the undulating current will pass, and yet retain sufficient force to produce an audible sound at the distant end,

has yet to be determined. In the laboratory he has conversed through a resistance of 60,000 ohms. There is a practical difficulty in transmitting telephonic signals through a telegraph wire running parallel to a number of other wires which are being used for ordinary telegraphic purposes. Induction currents are produced in the telephone wire, which greatly interfere with the distinctness of the sounds. This difficulty is said to be overcome by having an extra return wire, instead of utilising the earth for a part of the circuit, as is ordinarily done. The two wires are put side by side in close proximity, and the detrimental effect of the inductive currents is thus partially or entirely disposed of. The following extract from a letter which appeared in the *Daily News* a few weeks ago shows that inductive action, when the parallel circuits are not numerous, does not seriously interfere with the transmission of speech:—

“The experiments with the telephone were made by me upon the cable lying between Dover and Calais, which is $21\frac{3}{4}$ miles long. Several gentlemen and ladies were present, and conversed in French and English with a second party in France for upwards of two hours. There was not the slightest failure during the whole time. I was only using one wire. The other three (it is a four-wire cable) were working direct with London and Paris, Calais and Lille. I could distinctly hear the signals by the three wires on the telephone; and at times, when but one of the three wires was working, I could decipher the Morse signals, and read a message that was passing from Glasgow to Paris. Yet when all the three wires were working simultaneously, the telephone sounds were easily and clearly distinguishable above the click of the signals! I happened to know several of the party in France, and was able to recognise their voices. They also recognised mine, and told us immediately a lady spoke that it was a female voice. When making some trials upon a line three-fourths of a mile long, I arranged a musical box (the tones of which are very feeble) under the receiver of an air-pump, the top of the receiver being open. Upon this opening I placed the telephone, and every note came out at the second end so clearly as to enable those who were present to name the tune that was played. Unfortunately we had not the same means in France, but simply held the mouth of the telephone close to the box, and some of the notes were audible, but not so perfect as on the short line. One young lady burst out laughing the moment she placed the instrument to her ear, and exclaimed, ‘Some one is whistling “Tommy make way for your uncle!”’ As my correspondent and myself had had a little practice, we were, without the slightest difficulty, able to talk in our usual manner, without any strain upon the voice or any unnatural lengthening of syllables. We were not able to hear breathing, in consequence of the continued pecking caused by induction from other wires.”

The construction of the telephone is remarkably simple, and will be readily understood from the accompanying woodcut, which



represents a longitudinal section. It consists of a steel cylindrical magnet, about five inches long and three-eighths of an inch in diameter, encircled at one extremity by a short bobbin of wood or ebonite, on which is wound a quantity of very fine insulated copper wire. The magnet and coil are contained in a wooden cylindrical case. The two ends of the coil are soldered to thicker pieces of copper wire, which traverse the wooden envelope from one end to the other, and terminate in the binding screws at its extremity. Immediately in front of the magnet is a thin circular iron plate, which is kept in its place by being jammed between the main portion of the wooden case, and a wooden cap carrying the mouth or ear-trumpet. These two parts are screwed together. The latter is cut away at the centre so as to expose a portion of the iron plate, about half-an-inch in diameter. In the experiments which Mr. Bell has carried out in order to determine the influence of the various parts of the telephone on the

results produced, and their relations to each other when the best effects are obtained, he employed iron plates of various areas and thicknesses, from boiler plate three-eighths of an inch in thickness to the thinnest plate procurable. Wonderful to relate, it appears that scarcely any plate is too thin or too thick for the purpose, but the best thickness is that of the ferrotype plate used by photographers. Thin tin-plate also answers very well. The iron plate is cut into the form of a disc, about two inches in diameter, and is placed as near as

possible to the extremity of the steel magnet without actually touching it; the effect of this position being that, while the induced magnetism of the plate is considerable, it is susceptible to very rapid changes owing to the freedom with which the plate can vibrate. The dimensions of the various parts of the instrument given above are found to be convenient, but they are by no means essential. Good results have been obtained by means of a magnet only an inch and a half long, and a working instrument need not be too large for the waistcoat pocket. There is no difference between the transmitting and the receiving telephone; each instrument serves both purposes. Nevertheless in order to avoid the inconvenience of shifting the instrument backwards and forwards between the ear and the mouth, it is better to have two on the circuit at each station. The operator then holds one permanently to his ear, while he talks with the other.

It will not be supposed that the idea of this marvellously simple piece of apparatus was evolved ready formed from the inventor's brain; very far otherwise. It is the final outcome of a long series of patient researches carried out by Mr. Bell in the most skilful and philosophical manner, in which one modification suggested another, accessory after accessory was discarded, and finally the instrument was pruned down to its present form and dimensions. Telephones have been long known. A few years ago a simple arrangement whereby articulate sounds could be transmitted over a distance of fifty or sixty yards, or even further, could be bought in the streets for a penny. It consisted of a pair of pill boxes, the bottoms of which were connected by a piece of string stretched tight, while over the mouth of each was pasted tissue paper. On speaking to one of the pill boxes the tissue paper and enclosed air were set in vibration. The vibrations so produced were communicated to the thread and transmitted to the distant pill box, which was held close to the ear, where they affected the air in such a way as to reproduce the original sounds. This simple apparatus was more effective than would be *à priori* imagined. Electric telephones were devised in this country about the same time that the telegraph was introduced, but the best of them differed widely from the modern instrument. They were capable of conveying to a distance sounds of various pitch, so that the succession of notes constituting a melody could be reproduced many miles away, but the special character of the voice by which the melody was originated was entirely lost. Now the great interest which attaches to Mr. Bell's telephone, and the intense wonder and curiosity it has aroused, are due to its power of conveying absolutely unaltered every peculiarity of voice or musical instrument. A violin note reappears as a violin note; it cannot

be mistaken for anything else. And in the case of a human voice, it is not less easy to distinguish one speaker from another than it would be if the speakers were in the room close by instead of being miles or even hundreds of miles away. This is the charm of the new telephone; this it is which renders it immeasurably superior to anything of the kind which preceded it.

Mr. Bell's researches in electric telephony began with the artificial production of musical sounds, suggested by the work in which he was then engaged in Boston, viz., teaching the deaf and dumb to speak. Deaf mutes are dumb merely because they are deaf. There is no local defect to prevent utterance, and Mr. Bell has practically demonstrated by two thousand of his own pupils that when the deaf and dumb know how to control the action of their vocal organs, they can articulate with comparative facility. Striving to perfect his system of teaching, it occurred to Mr. Bell that if, instead of presenting to the eye of the deaf mute a system of symbols, he could make visible the vibrations of the air, the apparatus might be used as a means of teaching articulation. In this part of his investigations Mr. Bell derived great assistance from the phonautograph. He succeeded in vibrating by the voice a style of wood, about a foot in length, attached to the membrane of the phonautograph; and with this he obtained enlarged tracings of the vibrations of the air, produced by the vowel sounds, upon a plane surface of smoked glass. Mr. Bell traced a similarity between the manner in which this piece of wood was vibrated by the membrane of the phonautograph and the manner in which the ossiculae of the human ear were moved by the tympanic membrane. Wishing to construct an apparatus closely resembling the human ear, it was suggested to him by Dr. Clarence J. Blake, a distinguished aurist of Boston, that the human ear itself would be still better, and a specimen was prepared. Our readers are aware that the tympanic membrane of the ear is connected with the internal ear by a series of little bones called respectively the malleus, the incus, and the stapes, from their peculiar shapes, and that by their means the vibrations of the tympanic membrane are communicated to the internal ear and the auditory nerves. Mr. Bell removed the stapes, and attached to the end of the incus a style of hay about an inch in length. Upon singing into the external artificial ear, the style of hay was thrown into vibration, and tracings were obtained upon a plane surface of smoked glass passed rapidly underneath. The curves so obtained are of great interest, each showing peculiarities of its own dependent upon the vowel sound that is sung. Whilst engaged in these experiments, Mr. Bell's attention was arrested by observing the wonderful disproportion which exists between the size and

weight of the membrane—no thicker than tissue paper—and the weight of the bones vibrated by it, and he was led to inquire whether a thicker membrane might not be able to vibrate a piece of iron in front of an electro-magnet. The experiment was at once tried. A piece of steel spring was attached to a stretched membrane of gold-beater's skin and placed in front of the pole of the magnet. This answered very well, but it was found that the action of the instrument was improved by increasing the area of metal, and thus the membrane was done away with and an iron plate substituted for it. It was important, at the same time, to determine the effect produced by altering the strength of the magnet; that is, of the current which passed round the coils. The battery was gradually reduced from fifty cells to none at all, and still the effects were observed, but in a less marked degree. The action was in this latter case doubtless due to residual magnetism; hence, in the present form of apparatus a permanent magnet is employed. Lastly, the effect of varying the dimensions of the coil was studied, when it was found that the sounds became louder as its length was diminished; a certain length was, however, ultimately reached, beyond which no improvement was effected, and it was found to be only necessary to enclose one end of the magnet in the coil of wire.

Such was the instrument that Mr. Bell sent to the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia. The following is the official report of it, signed by Sir William Thomson and others:—

“Mr. Alexander Graham Bell exhibits an apparatus by which he has achieved a result of transcendent scientific interest,—a transmission of spoken words by electric currents through a telegraph wire. To obtain this result Mr. Bell perceived that he must produce a variation of strength of current as nearly as may be in exact proportion to the velocity of a particle of air moved by the sound, and he invented a method of doing so,—a piece of iron attached to a membrane, and thus moved to and fro in the neighbourhood of an electro-magnet,—which has proved perfectly successful. The battery and wire of this electro-magnet are in circuit with the telegraph wire and the wire of another electro-magnet at the receiving station. This second electro-magnet has a solid bar of iron for core, which is connected at one end by a thick disc of iron to an iron tube surrounding the coil and bar. The free circular end of the tube constitutes one pole of the electro-magnet, and the adjacent free end of the bar core the other. A thin circular iron disc, held pressed against the end of the tube by the electro-magnetic attraction and free to vibrate through a very small space without touching the central pole, constitutes the sounder by which the electric effect is reconverted into sound. With my ear pressed against this disc, I heard it speak distinctly several sentences. . . . I

need scarcely say I was astonished and delighted. So were others, including some judges of our group, who witnessed the experiments and verified with their own ears the electric transmission of speech. This, perhaps the greatest marvel hitherto achieved by the electric telegraph, has been obtained by appliances of quite a homespun and rudimentary character. With somewhat more advanced plans and more powerful apparatus, we may confidently expect that Mr. Bell will give us the means of making voice and spoken words audible through the electric wire to an ear hundreds of miles distant."

The present form of instrument which is now being manufactured in large numbers by the Silvertown Company does not essentially differ from that reported on so enthusiastically by Sir William Thomson. Only it is more simple in construction and more handy.

Before attempting any explanation of the action of the telephone it may be well to draw the attention of our readers to the special characteristics of the human voice, and to those peculiarities which distinguish one musical note from another. Whatever the differences in question may depend upon, it is certain that they are transmitted and reproduced in the telephone with unerring fidelity, and it is therefore important that we should understand their nature and origin. Take a tuning-fork and set it in vibration by striking or drawing a violoncello bow across its prongs. The fork yields its own proper note, which will be loud or the reverse according as the fork has been struck energetically or lightly. So long as we use one fork only, it is obvious that the only variation which can be produced in the sound is a variation of intensity. If the extent of vibration be small, the resulting sound is feeble; its loudness increases with the excursion of the prongs. What is true of the tuning-fork is true of any other musical instrument, and hence, generally, the loudness of a musical sound depends upon the amplitude of vibration of that which produced it. Now take two similar tuning-forks of different pitch, and suppose that one is exactly an octave above the other. They may be excited in such a way that the notes emitted are of equal loudness, and then the only respect in which they differ from each other is in pitch. The pitch of a fork depends upon its rate of vibration. It is comparatively easy with suitable apparatus to measure the rate of vibration of a tuning-fork, and were we to test the two forks in question, it would be found that that giving the higher note vibrates exactly twice as fast as the other. If the one performs 100 oscillations in a second, the other, which is an octave above, completes 200 in the same interval of time. Thus, the pitch of a note yielded by a tuning-fork depends upon its rate of vibration, and on nothing else, and the same is true of a pianoforte wire, the air in an

organ pipe, a harmonium reed, &c. We have now accounted for two of the characteristics of a musical note, its loudness and its pitch; but there is a third, equally, if not more, important, and by no means so simple of explanation. We refer to what is usually spoken of in English books on acoustics as the *quality* of the note; the French call it *timbre*, and the Germans *klangfarbe*. It is that which constitutes the difference between a violin and an organ, or between an organ and a pianoforte, or between two human voices; indeed between any two musical sounds which are of the same pitch and loudness, but are still distinguishable from each other. In order to explain the physical cause of *quality*, we will suppose we have a thin metallic wire about a yard long stretched between two points over a sounding board. When plucked at its centre the wire vibrates as a whole; the two ends are points of rest, and a loop is formed between them. The note emitted by the wire when vibrating in this manner is called its fundamental note. If the wire be damped at the centre, by laying on it with slight pressure the feather of a quill pen, and plucked at a point half way between the centre and one end, both halves will vibrate in the same manner, and independently of each other. That is to say, there will be two equal vibrating segments and a point of rest or node at the centre. But the rapidity of vibration of each segment will be twice as great as that of the wire when vibrating as a whole, and consequently the note emitted will be the octave of the fundamental. When damped at a point one-third of the length from either extremity, and plucked half way between that point and the nearer extremity, the wire will vibrate in three equal divisions, just as it vibrated in two divisions in the previous case. The rate of vibration will be now three times as great as at first, and the note produced will be a twelfth above the fundamental. Similarly, by damping and plucking at suitable points, the wire may be made to vibrate in four parts, five parts, six parts, &c., the rate of vibration increasing to four, five, six, &c., times what it was at first. Let us suppose that when the wire was swinging as a whole and sounding its fundamental note, the number of oscillations performed in a second was 100. Then we see that, by taking suitable precautions, the wire can be made to break up into two, three, four, five, six, &c., vibrating segments, the rates of vibration being respectively 200, 300, 400, 500, 600, &c., and the series of notes emitted being the octave above the fundamental, the fifth above the octave, the double octave, the third and fifth above the double octave, and so on. We now come to an important point, which is this—that, the wire being free, it is practically impossible to strike or pluck it in such a way as to make it vibrate according to one of the above systems *only*. It

will vibrate as whole, wherever and however it be struck, but this mode has always associated with it or superposed upon it some of the other modes of vibration to which we have just referred. In other words, the fundamental note is never heard alone, but always in combination with a certain number of its overtones, as they are called. Each form of vibration called into existence sings as it were its own song, without heeding what is being done by its fellows, and the consequence is that the sound which reaches the ears is not simple but highly composite in its character. The word *clang* has been suggested to denote such a composite sound, the constituent simple sounds, of which it is the aggregate, being called its first, second, third, &c., partial-tones. All the possible partial-tones are not necessarily present in a clang, nor of those which are present are the intensities all the same. For instance, if the wire be struck at the centre, that point cannot be a node, but must be a point of maximum disturbance; hence all the even partial-tones are excluded, and only the odd ones, the first, third, fifth, and so on, are heard.

That characteristic of a musical note or clang which is called its quality, depends upon the number and relative intensities of the partial-tones which go to form it. The tone of a tuning-fork is approximately simple; so is that of a stopped wooden organ pipe of large aperture blown by only a slight pressure of wind. Such tones sound sweet and mild, but also tame and spiritless. In the clang of the violin, on the other hand, a large number of partial-tones are represented; hence the vivacious and brilliant character of this instrument. The sounds of the human voice are produced by the vibrations of the vocal chords, aided by the resonance of the mouth. The size and shape of the cavity of the mouth may be altered by opening and closing the jaws, and by tightening or loosening the lips. We should expect that these movements would not be without effect on the resonance of the contained air, and such proves on experiment to be the fact. Hence, when the vocal chords have originated a clang containing numerous well-developed partial-tones, the mouth cavity, by successively throwing itself into different postures, can favour by its resonance first one overtone and then another; at one moment *this* group of partial-tones, at another *that*. In this manner endless varieties of quality are rendered possible. Any one may prove to himself, by making the experiment, that when singing on a given note he can only change from one vowel sound to another by altering the shape and size of his mouth cavity.

Having thus briefly indicated the physical causes of the various differences in musical notes, and the production of sounds by the organ of voice, we will devote a few moments to consider how these sounds are propagated through the air and reach the plate

of the telephone. When a disturbance is produced at any point in an aerial medium, the particles of which are initially at rest, sonorous undulations spread out from that point in all directions. These undulations are the effect of the rapid vibratory motions of the air particles. The analogy of water waves will help us to understand what is taking place under these circumstances. If a stone be dropped into the still water of a pond, a series of concentric circular waves is produced, each wave consisting of a crest and a hollow. The waves travel onwards and outwards from the centre of disturbance along the surface of the water, while the drops of water which constitute them have an oscillatory motion in a vertical direction. That is to say, following any radial line, the water particles vibrate in a direction at right angles to that in which the wave is propagated. The distance between two successive crests or two successive hollows is called the length of the wave; the amplitude of vibration is the vertical distance through which an individual drop moves. In a similar manner sonorous undulations are propagated through air by the oscillatory motion of the air particles. But there is this important difference between the two cases, that, in the latter, the vibrating particles move in the *same* direction in which the sound is being propagated. Consequently such waves are not distinguished by alternate crests and hollows, but by alternate condensations and rarefactions of the air, the transmission of which constitutes the transmission of sound. The wave-length is the distance between two consecutive condensations or rarefactions. It depends upon the pitch of the transmitted sound, being shorter as the sound is more acute, while the extent of vibration of the air particles increases with the loudness. Such are the peculiarities of the vibratory motion in air corresponding to the pitch and loudness of the transmitted sound. But what is there in the character of the motion to account for difference in quality? A little consideration will show that there is only one thing left to account for these, and that is the *form* of the vibration. Let us mentally isolate a particle of air, and follow its movements as the sound passes. If the disturbance is a simple one, produced, say, by the vibration of a tuning fork, the motion of the air particle will be simple also, that is, it will vibrate to and fro like the bob of a pendulum, coming to rest at each end of its excursion, and from these points increasing in velocity until it passes its neutral point. Such, however, is clearly not the only mode of vibration possible. If the disturbance be produced by a *clang* comprising a number of partial-tones of various intensities, all excited simultaneously, it is obvious that the air particle must vibrate in obedience to every one of these. Its motion will be the resultant of all the motions due to the separate partial-

tones. We may imagine it, starting from its position of rest, to move forward, then stop short, and turn back for an instant, then on again until it reaches the end of its excursion. In returning it may perform the same series of to and fro motions in the opposite direction, or it may move in a totally different way. Nevertheless, however complex its motion may be—and, as a rule, it will be exceedingly complex—its periodic character will be maintained. All the tremors and perturbations in one wavelength will recur in all the others.

When sonorous undulations impinge upon the iron plate of the telephone, the latter is set in vibration. Its particles move to and fro in some way or other. The complexity of their motion will depend upon that of the air from which it was derived. But for the sake of simplicity we will assume that the plate has a simple pendulous motion. It will be remembered that the iron plate is placed quite close to, but not quite in contact with, the extremity of the steel magnet. It becomes, therefore, itself a magnet by induction; and, as it vibrates, its magnetic power is constantly changing, being strengthened when it approaches the magnetic core, enfeebled as it recedes. Again, when a magnet moves in the neighbourhood of a coil of wire, the ends of which are connected together, an electrical current is developed in the coil, whose strength depends upon the rapidity with which, and the distance through which, the magnet moves. In the telephone then, as the plate moves towards the coil, a current is induced in the latter which traverses the whole length of wire connecting it with the distant instrument; the plate returning, another current with reversed sign follows the first. The intensity of these currents depends, as we have said, on the rapidity with which these movements are effected, but is largely influenced also by the fact that the plate does not retain a constant magnetic strength throughout its excursions. Under the assumption we have made with respect to the simplicity of the plate's motion, it follows that the induced currents, alternately positive and negative, follow each other in a uniform manner, and with a rapidity corresponding to the pitch of the exciting note. These currents pass along the circuit, and circulate round the coil of the distant telephone. There they modify the magnetic relations between the steel magnetic core and the iron plate in such a way that one current—say the positive—attracts the plate, while the other—the negative—repels it. And since the arriving currents follow each other, first positive and then negative, with perfect regularity, the plate will also vibrate in a uniform manner, and will perform the same number of vibrations per second as did the plate of the sending instrument. Hence the sound heard will

be an exact copy, except as to loudness, of that produced at the sending station. Having thus followed the sequence of phenomena in this simple case, we are enabled to extend our explanation to the case in which composite sounds of more or less complexity—vowel sounds and speech—are transmitted. We are compelled to admit that every detail in the motion of an air particle, every turn and twist, must be passed on unaltered to the iron membrane, and that every modification of the motion of the membrane must have its counterpart in a modification of the induced currents. These, in their turn, affecting the iron plate of the receiving telephone, it follows that the plates of the two telephones must be vibrating in an absolutely identical manner.

We can thus follow in a general manner the course of the phenomena, and explain how air vibrations are connected with the vibrations of a magnetic plate—how these latter give rise to electrical currents, which, passing over a circuit of hundreds of miles, cause another magnetic plate to vibrate; every tremor in the first being reproduced in facsimile in the second, and thus excite sonorous undulations which pass on to the ear. We can understand all this in a general way, but we are not the less lost in wonder that the sequence of events should be what it is. That a succession of currents could be transmitted along a telegraph wire without the aid of a battery, that, by simply talking to a magnetic membrane in front of a coil of wire, the relations of the magnetic field between the two could be so far modified as to produce in the coil a succession of electrical currents of sufficient power to traverse a long circuit, and to reproduce a series of phenomena identical with those by which the currents were brought into existence, would have been a few years ago pronounced an impossibility. A man would have been derided who proposed an instrument constructed on such principles. Nevertheless, here it is realised in our hands. We can no longer doubt, we can only wonder, and admire the sagacity and patience with which Mr. Bell has worked out his problem to a successful issue.

INDIA AND OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

[We intend to publish in future numbers of the "Westminster Review," under the above title, a continuous series of articles on Anglo-Indian and Colonial affairs. The following article (forming the first of the series) treats of Indian affairs only: in our next number we shall extend our survey to those of the British Colonies.]

AT the last general election the Conservative party appealed successfully not only to the various selfish interests which had been affected, or were likely to be affected injuriously by the progress of Liberal reforms, but to the more stupid forms of patriotic feeling. English influence, which, under an administration of economists and educationalists, had almost ceased to affect the councils of armed nations, was again to be wielded by as great a commoner as Pitt, and in as wide a field as in Pitt's time. Mr. Disraeli, it was true, was known to be very imperfectly acquainted with the temper and condition of the colonies and dependencies, for the interests of which, as imperial interests, he betrayed such jealous concern. But this was nothing to minds that were glad to find refuge from the duty of investigating facts in dreamy and pompous generalities as to the mission of races, the genius of historic peoples, and that curious mixture of bluff Anglo-Saxonism and quaint quasi-philosophic absurdity to which Lord Beaconsfield's utterances owe so much of their effect. Critics, both friendly and hostile, seemed to think that his birth and history furnished him with an intuitive Asiatic policy, and that he was prepared to solve the Eastern problem by a Semitic formula. When, then, it was announced that he had appointed Lord Lytton, poet and diplomatist, to succeed the business-like and prosaic Lord Northbrook as Viceroy of India, men believed that at last the policy of prestige, which on this side of Suez had found expression only in the unheroic purchase of Canal shares, and was destined to end disastrously in the foolish bluster of a Guildhall speech, was to find a more appropriate stage in Asia. The great game was at last to be played; the system of masterly inactivity so

long threatened was at last to be abandoned ; Russian aggression was to be met by a more energetic protest than the addition of a hateful title to the style of English sovereignty.

It is now known that, in the opinion of Lord Salisbury, the dignity and interests of Great Britain are better maintained by a reticent and modest policy than by the warm rhetoric and dramatic *coups* in which the genius of the Prime Minister delights. As Secretary of State for India, he knew that the great guarantee for the stability of our rule and the good government of the country is the soundness of its finances. As a chief of the Conservative party, he knew that the support of the manufacturing interests was worth securing. And war, he knew, even successful war, waged in Asia with the resources of India would ruin its finances, cut off the margin of population long years of peace had allowed to grow, and—chief consideration of all, from a purely Manchester point of view—would seriously diminish its effective demand for cotton goods.

When Lord Lytton, on the 12th of April 1876, took the oaths of office as Viceroy of India, the most interesting questions of Indian politics were—(1) The distress caused to Government and mercantile interests by the fall in exchange due to the sudden depreciation of silver, and (2) the action of Lord Salisbury regarding the five per cent. import duty imposed on manufactured cotton goods. The extravagant expenditure during the Bengal famine, and the honours heaped on those who were responsible for it, had ceased to be discussed, though its effects were still felt in the straitened state of the finances. Whatever interest India felt in the assumption of the new royal title had almost died away, except where a vague hope that so unsubstantial a claim to gratitude would be followed by substantial concessions to their feelings and claims lingered in the minds of the small section of the native community which has any care beyond that of satisfying the daily wants of life. Negotiations were pending with the Khan of Khelat, the interest of which was soon to be merged in the general question of frontier policy. The visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales had directed attention to the relations of the native princes to the paramount power and the general attitude of British officials to the native public. But the questions really discussed were those of the depreciation of silver and the import cotton duties. The latter had brought into collision the authority of the Secretary of State and of the Viceroy. In August 1875 the Viceroy and his Council had passed as an urgent measure an Act abolishing duties which brought in over £300,000 a year to the treasury, and retaining on imported cotton goods a

revised duty of five per cent. Lord Salisbury, who had some time before declared with unwonted exuberance his sympathy with the interests of Manchester at a banquet given in his honour by the manufacturers of that town, protested against the measure with characteristic vehemence. Never since Lord Ellenborough tried to browbeat Lord Canning have despatches couched in such arbitrary and almost insulting terms been addressed by a Secretary of State to a Viceroy. It is admitted by those who defend Lord Salisbury's action that the right of the Indian Government to alter tariffs has always been recognised, and that though by a comparatively recent rule the Secretary of State ought to be informed beforehand of the nature of proposed legislation in other departments, cases of urgency have been excepted. It has hardly been disputed that, in the interests of commerce as well as of the revenue, it was a matter of urgent necessity to prevent any interval from elapsing between the introduction of the proposed tariff and its enactment as law. Lord Salisbury himself admitted that the proposed duty, though protective in form, was not sensibly protective in operation. The duty was estimated to yield in all over £300,000, and nearly the whole of this was to be levied on fine cotton goods, in which Indian industry did not compete with English. Yet the Secretary of State did not hesitate to characterise the passing of the Act in one sitting without reference to him as almost a scandalous abuse of the power vested in the Viceroy. The Viceroy was peremptorily directed to remove the duty at the earliest opportunity, and in future in all cases to acquaint the Home Government with his proposals before legislating to give them effect. It is hardly worth while now to inquire whether the duties removed by Lord Northbrook were more objectionable than those he retained or imposed. Lord Salisbury's objections would apply to all forms of indirect taxation, and direct taxation in India has been shown by repeated experiments to be more objectionable than the most objectionable form of indirect taxation. By his assumptions, and still more by the general tone of his despatches, Lord Salisbury sought to destroy the traditional independence of the Viceroy, especially as regards his initiative in finance. The famine and the continual fall in exchange have prevented any attempts being made to give effect to the Secretary's instructions; but the incident is to be recorded as the first step in the attempt to transfer the responsible government of India from Calcutta to Westminster. And it was made, it must be remembered, by a Conservative and chivalrous nobleman, not in behalf of the Indian people, nor to remedy a substantial grievance of English industry, but in deference to what

the innovator acknowledged to be the unreasonable outcry of his Manchester friends. It is desirable, no doubt, when possible, to remove from the schedules duties which even savour of Protection, but it is certain that it was the influence of Manchester, not of sound economical considerations, that prompted the blow at the authority of the Indian Government. If the influence of English politics suggested the encroachment, what, we may ask, will be their influence when the ground is won? The Government of India has at last discovered the wisdom of resigning to the Provincial Governments many departments of administration it had kept under its own jealous and ineffective control. It would be unfortunate if, while the principle of local responsible government thus received extended recognition, the Central Government of India became a mere department of English administration, subject to all the ignorant and vicious influences which affect English politics. Why pay for an Indian Office at all, asks Lord Salisbury, if its control is not to be felt in every department? Why pay for a Colonial Office, we ask in reply, if it cannot prevent the adoption in the colonies of commercial policies not merely inconsistent with but hostile to the commercial policy of England? And if India can be ruled from Westminster, why maintain the dingy pageantry of the Viceroyalty? The English Government of India *in India* is never likely to forget how interdependent are the interests of the two countries, and is little likely to yield to the clamour of Indian industries for protection against English. But the English Government of India *in England* is peculiarly sensitive to the clamour of English industries for protection against measures which, in securing a great good for India, incidentally lessen the gains of certain classes of Englishmen.

Lord Lytton, it was generally understood, was willing to be the submissive tool of the Secretary of State. Before leaving England he assured the cotton-spinners of his sympathy. On reaching Bombay he admitted the practical difficulty of giving them relief. On assuming office at Calcutta he wisely confined himself to expressing his sense of the difficulties and responsibilities of his position, his firm reliance on the support of the Home Government and the co-operation of all classes in India—his earnest desire as well for the happiness of India as for the honour and interests of England.

So many motive forces combine in the machinery of Indian government, and each force is met by so many checks and counterchecks, that neither an exceptionally able nor an exceptionally incompetent Governor can, except in particular crises, effect much exceptional good or exceptional harm. But personal character counts for something; and it may be interesting to inquire what the public aspects

of Lord Lytton's career suggest as to his qualifications for the post of Viceroy. He had been a poet and a diplomatist. A poet may be a man of action; he must, at all events, be a man of quick and delicate sympathies. In our days he is generally a philanthropist. To say, as some newspapers said, that Lord Lytton's poetic faculty would give him a kind of magic insight into the real needs of India is mere cant. The only way to solve a difficult problem is to master its elements. But Imagination plays as important a part in social and political studies as in Science. As in private life the true gentleman is he who not only wishes to respect the feelings of others, but, by imagining to himself what they are, is able to avoid doing them violence, so in public affairs the true statesman is he who not only aims at a worthy end, but can so well imagine the aspect measures will wear to other men as to adopt only those which are certain to attain the end in view. In diplomacy this imaginative power is called into constant play, and, like other faculties, ought to be developed by exercise. But the men and the conditions Lord Lytton had now to deal with were very different from the men and the conditions he had hitherto dealt with. It was to be feared that, if diplomacy were a special craft, and Lord Lytton were tempted to use it in his new sphere of action, he would too late discover that the methods of Europe were inappropriate in Asia. In our progress to empire in India our footholds have not always been gained by honourable means, but they have, on the whole, been maintained not more by valour than by honesty. We have found by experience that simple truth is the best diplomacy, and that to intrigue would be folly. While, then, Lord Lytton's poetic sympathies and generous impulses were recognised as qualities essential to the perfect discharge of his high functions, his special diplomatic training seemed likely, in the opinion of thoughtful men (among whom must be reckoned but a very small proportion of Indian journalists), to lead him astray. He laboured under one disadvantage in common with nearly all his predecessors: he was ignorant of the country he came to govern. The functions of the Viceroy are as strictly judicial as those of a jury. In many cases he has to form an opinion on facts of precisely the same kind as those adduced in judicial inquiries. In others he has to pass in review all the elements of a complicated question of policy and decide what course will be best. He has secretaries to prepare abstracts of the facts, and a council to assist him with their opinion, or, if he prefer it, the experience on which their opinions are based. Now very slight consideration is sufficient to show that the verdict of a jury is based not only on the small assemblage of directly relevant facts which are in evidence, but on the infinite host

of indirectly relevant facts which are not in evidence. The relative significance and credibility of the different parts of the evidence actually given—what are called the probabilities of the case—are determined by the experience of each jurymen, *i.e.* by the opinion he has arrived at on evidence he has been unconsciously collecting all his life. It is the same in legislative and executive government. The fundamental premises are often hardly alluded to in debate, either because they are generally admitted, or because inconsistent inductions have hardened into conflicting principles. Suppose it were proposed to substitute for the present House of Commons a tribunal in which an illustrious native of China, learned in all the learning and experienced in all the institutions of that country, should preside and decide all matters in debate, guided only by the arguments of the existing members. Would such a system work well? A man must take a very pessimist view of that which now exists if he approve of the experiment. Would it work better if the native of China were assisted by a council of better acclimatised Chinamen, and if he were subject to the control of a still more illustrious Chinaman resident at Pekin? The case we suppose differs in degree only and not in kind from that of a new Governor-General. In many questions of the greatest importance he has not even the elementary experience necessary to enable him to understand the arguments intended to influence his decision. When he is not wise enough to adopt the suggestions of his advisers, his resolutions are the result of prejudice or caprice. We do not say that there are not many questions—and those of the highest importance—the data of which are intelligible without Indian experience. But even these require patient study, and cannot be decided by a reference to a tabulated statement of arguments on each side. In other matters, ignorance of the state of feeling of the classes affected, and of the surrounding details, have often led the most able Viceroys to adopt measures fatal to the interests they had most at heart. We do not ignore the advantages resulting from the appointment to the highest office of one whose rank invests it with necessary authority, and who, having previously taken no active part in Indian official life, is less likely to be thwarted by the jealousy of his colleagues, or misled by inevitable prejudice. But it does not follow that, because experience involves some disadvantages, absolute inexperience is a qualification. If, on the whole, it appear better to appoint as Viceroy an English nobleman than an Anglo-Indian official, it surely is not unreasonable to expect that he shall be one whose training and studies specially fit him for controlling the affairs of India. England is said to be with justice proud of its aristocracy. Our national self-complacency is

never tired of comparing the moral grandeur of the British imperial dominion with the selfish sway of Rome. In such a class of such a people, are there no members to whom so splendid an office would be sufficient reward for long labour devoted to the acquirement of the experience necessary to enable them to fulfil its duties? We believe there are. But the experience must be experience of India acquired in India—not the experience of Parliamentary Under-Secretaryships or Colonial Governments. It is because the policy of Lord Salisbury, by lessening the power and responsibility of the office of Viceroy, lessens its prestige and attractiveness to men of honourable ambition that we have referred to it at such length. It would be vain, perhaps, to hope that the supreme control of Indian affairs shall not pass from hand to hand according to the fluctuations of English party politics, but better men would certainly be secured for the post of Secretary of State for India as well as that of Viceroy, if it became the practice to appoint to the former only from the ranks of those who had served in the latter.

As regards the Exchange question, Government was blamed not only for adopting no measures of relief, but for increasing the distress of the commercial community by the action it took for the protection of its own interests. In India the standard of currency is silver. The value of the exports from India to England has for many years greatly exceeded the value of the exports from England to India. Accounts had been adjusted by the export of silver to India, which has always shown an extraordinary power of absorbing bullion. But in recent years the amount to be paid in England by the Indian Government on account of interest on loans, pensions, and purchase of stores, has enormously increased. In 1876 it was £15,000,000. These home charges were generally met by the sale of bills drawn by the Secretary of State on the Indian Government. As these bills offered to English debtors a more economical means of remittance than the export of silver, the increase in their amount diminished the demand for bullion. Owing to this and to the increased production of silver from the mines, the demonetisation of silver in some European countries, and its supersession by a forced paper currency in others, the value of bullion had rapidly fallen in the markets of Europe. As it was impossible to estimate either the probable intensity or duration of these disturbing elements, those reasonable calculations which form the basis of sound commerce were impossible. The diminished purchasing power of the rupee in the markets of Europe was a dead loss to merchants whose capital consisted of rupees. In the Budget for 1874-75 the exchange value of the rupee was taken as 1s. 10²/_{2d}. In July 1876

it had fallen to 1s. 6d. It does not appear that its value in India—its purchasing power of Indian commodities—had diminished. There was no general rise of price. Thus the only persons directly injured were those who had to make remittances to Europe. As most of the better paid European officials remit a large part of their income for the requirements of their families at home, it may easily be understood how loud and how unreasonable was the clamour for Government interference. Government was itself a sufferer. It lost indirectly by the paralysis of commerce—it lost directly by the diminution of the sums realised by the sale of the Secretary of State's bills. On the £15,000,000 to be laid down in England for 1876-77, the loss by exchange was estimated at £1,000,000. To meet this the expenditure on public works—chiefly irrigation works—was reduced. It was decided that, if this new burden on the finances were not removed, the costly scheme of public works should be abandoned, and only those in hand—the estimated outlay on which amounted to £14,000,000—should be completed. The public works policy of the Indian Government oscillates at short intervals between two extremes. Under the pressure of financial embarrassment, every consideration is subordinated to the securing of a surplus without recourse to fresh taxation or loans. While the horrors and the waste of famine are still recent, financial difficulties are lost sight of in the earnest desire to render drought and starvation impossible by the extension of the railway and canal system. We shall revert to this subject hereafter. At present we must only note that, in 1876, the Government was compelled to declare that the country could not bear additional taxation. If the causes of depreciation were likely to continue to operate, it was obvious that raising a loan in England would give temporary relief by increasing the burden of home charges for interest. In the hope that they were temporary, it was decided to borrow enough in England to enable the Secretary of State to suspend the monthly sale of bills. It was announced by the Finance Minister in India that the amount to be thus borrowed would be £2,640,000, and there can be little doubt that bankers and merchants entered into engagements in the belief that precisely that amount would be borrowed. Twelve days afterwards the telegraph announced that Lord Salisbury had invited tenders for £4,000,000. Chambers of commerce remonstrated, and asked for more definite information as to the intentions of Government in future. This Government curtly refused to give.

The effect of the suspension of the Secretary of State's drawings was, of course, to compel the export of bullion to India, and thus raise its value in the London market. Meanwhile, in India, Govern-

ment had kept in its coffers the money which, in the ordinary course of things, would have been devoted to meeting the home drawings, and was said to have withdrawn large sums of money from the Presidency banks. Thus a tight money market would be created in India; the import of silver would be stimulated; the increased demand for it in London for this purpose would raise its value; more favourable rates would be obtained for the Secretary of State's bills; the resumption of these would relieve the money market, and matters would come right again. While the Indian Chambers of Commerce argued that, to remove the uncertainty so prejudicial to mercantile and banking interests, the Secretary of State ought either to offer his bills for sale to the highest bidder, as he had always done, or withdraw from the money market altogether for a definite time, the Secretary of State answered that his relations with the exchange banks were of the same kind as those of private firms, and that he was no more bound than individuals were to sacrifice any advantage he was likely to gain by keeping his intentions secret or influencing the market. In July the rate of exchange had sunk to its lowest point. The most absurd remedies were suggested. It was gravely urged that Government could give a fictitious value to the rupee, either by direct ordinance to that effect, or by stopping the coining of silver, or by the imposition of a heavy seignorage charge. Others urged that Government ought to stop the issue of notes and convert the paper currency into silver, forgetting that this could only give temporary relief by diminishing the glut of silver in the home market, and would involve an expenditure compared to which the Government loss for the year was trifling. The essential fact was lost sight of that silver was not depreciated in India as compared with commodities. The fact that a London merchant could buy more rupees with a sovereign than he used to buy, meant simply that he could buy more Indian goods. This would stimulate exports from India and discourage imports. There would be an increased demand for silver in England to send in payment. Thus the glut would be diminished. If the result of this process, after a time, was to increase the amount of silver in India beyond the power the country had of absorbing it, silver would no doubt be depreciated there too as compared with commodities. But nothing could have prevented this. Government would not suffer in the long-run. Taxation would nominally be increased; the same proportion of the tax-payer's income would be taken, though it would be represented by a larger amount of silver. The fixed assessments, such as those of the Land Revenue, would have to be revised to suit the altered value of the standard. Persons with hoarded rupees would suffer just like persons with hoarded ornaments.

The new arrangements would, of course, cause inconvenience to Government, and hardship to persons with incomes fixed in money. But these inconveniences would be trifling compared to those which would be felt if the attempt to give the rupee a fictitious value succeeded. We need hardly attempt to show that such attempts never can succeed. It is better to accept as inevitable the inconvenience of the change from a higher to a lower value of the standard. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce apparently did not think so, for they proposed to suspend the clauses of the Currency Act which make it obligatory to receive silver tendered for coinage, and to issue notes on bullion sent in. They proposed, too, to prohibit the import of coined rupees. Their scheme would have been ineffectual, we maintain, if the depreciation was permanent and universal. It aimed at checking the only tendency which could give relief if it were local and temporary. This is not the only instance in which we shall have to point out how little claim the Anglo-Indian Mercantile communities of Calcutta and Bombay have to be considered impartial exponents of the lasting interests of Indian commerce.

The adoption of a gold currency was frequently proposed. The only objection, as far as we know, is the expense of introducing it. Mere depreciation would not compel the abandonment of the silver currency, but if its value continues to fluctuate it must be abandoned, and the expense of the change to gold met.

After July the exchange improved. The famine has brought new financial cares on the Government; and as the most unfavourable rate of exchange now quoted is 1s. 9d. for the rupee, the question of the currency is not likely to be revived.

The negotiations with the Khan of Biluchistan, our relations with the Amir of Cabul, and the troubles with the Afridis are so intimately connected, that it will be convenient to treat them as one question. On the North of India the Himalayas form a barrier almost impenetrable to invading hosts from Central Asia. To the west the range which runs southward from the Hindu Kush to the sea presents less serious obstacles. Two great passes are known. By the northern—the Khyber—almost all the armies that have invaded India from Central Asia in historic times have entered. The southern—the Bolan—is perhaps less likely to be adopted as an alternative route by the invaders, but its possession by the defenders of India would enable them to attack the enemy in flank from the south before they had reached the Khyber, and would indeed enable the defenders to anticipate the invaders in seizing the strong places of Afghanistan through which country the Khyber route lies. The extension of Russian conquests towards Afghanistan has long been a cause of

anxiety, if not of fear, to most Englishmen who think India worth keeping, and who, without attributing to Russian statesmen any far-reaching schemes of encroachment, can infer from the history of English arms in India what the inevitable tendency of Russian dominion in Asia must result in. The question to them is not what Russia intends, but what it is likely to do. We have to help it in the fulfilment of its moderate resolves. We were no doubt premature when in 1842 we kept a British force at Cabul to control the country and keep an unpopular prince on the throne. The disasters which followed, due less to the inherent difficulties of the attempt than to the unfavourable circumstances under which it was made and the shameful incapacity of the English leaders, have brought unreasonable discredit on the policy of anticipation. At present no Englishman can enter Afghanistan. Relations with its ruler are maintained through a native agent, for whose good faith and skill we have no adequate guarantee. The policy of masterly inactivity has been fiercely assailed and zealously defended. It has at least cost less than any form of activity, and it is not at all clear that activity would not have cost us prestige and power as well as money. Lord Lawrence's refusal to recognise any of the sons of Dost Mohammad as Amir was due, we now know, to the advice of their father. They were to fight it out, and we were to assume that the best man would win. Lord Mayo, in 1869, initiated what was at the time considered a new policy by subsidising the present Amir Shir Ali. We recognised him as an independent and friendly ally, and engaged to protect him from hostile attack by others. For some years the relations of the two powers were most cordial. The Amir introduced Western order and subordination into his military and civil government. Rivals and rebels were subdued, and his authority was recognised everywhere.

The Khyber Pass, we have said, lies in the territory of Afghanistan. Its terrors are due not to physical difficulties but to the neighbourhood of the fierce tribes, who feel a fanatical hatred of the English name. They acknowledge a nominal allegiance to the Amir. The Bolan Pass is in Biluchistan, the Khan of which exercises an authority very different from the absolute sway of the Amir. His personal power is small and his resources limited. He does not rule a people, but enjoys a precarious supremacy over the chiefs of the various Biluch tribes. He is at best *primus inter pares*. His position is that of the French king in the time of the great vassals. The civil administration is conducted by hereditary ministers, while his mercenary army, 2500 strong, is commanded by two chiefs of doubtful loyalty. In 1854 a treaty was made with the Khan by which he agreed to enter into no engagements with foreign powers without our

consent; to allow our troops to occupy any position we may think desirable, and to act with us in all things. Unfortunately the Sirdars or tribal chiefs have never acknowledged the right of the Khan to enter into engagements on their behalf. He never succeeded in enforcing his authority. Constant civil war disturbed our frontier, and drove commerce from its ancient route by the Bolan Pass. After some attempts to compose matters by dealing directly with the refractory Sirdars, our agent was at last, in 1873, withdrawn, and the Khan's subsidy withheld.

We must here describe the system under which—subject to the general control of the supreme Government—the affairs of the frontier have been managed. Speaking roughly, the territory of the Panjab extends to the foot of the mountains which form the eastern confines of Afghanistan. Peshawar, which guards the entrance of the Khyber Pass, has for ages been the first defence of India against inroads from Cabul. South of Peshawar a chain of posts keep the fierce marauding tribes of the hills in check. Between Peshawar and Kohat (one of these posts) the mountains send out a spur. Communication between these places is maintained by the Kohat Pass. Since the annexation of the Panjab hardly a year has passed without the commission by one of the hill tribes of some outrage requiring chastisement. The management of such affairs, and of our relations with Cabul, have been intrusted to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, which is on this account considered perhaps the most important administrative post in India. As a striking instance of the anomalies of our system we may note that, while a simple civilian with a staff of secretaries is considered capable of discharging the duties of this office, the far less onerous post of Governor of Bombay is filled generally by a nobleman, assisted by a council, and empowered to correspond directly with the Home Government. Speaking generally, the policy of the Panjab Government has been one of peaceful suppression of the disturbing elements. The tribes have been bribed into good behaviour with subsidies. Resort has been had to regular military expeditions only when blockades have failed.

The boundary between Biluchistan and Scinde, on the other hand, lies in a plain, far to the east of the mountains of Biluchistan. The tribes inhabiting these are of far more peaceful habits than those of the Panjab frontier. Thirty years ago General Jacob founded the cantonment of Jacobabad, in an unhealthy hollow 180 feet below the level of the Indus, and often surrounded by its floods for three months of the year. A large force was stationed here to command the Bolan Pass, as Peshawar commanded the Khyber. The management of the Scinde-Biluchistan frontier, and of relations with the Khan, was

the care of the Government of Bombay, of which Presidency Scinde is a province ; but reasons of geography have given the local authorities of the Scinde frontier far more authority than has been allowed to those of the Panjab frontier. In spite of the more peaceful conditions they have to deal with, the policy of the Scinde officials is described by themselves as "vigorous" in contrast to the "coaxing" system of the Panjab.

From 1873 to 1875 Biluchistan was left to anarchy. Sir William Merewether, Commissioner of Scinde, urged armed intervention. In the beginning of 1876 the Government of India decided to make one more peaceful effort. Khelat affairs were removed from the control of the Scinde officials and assigned to the charge of the political officer of the neighbouring Panjab frontier. A Panjab official—Major Sandeman—was deputed to Khelat to obtain information, to attempt to settle the differences between the Khan and the Sirdars, and to open the Bolan Pass to commercial caravans. A show of reconciliation was effected, but the mission had hardly left the country before hostilities were renewed. Lord Northbrook at last took Sir W. Merewether's advice, and decided on a policy inelegantly described as one of "continued intervention to the extent of what might be found sufficient to impose peace between the Khan and Sirdars of Khelat, with adequate guarantees for the protection of British commerce and the tranquillity of British territory." About a week before Lord Lytton's arrival, Major Sandeman again started for Khelat, but now he had an escort of 1050 men of the frontier force.

The conditions of Indian life seem to develop in Englishmen many of the faults characteristic of Orientals. Services and provinces regard each other with feelings of jealousy, which are often most injurious to imperial interests. And these feelings are fed and stimulated by the heated language and unscrupulous exaggerations of the provincial press. The transfer of the conduct of Biluchistan affairs from Scinde officials to those of the Panjab led to a most discreditable series of recriminations between the journals of Bombay and Lahore. The removal of Sir W. Merewether from the Commissionership of Scinde, followed by the practical adoption of his policy, was naturally resented. But patriotic feeling was so much lost in provincial jealousy that it had been found necessary to suspend the Scinde official in charge at Jacobabad in consequence of the impediments he threw in the way of the Panjab officers in carrying out the policy of the Viceroy.

Meanwhile the Afridis in the neighbourhood of the Kohat Pass were giving trouble. We first came into collision with them soon

after the annexation of the Panjab. In 1850 a regular expedition was undertaken against them. There have been several others since. In each, after a sharp fight, the tribes submitted and paid fines. They have for many years been allowed a subsidy on condition of keeping the road over the pass in repair and protecting travellers. Their offences have been breaches of these stipulations and raids into British territory. They are, in fact, mere dacoits, who live beyond the reach of the police. In April 1876 they had been, blockaded by the Panjab frontier force for two months as a punishment for neglect of the pass, and, with the exception of one tribe, they showed a disposition to submit.

We have now sketched the state of frontier affairs at the time Lord Lytton assumed office. The policy of inactivity had been abandoned as regards Biluchistan by the unadventurous Lord Northbrook. Even if it be admitted that the pacification of Biluchistan was the immediate object in view, the steps taken to effect it were those which had been recommended as precautions against Russian aggression. While there remained a hope of maintaining a neutral zone of native states between the conquests of the two European powers, we could afford to watch and wait. But when Merv and Balkh, the keys of Afghanistan, were almost within the grasp of Russian armies, when the disposition of the Amir was uncertain and suspicious, when it seemed possible that he might think it better policy to share the spoils of India with the Russians than to rely on the precarious support of England, it was time to take such action as would place us in the best position to resist aggression by way of Cabul. To occupy Afghanistan (were that possible) would simply precipitate the conflict with Russia, would ensure to that power the support and sympathy of the Afghans, and would not give us a better strategic position than that which we occupy now. The expense, too, of a military occupation (putting out of question altogether the expense of the conquest, or assuming that it could be effected by peaceful arrangement with the Amir) would impose an intolerable burden on Indian finances. And when the struggle came, the increased distance from our base would be a serious disadvantage, while a defeat in Cabul would be as fatal a blow to our prestige as a defeat in India. If the Amir really wished to preserve his independence, he would be, like the Turks in 1854, a more effective ally to us if left to his own resources till the last moment. On the other hand, it would be madness to sacrifice all the advantages we might derive from occupying positions beyond the frontier, where we could threaten the invader's line of communications, or meet him at a greater advantage than in the open plains of India. We must add, that while our cantonments

on one side of the frontier are in exceptionally unhealthy situations, the other side offers sites of singular salubrity. Thus, even as a question of economy and efficiency, the advance would be desirable. Prestige and tradition powerfully affect Oriental armies, and nearly every invasion of India from Afghanistan has succeeded when once the enemy had got a foothold on Indian soil. It must be remembered that Cashmere and a great part of the Panjab were for ages under the same rule as Afghanistan, and that the Amir is known to cherish dreams of extending his kingdom to its ancient limits.* We must recognise the possibility of his being the active ally of Russia; and we ought to be in a position at any time, by threatening Afghanistan, to seize the Khyber. The advantages of Quetta as an outpost for the defence of the frontier are obvious. It secures the western entrance of the Bolan Pass, and at the same time is the border stronghold of Biluchistan against Cabul. Its importance as a basis of action against that country is shown by the uneasiness of the Amir since we showed a disposition to occupy it. The difficulty of holding it cannot be compared with that of holding Cabul. The people are not so hostile to us, nor is the Government so strong. We have had, moreover, since 1854 a treaty right to keep a garrison there.

We have thus seen that events which he had not prepared led Lord Lytton to appear as the inaugurator of a more vigorous policy than had previously been followed. It was soon announced that Sir Lewis Pelly, whose use of gunboats instead of negotiations, had restored peace to the Persian Gulf, and Dr. Bellew, the great authority on Cabul affairs, were summoned to Simla to advise the Viceroy.

By May, Colonel Sandeman had reached Mastang, a delightful plateau 5700 feet above the level of the sea. Here the Khan and his rebellious Sirdars met him. Reconciliation proceeded slowly. By the end of July Colonel Sandeman was able to report his complete success. The Khan had confirmed the ancient privileges of the Sirdars. The Sirdars acknowledged the supremacy of the Khan. Trade was unmolested and the Bolan Pass was to be opened forthwith. To effect this, as well as to secure the pacification of the country, the troops forming the escort were, under the treaty of 1854, located in suitable positions.

Meanwhile, the Afridis remained refractory. Towards the end of April two clans proclaimed war and attacked a village five miles from Peshawar. A force from that station cut their crops as a punishment, and the Commissioner was still reported as trying to "settle matters amicably." The pass was still closed and the blockade still continued. In June and July respectively they made raids into British territory. At the close of the year the position of frontier affairs was

this:—Friendly relations had been resumed with all the Afridi clans except those of the Kohat Pass. The pass was still closed and a rigorous blockade of the offending tribes was kept up. At Peshawar, the Viceroy had conferred with the Commander-in-Chief and the Panjab authorities with reference to a new system of frontier management. Russian influence was known to be strong at Cabul, and our agent had been withdrawn (or gone on leave) in consequence of (or immediately after) the reception of a Russian agent in full durbar by the Amir. Events in Biluchistan were known to have excited the fears and suspicions of the Amir as to the intentions of the English. The aged Akhund of Swat, the pope or caliph of the frontier, was dying. A prince in his own small and bleak domain, he was regarded by the fanatical Mussalmans of the border, and even of Hindustan, as their leader and adviser. On the whole, his power had been moderately used, but his son, who was likely to succeed him, was believed to be swayed by more violent impulses. Our troops and our agent still remained in Biluchistan, but there was nothing in the official and semi-official utterances of the Government to indicate that a permanent occupation for military purposes was intended. To protect trade and preserve order, Government selected “two points of military as well as of political importance, Quetta and Mitri, where the troops would be amongst a friendly, peaceful, and industrious population, in open and well-cultivated districts, free from any risk of being compromised, or provoking collisions or complications.” In December the Khan met the Viceroy at Jacobabad. A fresh treaty was concluded. The arrangements made by Colonel Sandeman were confirmed, and the subsidy was restored to the Khan and raised to Rs. 10,000. A clause provided that as “the Khan has expressed a desire, on the part of himself and his Sirdars, for the presence of a British detachment, the British Government, in accordance with the treaty of 1854, and in recognition of the intimate relations existing between the two countries, hereby assents, on condition that the troops shall be stationed in such positions as the British Government may deem expedient, and be withdrawn at the pleasure of that Government.” It is now stated that the Viceroy’s Military Secretary explained to the Khan, before the treaty was drafted, that the occupation was intended to be permanent. The Khan himself had always recognised the supremacy of the British Government, and the right of military occupation was secured to us by the treaty of 1854. The appearance of the Khan and his followers at the imperial assemblage at Delhi on the first day of this year added one to the many comic features of that grave pageant.

As to the events of the present year there are the most conflicting

accounts. We have, for the most part, to record rumours, not facts. A telegraph line was constructed in the Bolan Pass and surveys for a railway undertaken. Quetta was occupied and Mitri at the eastern entrance to the pass. At first the most favourable accounts came of the results of the measure. Objectors still drew attention to the disadvantages of having so much longer a line of communications to maintain with an army already too small for its work, to the expense the construction of a railway and fortifications at Quetta and Khelat would involve, and to the encouragement given to the party of aggression. In April the Viceroy made a speech, from which we learn at least the light in which he wished his policy to be regarded. "The safest and strongest frontier," he said, "India could possibly have would be a belt of independent frontier states, throughout which the British name was honoured and trusted, by which our advice was followed without suspicion, and our word relied on without misgiving." As to the hill tribes, he was "inclined to trust more to negotiations and friendly intercourse, and less to a policy of alternate vengeance and inaction, than his predecessors." It was "an atheistic and inhuman policy" to watch our "neighbours floundering in anarchy and bloodshed," "without extending a kindly helping hand if they sought our assistance." He relied as little upon "spasmodic gifts and aimless expenditure of money as on military expeditions." He expressed himself anxious to take the press into his confidence—"to win confidence by showing confidence, and scatter factions by stating facts." Yet the press, whose confidence he sought to win, persisted in seeing in Lord Lytton not the peaceful friend of humanity, but the diplomatist charged with the prosecution of a vigorous policy.

We have already referred to the effect the events in Biluchistan produced on the mind of the Amir. In February a conference was held at Peshawar between Sir L. Pelly, on the part of the Viceroy, and an envoy from the Amir. It was variously reported that the Amir claimed as his price for the privileges we sought a cession of territory, increased subsidies, the withdrawal of our troops from Biluchistan. On the other hand, our requirements were said to be the reception of an English Resident at Cabul, the right of keeping garrisons in certain places, the appointment of English officers to commands in the Amir's army, guarantees for the regular payment of his troops, and facilities for making observations at Herat. While negotiations were pending the envoy died. His successor was on his way to Peshawar when the Government of India declined to resume the conference. The semi-official account given in India was briefly as follows :—Since Lord Northbrook rejected the Amir's proposals in 1873, he had acted in an unfriendly spirit, admitting

his dissatisfaction with the British Government. Lord Lytton decided to try to improve our relations with him. No demands or proposals were made on either side. But during the negotiations it became evident that the Amir wished to create delay, showed no anxiety for a favourable settlement, and continued, under the influence of Russian intrigue, to excite people to prepare for a Jihad. Hence the conference was broken off.

It is a curious comment on Lord Lytton's open-hearted professions, that in the debate in the House of Lords Lord Salisbury admitted that we had demanded the presence of a British Resident at Cabul.

While the official organs continued to assert that our relations with Afghanistan and Biluchistan were not less friendly or more threatening than they had been, the native news-writers, on whom the Indian public depend entirely for information, continued to send the most alarming reports, which received independent confirmation from the Russian (Central Asia) journals. The Amir was enormously increasing the number of his troops. He was stirring up the frontier tribes to attack the British. He had sent to induce the Akhund of Swat to proclaim a Jihad. He had tempted the Khan of Khelat to unite with him in expelling the English from Quetta. Intercourse between India and Afghanistan was entirely suspended, and no mercy was shown to any person discovered sending intelligence from Cabul. Not till the beginning of November 1877 did the Indian papers cease to regard these reports as having some foundation in fact. It seems certain that a large British force was ready for action, and the whole attitude of the frontier was expectant. But no act of overt hostility has yet been committed. The Khan of Biluchistan, it is said, regrets having permitted the occupation of his territory. It is even alleged that his permission was obtained by the pretence that the occupancy was to be only temporary. We prefer to believe that the weak, vacillating Khan has changed his mind than that the English Government has been guilty of deliberate fraud. The Sindars are probably against us, and wait only for a signal from Candahar to attack Quetta. That station is now well fortified and garrisoned, and perhaps the best native regiment we have is at Mitri. Its sudden transfer to that place from Karachi seems to indicate that danger was anticipated. The Afridis, who at last submitted in March, remained quiet during the summer; but in October one clan—the Jowakis—made a series of determined and violent attacks on our outposts. Troops were marched into their country in November, the policy of distant blockades having been found by the experience of 1876-77 ineffective.

There can be little doubt that the whole border is in a state of acutely

sensitive unrest. The Turko-Russian War has inspired the Amir not with sympathy for the Turks and a wish to aid their friends against their enemies, but with a violent hate of his Christian neighbours. Unfortunately the occupation of Biluchistan made us the objects of this feeling, and Russian intrigue has since fed it with appropriate forecasts of our policy and the benefits to be derived from their alliance. The Sultan's envoy advised him in vain to throw in his lot with us. The hill tribes, too, fear that our interference at Khelat is but the beginning of a new scheme of annexation. They have of late become possessed of a sufficient number of English weapons to render them formidable.

It is, we believe, now settled that the frontier districts of both the Panjab and Scinde are to be separated from those provinces, and put under the charge of an officer subordinate only to the Government of India. If he be a man of tact, experience, and zeal, a man of action rather than a man of reports; if he be allowed ample authority, and be unfettered by harassing rules and instructions; above all, if he be allowed such permanence on his part as will enable him to acquire personal influence, it is safe to predict that the hill tribes will prove as tractable as races of similar character who live in the plains have proved. But we must avoid not only the desire to annex but the appearance of the desire. The columns in the Jowaki territory must be withdrawn the moment their immediate object is attained. And henceforth honours must be awarded not to the officer who conducts an expedition to a successful close, but to him who renders expeditions unnecessary. A single act of indiscretion may now kindle a war, the end of which no one who knows that the Eastern question is an Asiatic question as well as a European one, would venture to foretell.



CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

WE commence our survey of theological literature for the quarter with a notice of the Rev. Dr. Giles's "Hebrew and Christian Records,"¹ In part published thirty years ago, but speedily withdrawn from circulation, they are now first given to the world in their integrity. They illustrate what has been called the principle of progressive theology—a principle which, we should say, attenuates the Christian creed into an etherial faith, which its asserter vindicates by that serviceable sixth sense, "the verifying faculty." The object of Dr. Giles in his first volume is to show that the whole of the Old Testament, as it now appears, is due, not to the first establishment of the Hebrews in Canaan fifteen hundred years before Christ, but to the re-establishment of the nation five hundred years before our era; and in the second volume, that the historical books of the New Testament did not exist in their present form before the year 150 after Christ—an assertion which we cannot accept without qualification and deduction. Moses, he informs us, cannot possibly be regarded as the author of the Hebrew Pentateuch. The Book of Esther is relegated to the realm of fiction, and the Book of Daniel is pronounced to be a production of the second century before Christ. Anachronisms, divergencies, and contradictions are shown to abound in the New Testament, the four Gospels no longer being regarded as the writings of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, but only as embodiments of their teaching. Dr. Giles not only rejects the passage respecting the three heavenly witnesses, the concluding verses of St. Mark's Gospel, the allusion to the descent of an angel, and to the woman taken in adultery in St. John's Gospel, but he cannot conceive that the Son of God could create a tumult in the Temple, and prefers to spiritualise the whip of small cords into burning words with which Jesus chastised the sacrilegious traders. Under this treatment the infallible book seems likely to share the fate of the infallible Church. No doubt the progressive Christian may elicit from the pages of the New Testament a philosophical Christianity, but we see no safeguard for the retention of the faith once delivered to the saints. Dr. Giles's criticism leads him to stop where he does—ours would carry us much further. The two volumes before us contain much interesting information respecting not only the canon of the Old and New Testament, but the Chaldee paraphrases called Targums, the apocryphal Gospels, the apostolical Fathers, and the testimony of the early Greek and Latin writers. Dr. Giles displays considerable erudition, but his criticism appears to us

¹ "Hebrew and Christian Records." By Rev. Dr. Giles, Rector of Sutton, &c. London: Trubner & Co. 1877.

often wavering, sometimes rash, and frequently timid. We allow, however, that his book is entitled to the eulogium that it won from Mr. Grote when he recommended his "Christian Records" as one of the best handbooks concerning early Christianity and her canon of the New Testament, though, like ourselves, he did not always agree with the author.

In Keim's "Jesus of Nazara"² we have another illustration of progressive or rather disintegrating theology. Completely rejecting the principle of plenary inspiration, Keim has constructed a life of Jesus superfluously circumstantial and minutely critical, but not without a certain gracefulness of representation, which tends, however, to lose itself in vague sentiment. Almost in one breath he refers the composition of the Book of Daniel to the year 167 B.C., and proclaims that the hope of the kingdom of heaven had been handed down from generation to generation under the influence of this book—that is to say, of a religious fiction written long after the existence of the historical Daniel—and declares that the conceptions of this prophet were seized upon and carried through the land by John the Baptist. To the words of Jesus he attaches great importance, and we willingly acknowledge that in all probability what Strauss calls the granite sayings of Jesus are imbedded in the Synoptical Gospels. Still, as Keim holds that Jesus has often been misreported, we have no warrant that on certain most important occasions Jesus actually spoke as he is said to have done. The supernatural in Christianity is a stumbling-block which Keim removes by considerations which we will indicate. Reckoning in Matthew twenty miracles, in Luke nineteen, in Mark eighteen, he points out the evident increase of the miraculous in the later Gospels; and instancing such prodigies as the great draught of fishes, the conversion of water into wine, the resurrection of Lazarus and the youth of Nain, he attributes its growth less to a modest gleaning of what had been left untold than to a heightened mythical tradition. He contends accordingly that these works of Jesus are artificially elaborated out of the words, and chiefly out of the figurative sayings, of Jesus, as indeed his "picture story" of the resurrection of Lazarus in John is probably derived from the parable of Lazarus in Luke. Following Strauss in part, he recognises in the unhistorical and superfluous miracles of the New Testament to a certain extent the influence of the Old Testament narratives. Ultimately he appears to admit only of particular works of healing, as in the case of nervous maladies, of which even Strauss admits the possibility, which he assigns to the enthusiastic faith of the sufferer, prompted by an impulse emanating from Jesus. In short, he defends only the psychologico-ethic view, and asserts that the old unqualified belief in the miraculous was condemned long ago as a spiritual idiosyncrasy. Such a Gospel as Keim constructs may be the Gospel of progress, but it is certainly not the Gospel of the early Church, or of the Reformation, or of the Church of England.

² "The History of Jesus of Nazara." Vol. III. By Dr. Theodor Keim. Translated by Arthur Ransom. London: Williams & Norgate. 1877.

A "Selection of Spiritual Letters addressed to Women,"³ by Archbishop Fénelon, withdraws us from the conflict of the progressive and anti-progressive schools to carry us back into the quieter paths of Catholic devotion. The letters, which appear to be judiciously selected, deal with certain aspects of religious and moral life, and will be acceptable to all orthodox and devout souls. We trust they will not be scandalised by the illustration given of the theological ignorance of the Count de Grammont, who, when his pious wife repeated the Lord's Prayer, exclaimed, "Say that again; it is a beautiful prayer: who made it?"

Mr. Stopford Brooke, a second edition of whose "Sermons"⁴ is before us, appears as a preacher at once orthodox and progressive. No dogma, so far as we can see, is denied in his pages, but they breathe a decided spirit of modern theological thought and sentiment. They have a distinct literary merit, though not, we should say, of the highest order. They are distinguished by a kind of poetic grace and refined meditative feeling. Aspiration, hope, faith, and charity, rather than reason or investigation, characterise most of them. Mr. Brooke strikingly exemplifies not only the growing toleration, but the increasing tendency of the time to recognise moral and intellectual worth, where not long since only words of bitter reprobation would have been regarded as appropriate. For instance, in a sermon entitled "Autumn," he quotes from Shelley's fine "Ode on the West Wind," and tells us that the poet, rising into a more prophetic passion, and forgetting all things but his love and hopes for man, calls on the wind itself to be his spirit, that he may awake the world and bless it with hope and prophecy of good; declaring that the passage which he cites is as Christian as it is splendid; for in this at least Shelley, like Wordsworth, follows Christ, that he rescues himself from the idle dejection of decay by throwing his whole heart in love upon the needs and destinies of man.

In curious contrast to the literature of the progressive school is found Dr. Shuttleworth's little volume, entitled, "Not Tradition, but Scripture."⁵ Standing in the old paths, he vindicates the cause of Protestantism, and will not allow a letter of the written Word to be tampered with, though far from wishing to undervalue legitimate tradition. For a safeguard against the darkness which bewildered our forefathers, he thinks that future generations will adhere firmly and unceasingly to one infallible guide—the inspired Scriptures.

The various and conflicting tendencies of modern thought have affected the security of the National Church, which, according to one who has ceased to work in its service, is now honeycombed with unbelief through the action of Erastianism and Ecclesiasticism. The

³ "Spiritual Letters of Archbishop Fénelon." Translated. London: Rivingtons. 1877.

⁴ "The Fight of Faith: Sermons Preached on Various Occasions." By the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, M.A. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

⁵ "Not Tradition, but Scripture." By the late Philip Nicholas Shuttleworth, D.D. London: Rivingtons.

Rev. J. B. Heard, the former Vicar of Bilton, unable any longer to submit to the bonds of the Act of Uniformity and royal supremacy, and seeing no remedy but one for the evils he deprecates, offers us, in his "National Christianity,"⁶ a dispassionate statement of his reasons for desiring disestablishment—a statement which, though marked by vigorous decision, expresses with moderation of language the considerations which in his opinion justify the abolition of the Church Establishment. Equally opposed to Clericalism and Cæsarism, he objects alike to State rule and Church rule. He refuses even to accept the well-known principle of Cavour—a free Church in a free State—agreeing with M. de Laveleye that such a system at best is only available for Protestant countries, while in a Catholic country it conducts directly to the enslavement of the State, and the absolute domination of the Pope. In general, he avers that a free Church and a free State are incompatible as soon as the Church, loose from State control, is worked as a sacerdotal system. After some remarks on the primitive purity of the Church, its intended character, and moral decline, Mr. Heard touches in one chapter on the three evils of the English Establishment—prelacy, patronage, and purchase; and explains in another how scepticism and superstition are the two invariable developments of Ritualism. The Conservative argument, that it would be undesirable to establish a Church if not already established, but that it is a duty to support it since it is actually established, he regards as a virtual surrender of the principle. The Church defence argument, that the endowments were the benefactions not of the State but of pious founders, he sets aside by pleading the compulsory character of tithe, recognising the State as the owner, and the clergy only as trustees with a beneficiary interest. In the recent legislation on Church Rates, Burial Bills, and University Reform Bills, he discerns signs of the gradual disestablishment of the dominant Church, and contends for some scheme of comprehension to embrace the whole nation. Granting that the Church is now really in danger, he predicts that out of the approaching decay will spring a new and better life. The disestablished English Church will, he thinks, break up into two, or perhaps three, hostile and rival sects—the Ecclesiastical, the Evangelical, and the Latitude party, the last offering its services to the State as a sort of moral police. The disestablishment which he desires would be no more revolutionary than the Reformation which took from the Pope his supremacy, for it would but take the supremacy from the crown and give it to the people, pure and simple Congregationalism becoming the rule of religion in this country. To carry this reform into effect he proposes to distribute afresh the entire amount of the Church's capital, which he estimates at £150,000,000 sterling, certain revenues being applied to purposes of an educational character, and to the promotion of sanitary and social science. For those who desire the name of a National Church, a free episcopal community will be permitted to orga-

⁶ "National Christianity; or, Cæsarism and Clericalism." By the Rev. J. B. Heard, M.A., late Vicar of Bilton. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

nise itself, taking over the existing churches, and such portion of the endowments as are not of the nature of tithe. In the end, he says, there would be a federation of free churches, with a maximum of internal life and a minimum of external organisation. Mr. Heard's Utopia may perhaps be realised in a greater or lesser degree, but we cannot regard such an arrangement as final, believing that a far more decided reform awaits us. His book, however, may be recommended as a moderate exposition of the reasons by which Church disestablishment can be vindicated.

The mental revolution now in progress has assailed even the doctrine of theism, and threatens the empire of the theologian. It is no wonder then that an accomplished and learned champion of the old creed should come forward in "Theism"⁷ in defence of a cardinal principle of all religion—the existence of God. Professor Flint remarks, and we concur with him in his judgment—

"That the conception of any other than an infinite God, God unlimited in all perfection, is not only self-contradictory, but an unworthy conception; it not only perplexes the intellect, but revolts the spiritual affection. The heart can find no secure rest except on an infinite God. If less than omnipotent, he may be unable to help us in the hour of sorest need. If less than omniscient, He may overlook us. If less than perfectly just, we cannot unreservedly trust Him. If less than perfectly benevolent, we cannot fully love Him. The whole soul can only be devoted to one who is believed to be absolutely good."

Now this conception of Deity is precisely what we think Dr. Flint has failed to legitimate by his logic. Mr. Mill, whom he treats with insolent acrimony, reconciles his theism with the militating facts of the universe by affirming that God is not omnipotent, and represents Him as the arranger of a self-existent matter, and not the Creator of the world. Such a God does not, in our opinion, any more than in that of Professor Flint, satisfy the demands of the intellect or the affections; but when we turn to the theologian's sublimer idea of Deity, we are unable to find that he makes out his case. He speaks with scorn of Mr. Mill's censure of nature, and thinks to set it aside by a quotation from Wordsworth, who knew nature mainly as she is known in woods and meadows, mountains, trees, and flowers, that is, in her fairer and more beneficent aspects, but who was little familiar with nature in her darker and more dreaded forms. It is not only writers like Schopenhauer, Hartmann, and others, who are of opinion that in this world pain predominates over pleasure; some Christians also are of the same opinion. To reconcile the existence of the vast amount of suffering around us with the perfection, especially with the benevolence of God, is an achievement which appears to surpass the power of the most expert theologian, we are afraid, even, of Professor Flint. Again, we cannot find in the pages of "Theism" any proof that the world was created by a supreme intelligence, and

⁷ "Theism: Being the Baird Lecture for 1876." By Robert Flint, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, &c. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons.

to our mind creation is an utterly inconceivable idea. Further, the design argument does not prove infinite intelligence, as Dr. Flint himself seems to admit. When replying to Mr. Lewes, Spencer, and Tyndall, he avers that the argument is not intended to prove the infinity of the Divine intelligence, but only to prove the presence of an intelligence capable of producing the order which he sees in nature. In that case, we contend that the argument is inconclusive, and the philosophical inquirer justifiably proceeds to investigate the adaptations of natural phenomena and refer them to natural causes; that is, to the conditions and qualities of the inexplicable reality called matter and its organising processes. To Dr. Flint's assertion that human imperfection, or, as he calls it, sin, does not originate in God, *i.e.*, the ultimate ground or cause of existence, we cannot subscribe. We have thus briefly indicated some points for discussion, as well as some reasons for dissent, in the "Theism" of Professor Flint. His volume consists of a series of lectures delivered in Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh, in connection with the Baird Lectureship, in which he goes over, with a certain freshness and ingenuity, the different theistic proofs, endeavouring to meet the objections of Spencer, Comte, Lewes, Mill, &c.; and in a learned appendix discusses, as far as is necessary to his purpose, design as shown in astronomy, chemistry, geology, history, &c. Dr. Flint's volume may perhaps be regarded as supplying a measure of the value of theological philosophy, and as such we recommend it to our readers.

The "Gospel of Fatherhood"⁸ is one of six sermons on "Home Life," in which the alleged demand by the religious sense for a conscious object of reverence and love is treated as evidence for the being of a personal God. This, thinks the author, is that restless craving of humanity which no Arnold or Tyndall can satisfy with the hypothesis of a power not ourselves, or a doctrine of atoms, energy, or matter. The book in which this sermon occurs contains five others—the gospel of sonship, of worship, of sorrow, of work, of the hereafter—marked by gentle and tolerant thought, by earnest purpose, and pious intelligence.

We may notice here a facsimile reproduction of an original manuscript of Mr. Keble's, entitled "MSS. Verses, chiefly on Sacred Subjects," and dated 1822. The facsimile is accompanied by a preface in a separate form, which treats the MS. as the original draft of the "Christian Year."⁹ Besides the poems included in that well-known volume, there are at the end of the book a number of occasional pieces by the author, interspersed with others by the author's friends.

An interesting and learned volume entitled "The Jewish Messiah,"¹⁰ by Professor Drummond, offers us a critical study of the Messianic idea from the rise of the Maccabees to the closing of the

⁸ "The Gospel of Home Life." By Mark Evans. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1877.

⁹ "The Original Draft of the Christian Year," &c. With a Preface and Collation, &c. London: Elliot Stock. 1878.

¹⁰ "The Jewish Messiah." By James Drummond, B.A. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

Talmud. In it we find much curious information respecting what is called apocalyptic and kindred literature, namely, the Book of Daniel in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; the Sibylline Oracles, the third book of which is referred to the second century before Christ; the Book of Enoch, written in part perhaps before the Christian era; the fourth Book of Ezra, which we may place toward the end of the first century after Christ; the Assumption of Moses, first published by Ceriani in 1861, containing the famous passage respecting the dispute between Michael and the Devil, to which allusion is made in the Epistle of St. Jude; the Apocalypse of Baruch, first given to the world in 1866; the Psalms of Solomon, and the Book of Jubilees, called also the Little Genesis. After a general survey of these strange productions, as well as of the Targums and the Talmud, Mr. Drummond proceeds to give a sketch of the Messianic idea as unfolded in the Prophets, in one group of whom he discovers no trace of it, while in another he finds only an ideal king. The value of the evidence afforded by the apocalyptic literature is questionable, owing to chronological uncertainties and real or suspected interpolations, and to the singularly obscure and enigmatical character of the various compositions which it embraces. As regards the Son of Man of the Book of Daniel, Professor Drummond sees in him only the ideal Israel. As regards the Book of Enoch, he arrives at the sound conclusion that we cannot rely on the integrity of that production as it now stands; that the Messianic passages and similitudes are of unknown but probably Christian origin, and that therefore we cannot appeal to them as records of pre-Christian Jewish belief. Even the earliest Targums can no longer be regarded as direct witnesses of popular opinion in the time of Christ; while in the Talmud Mr. Drummond discerns only an authority for the study of rabbinical speculation in the centuries immediately succeeding the birth of Christ. In the apocryphal books he equally fails to detect any evidence of the Messianic idea.

We are sorry that we have not space sufficient to do justice to the merits of Professor Tiele's comprehensive though not exhaustive work entitled "Outlines of the History of Religion."¹¹ The fundamental principle of his theory is that all changes in religions are the results of natural growth, and find in it their best explanation. In conformity with this principle he traces the development of religion under the control of Animism, investigates religion among the Chinese, the Hamites and Semites, the Indo-Germans, the Greeks and the Romans. Accepting the evidence of certain ancient tablets, he asserts that many of the Biblical narratives were derived from the Akkadians. To them, and not to Moses, he traces the consecration of the seventh day, and insists that Yahvism or Jehovah-worship appropriated various elements from the native religion, instancing especially the cosmogony of Genesis, the narratives of Paradise, of the Deluge, the myth of Sampson, and the legend of the patriarch, Jacob-Israel. Assuming that the

¹¹ "Outlines of the History of Religion," &c. By C. P. Tiele. Translated from the Dutch by J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A. London: Trubner & Co. 1877.

inscriptions on which our author relies are correctly interpreted, the startling results of recent archæological investigation seem to menace fatally the still cherished belief in the traditionary teaching of our childhood.

Our two remaining works must be rapidly dismissed. Mr. L. Lisle in "The Two Tests"¹² examines and rejects the evidence of the resurrection of Christ, and impugns the doctrine of individual immortality on moral grounds. In the 90th number of a German periodical, Dr. Edward Grimm¹³ contrasts Buddhism with Christianity, to the discredit of the former, which he pronounces selfish, its aim being self-extinction, while Christianity, the preoccupation of which with personal salvation has been justly stigmatised by Mr. J. S. Mill and others, he panegyrises as the religion of a lofty and disinterested love.

PHILOSOPHY.

THE well-known merits of Mr. Sidgwick's "Methods of Ethics" have led to the demand for a second edition within three years of the original appearance of the work.¹ The new volume contains several important additions and alterations. The criticisms passed upon the first edition have not fallen without effect upon the judicial mind of the writer. To meet, for example, the objections raised by Professor Bain and other critics, Mr. Sidgwick has rewritten great part of his chapter on "Pleasure and Desire." In place of holding, as he did, that the psychological doctrine which resolves the object of desire into pleasure, conflicts with his analysis of reason, and tends naturally to exclude all methods of ethics except egoistic hedonism, he grants in the new edition that the doctrine is compatible with all methods of ethics, and that "psychological hedonism in its extreme form is so far from leading logically to ethical hedonism, that it is really incompatible with it." At the same time he denies more emphatically than ever the fundamental assumption of the hedonist. "The doctrine," he writes, "that pleasure is the end of all human action can neither be supported by the results of introspection nor by the results of external observation and inference: it rather seems to be reached by an arbitrary and illegitimate combination of the two." There are several other points in which Mr. Sidgwick has altered the form if not the matter of his argument. Professor Calderwood's objections to his statement

¹² "The Two Tests: The Supernatural Claims of Christianity tried by Two of its own Rules." By Lionel Lisle. London: Williams & Norgate.

¹³ "Deutsche Zeit- und Streit-Fragen." Heft 90. "Die Lehre über Buddha und das Dogma von Jesus Christus." Von Dr. Eduard Grimm. Berlin: S. W. 1877.

¹⁴ "The Methods of Ethics." By Henry Sidgwick, M.A., Prælector in Moral and Political Philosophy in Trinity College, Cambridge. Second Edition. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

of Intuitionism have led him to rewrite considerable portions of the earlier chapters of book iii., and he has also guarded himself against the misconceptions caused by his account of Utilitarianism. The alterations, we may add, though considerable, have not added to the size of the volume; rather, in fact, it is shorter by some two or three pages. Mr. Sidgwick has shown a laudable example by publishing in a separate form the additions and alterations that have been made upon the text of the first edition.

"Proteus" is the expressive name which Dr. Radcliffe gives to his attempt to show that, amid all the changes which the face of nature undergoes, it still preserves an inward unity.² "Instead," Dr. Radcliffe holds, "of being an idle story, the metamorphoses of Proteus may be nothing less than a revelation in poetic guise of the grand truth that there is everywhere in nature one and the same archetypal plan." This unity of plan the writer traces from the simplest to the highest phases of existence. Following closely in the steps of Goethe and Oken, he shows how the different portions of the plant are merely modifications of one original design, how the skull is made up of modified spinal vertebræ, and how no absolute division can be drawn between the vegetable and the animal world. Mr. Justice Grove's "correlation of the physical forces" similarly helps the author to maintain the unity of motion, and so paves the way for the keynote of his argument—the identity of vital and physical movement. "Everything," it seems to Dr. Radcliffe, "tends to bring phenomena which have been regarded as exclusively vital under the dominion of physical law—to transmute vital motion into what proves to be nothing more than a mere mode of physical motion." This identity of physical and vital processes is skilfully applied in explanation of the facts of instinct. Instinctive action, the author thinks, is not to be reduced to unconscious cerebration, or any other form of automatism; "to account for it in any measure satisfactorily, nothing less will serve than to suppose that the phenomena of instinct are effects of a force which is as general as that of gravity"—to suppose, in fact, "that there is as it were an all-encompassing atmosphere of life, which is as common to all living creatures as the atmosphere we breathe." A similar unifying force must be assumed before we can attempt to understand the phenomena of memory. "There is more in the remembrance of another person or thing than can be accounted for by cerebration, or any reaction between the sensorium and senses, and this is the conviction of the identity of that person or thing." Here, then, we seem to get the main argument of Dr. Radcliffe's volume. It seems to him "necessary to believe that the power of identifying another person or being implies a wider mental presence than that which is limited to body, a presence which is transcorporeal as well as corporeal, a presence which is in a measure superior to place, a presence which is

² "Proteus; or, Unity in Nature." By Charles Bland Radcliffe, M.D., Author of "Vital Motion as a Mode of Physical Motion," &c. Second Edition. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

altogether inconsistent with the notion that memory is no more than a mere function of certain brain-cells." Thus, further, it seems to Dr. Radcliffe that "the notion that the intelligence is something which is hemmed in within the bounds of the body, or subjected to any kind of limitation, is flatly contradicted by the simple presence in the mind of any abstract idea." "To suppose that an idea like that of God, or eternity, or infinity can be lodged in a brain-cell, required," it seems to him, "a far greater stretch of credulity than that which would be needed in order to believe it possible that all the waters of the ocean could be gathered up in the hollow of a cockle-shell." Dr. Radcliffe supposes his conclusions will meet with special opposition at the hands of certain persons called indifferently Aristotelians or Materialists. Let him, before repeating the impeachment, read the fourth and fifth chapters of the third book of Aristotle's "De Anima," along with the different commentaries that have been raised over them.

Dr. Otto Vogel's criticism of Hæckel and "monistic" science³ may be appropriately noticed after Dr. Radcliffe's work. Monism has become one of the shibboleths of the day. "The newest name for heretics," says Dr. Vogel, "is that of dualist, while that of monist answers to the orthodox." But this monism, the writer seeks to show, is inadequate and inconsistent. Hæckel does not really supplement Darwin to the extent that he professes. Ontogeny is not the short recapitulation of phylogeny; and the struggle for existence, while able to account for physiological changes, can never really explain morphological alterations. Besides, the mechanical interpretation of nature which Darwinism professes to supply is not really consistently maintained. Variation itself is conceived to follow an inner law of development, and teleology constantly reappears as the principle which underlies mechanical connection. Further, Vogel maintains, to explain, as Hæckel does, the history of individual development, as the recapitulation of development in general, is not to supplement but simply to renounce the very kernel of Darwinian teaching. Nor, again, is Hæckel's monism that reconciliation of idealism and realism which the author supposes it to be. "It is a fine reconciliation when Hæckel maintains that the history of the world is a physico-chemical process, or regards the soul as a sum of molecular phenomena of movement." Lastly, Vogel reminds us, "Nature is nature only for the knowing mind." "Just because our mind proceeds from nature, mind itself must be the basis of nature." And thus science merely reads an order of thought which is imbedded in external objects. Such are some of the more prominent ideas in what is an extremely suggestive critique, not only of Hæckel's monism, but of materialism in general.

Hæckel would seem to be the mark for many a shaft just now in Germany. Even Dr. Witte cannot leave the distinguished naturalist unassailed.⁴ Witte is concerned to show the superiority of Kant's

³ "Hæckel und die monistische Weltanschauung." Vortrag gehalten in der Philosophischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin. Von Dr. Otto Vogel, Oberlehrer an der Louisenstädtischen Realschule zu Berlin. Leipzig: E. Koschny. 1877.

⁴ "Zur Erkenntnistheorie und Ethik." 3 Philosophische Abhandlungen. Von

theory of knowledge to any derivative account such as Häckel and empiricists construct. He is accordingly at variance with writers like Schultze, who regard Kant as a predecessor of Darwin. In particular he joins issue with Jacobson's dissertation "on the discovery of the *à priori*." The *à priori*, Witte maintains, can never be known *à posteriori* or through experience; at the most, it can be unearthed and laid bare (*entdeckt*) in that manner. It implies an unconditioned, necessary, and universal knowledge, "and this a Häckel never can explain." This view of *à priori* knowledge determines also to a great extent Herr Witte's views upon the character of syllogistic reasoning. He believes that the syllogism rests upon something universal which is essentially independent of experience; and he holds accordingly that deduction is the one true method for advancing knowledge, induction only contributing its aid in so far as it rests upon the principle of deduction.

Dr. Witte is also the author of a work on Salomon Maimon,⁵ the Lithuanian Jew, who was recognised by Kant himself as one of the most important of the students and opponents of the results of the "Critique." Dr. Witte, following the autobiography which the eccentric Jewish thinker himself composed, traces the life of Maimon from his birth in 1754 till his death in 1800. He supplies us with a graphic picture of the boyish years, the Talmudic studies, the conjugal misfortunes, and wandering life of the Kantian critic, and appends an instructive sketch of Maimon's philosophical position with especial reference to questions of epistemology. In the eyes of Witte, Maimon forms an important link in the development of thought. It was Maimon's misinterpretation of Kant, he thinks, that led to the system of Fichte and the Epigoni; "without Maimon no Fichte, Hegel, or Schelling would have been possible." Dr. Witte's monograph should be in the hands of all interested in the history of the critical philosophy.

The "Philosophical Library" continues to display the activity for which it is so noted. Prominent among its recent volumes is a translation of the "Pyrrhonist Outlines" of Sextus Empiricus.⁶ The work is accompanied by a short introduction, in which the translator, Herr Pappenheim, sketches the relation of Sextus to his times. Herr Kirchmann provides us with a further instalment of his translation of the "Organon" of Aristotle.⁷ One volume contains a translation of the "Prior Analytics;" another a series of explanatory notes upon the text. A fourth among the new volumes of the series is a translation of Hume's "Dialogues on Natural Religion,"⁸ by Dr. Paulsen, whose work on Kant we have had before now occasion to notice.

Dr. J. H. Witte, Dozenten der Philosophie an der Universität Bonn. Berlin: H. R. Mecklenburg. 1877.

⁵ "Salomon Maimon. Die Merkwürdigen Schicksale und die wissenschaftliche Bedeutung eines jüdischen Denkers aus der Kantischen Schule." Von Dr. J. H. Witte. Berlin: H. R. Mecklenburg. 1876.

⁶ "Des Sextus Empiricus Pyrrhoneische Grundzüge." Aus dem Griechischen übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen versehen. Von Eugen Pappenheim. Leipzig: E. Koschny. 1877.

⁷ "Aristoteles's Erste Analytiken; oder, Lehre vom Schluss." Uebersetzt und erläutert von J. H. v. Kirchmann. Leipzig: E. Koschny. 1877.

⁸ "Dialoge über natürliche Religion; über Selbstmord und Unsterblichkeit

As complement of the work of the "Philosophical Library" appears a "Philosophico-Historical Lexicon,"⁹ of which the first instalment has reached us. The "Library," we are informed in the prospectus, has supplied editions of the chief philosophical classics; the lexicon is to present "the names of all those philosophical thinkers who have been of more or less significance for the development of philosophy, and give some information as to their life, doctrine, and writings." The lexicon promises to be an extremely useful work of reference, especially as the bibliographical information seems remarkably complete and accurate. The first *Lieferung* brings the work down to Baader, and includes a lengthy article on Aristotle, besides considerable notices on Abelard, Albertus, Augustine, and various Arabian thinkers.

The German "Philosophic Monthly"¹⁰ sends us several numbers which show that it provides a valuable course of study for its readers. Among the subjects discussed in recent numbers we may mention Professor Barach's articles on Giordano Bruno, Professor Lasson's paper on the Idea of Beauty, Dr. Weis on Darwinism, and Dr. Gass on Schleiermacher.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

PROFESSOR ACOLLAS'¹ treatise on the "Philosophy of Political Science" is a work of considerable importance, both as a contribution to the discussion of some much-debated topics, and also as an exhibition, in the most erudite form, of a striking phase of current French thought. Much that Professor Acollas treats as a discovery in political science has long been professedly contained in the English constitution, though the logical consequences have been very imperfectly worked out anywhere in the realm of practical politics. Thus Professor Acollas mainly remonstrates against the subordination at every point of the claims of the individual to the claims of some vague personality, which at the best is only an assemblage of individual persons, and which takes the most varied names, such as the State, Society, Humanity, and the like. This is complained of not merely as inaccuracy of language, but as importing the most pernicious practical consequences; and while the Revolution

der Seele. Von David Hume." Ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung versehen. Von Dr. Friedrich Paulsen. Leipzig. 1877.

⁹ "Philosophie-geschichtliches Lexicon." Historisch-biographisches Handwörterbuch zur Geschichte der Philosophie. Bearbeitet von Dr. Ludwig Noack. Leipzig: E. Koschny. 1877.

¹⁰ "Philosophische Monatshefte." Unter Mitwirkung von Dr. F. Ascherson, sowie mehrerer namhaften Fachgelehrten: redigirt und herausgegeben von C. Schaarschmidt, Band XIII. Leipzig: E. Koschny. 1877.

¹ "Philosophie de la Science Politique et Commentaire de la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme de 1793." Par le Professeur Émile Acollas. Paris: A. Maresque, aîné. 1877.

of 1789 did much to vindicate the claims of individual man against unlimited aggression on the part of so-called society, yet new kinds of aggression of the old sort, but with fresh names, have since sprung up, likely to become as mischievous as those which were swept away. Professor Acollas points out that the only safeguard of political progress is to be sought and found in a clear apprehension of the rights and the corresponding duties of individual man as man. These rights and duties imply and involve one another. Man has a right to self-development up to the utmost limit of his capacity. But every man has an equal right to it, and therefore the claims of all place a natural limit to the exercise of the rights of each. This right to self-development becomes, so soon as it is required, also a duty; and what might otherwise be an endless and embittered rivalry, becomes, through the transmuting influences of the affections and sympathies, honourable and courteous co-operation. Instead, then, of starting with the claims of any abstract and unreal personality, such as the State, the genuine politician ought to start with, and keep in view as his solitary aim, the utmost general well-being of individual men. Not, indeed, that the State, the Department, the Canton, and the Commune (especially the last) can be dispensed with as necessary or convenient instruments for achieving in the most effective way individual well-being. But their subserviency to ends beyond themselves must never be lost sight of, and the inherent claims of the individual citizen never be surrendered. A large part of this work is devoted to a criticism, clause by clause, of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" of 1793, in which the author's principles are copiously and skilfully illustrated. The principles of the treatise are indeed mostly those of Bentham in a mocking garb, who also criticised, clause by clause, in a somewhat similar spirit the same Declaration, while the influence of Rousseau, to whom the writer acknowledges his early obligations, is distinctly perceptible. Current French politics and hierarchical pretensions also explain much which to an English ear would sound needlessly reactionary, if not violent.

Miss Wallace² wishes to induce ladies to adopt the profession of Government school teachers, and to prove to them how easily they may qualify themselves for it. She describes the course to be followed by candidates for certificates, the several examinations, and the subjects required in each, and tells the story of her own preparations, to the end that the reader may avoid her errors and profit by her experience. Candidates may be glad to have the information simply put. The little pamphlet contains some sensible practical suggestions about minor matters, and the details given will tend to rob the examination-room of some of the terrors which it possesses in the eyes of some of those who enter it for the first time.

The author of two monographs on matters concerning shipping is Mr. Woodward,³ supervising surgeon-general in the American marine

² "The Four Courses of Examinations and Certificates of Teachers in Elementary Schools." By Maria S. Wallace. London: Mozley & Smith. 1877.

³ I. "The Safety of Ships and of those who Travel in them." Cambridge, U.S.

hospital service, and therefore presumably an authority on them. He attributes very much of the loss of life at sea to the inefficiency of sailors because of bad health, and would like to see a medical supremacy over sailors established, so far as to enable medical men to examine into the sanitary condition of all sailors before leaving port. He asserts that such an examination is submitted to by the men of the "life-saving service," which during the last six years has rescued 3197 persons out of 3240 driven on shore on the coast protected by that service. He also points out the unsatisfactoriness of the way in which ships are inspected, and tells of the most recent experiments in the way of signal-buoys, which appear likely to do great service, being automatic, and "speaking" with an ordinary ground-swell so loudly as to be heard seven or eight miles. All this rather concerns the inmates of ships and their safety, and the second point insisted on by Mr. Woodward is, that quarantine laws need revision, being solely vexatious in many cases, and likely even to promote the spread of disease in cases where the ships are themselves infected. He urges the necessity of securing good sanitary conditions for ships at all times, and of special rules for each port, according to the dangers presented by its situation and contiguity to certain endemic homes of disease.

A new number of Messrs. Thompson & Smith's "Illustrations of Street Life in London"⁴ deals with some of the odd nooks and corners of social life which Dickens delighted to describe. It contains three photographs of figures familiar to every one who walks in the streets of London—The Boardmen, the Water-cart, and Mush-fakers and Ginger-beer makers. The letterpress is clear and graphic, and written with intelligent sympathy for the human beings who are described, whether they be drunken and incapable boardmen, or as exemplary as the young water-carman who gave three shillings a week to his mother and had saved eight pounds. The members of the former profession, needing no other qualification than ability to stand upright, are most heterogeneous in character. There are unfortunate artisans among them who deserve a better fate, and gentlemen whom vice has degraded, as well as men who have always been familiar with the lowest depths of ignorance and poverty. The degrees of respectability among "mush-fakers" are almost as various as the antecedents of boardmen. There are those who always keep their customers, and whose umbrellas can always be trusted; and there are others who offer a tempting-looking article which owes its gloss and substance chiefly to gum-water.

In his preface to the second edition of "Tyrol and the Tyrolese," Mr. Grohman⁵ strenuously denies that the people whom he describes

1877. II. "The General Subject of Quarantine, with particular Reference to Cholera and Yellow Fever." By John M. Woodward, M.D. Philadelphia. 1877.

⁴ "Street Life in London." By J. Thompson, F.R.G.S., and Adolphe Smith. With permanent Photographic Illustrations. Part IX. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1877.

⁵ "Tyrol and the Tyrolese." By W. A. Baillie Grohman. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

deserve the charge of treacherous cruelty which critics of his volume have brought against them, though he admits that their manners are rough and their morals free. In the vivid pictures of the Tyrolese and of their way of life which abound in these pages, they appear with the virtues and weaknesses of a primitive race, preserving much of the simplicity and hardihood of early times, and, with these, a taste for lawless freedom which continually brings them into conflict with the restraints of social and political order. These restraints are most obnoxious when encountered in the person of a gamekeeper or an excise officer, functionaries whose usefulness the partially civilised man is always slow to appreciate. Mr. Grohman is at home among smugglers and poachers, and is able to tell in graphic language of their adventurous lives, and of the "sense of danger lurking at one's heels, the free life, and lastly, but not least, the animating influence of the constant state of alertness" which those who adopt "free-trading" as their vocation constantly enjoy. The reader has no room left for doubt that "a genuine Tyrolese, reared in the secluded parts of the glorious Alps, values freedom and liberty more than life itself." Even the more peaceful and law-abiding inhabitants of these mountains and valleys are sufficiently wild and rough in their manners and customs. We read of a young girl scarcely out of her teens living for months in a solitary chalet whilst tending cattle among the hills—of woodcutters spending a still longer time without the simplest comforts and commonest decencies of life—of a hut torn away by a swollen rivulet, and a man gravely injured in the disaster, who waited ten hours before medical assistance could be procured. "The occupation of a woodcutter, the scene of his thrifty labour, and his own predilections take him far out of the way of railways and tourists." He has been known to ask whether England is a town in Bavaria; sometimes he has never seen a railway, and it is most true that "in those valleys where forests form the chief resource of the inhabitants, the results of contact with the outer world do not appear." The peasants are everywhere superstitious and credulous; they look round uneasily if the word devil is pronounced, and ascribe storms and tempests to the influence of the Evil One. They ring the village bells when thunder is in the air; they sprinkle consecrated charcoal upon the field before it is sown, and holy water upon the cow before she calves. But they have kindly confidence in one another, and capacity for faithful attachment and chivalrous devotion. They are thrifty and industrious; sometimes they carve skilfully in wood; they relish theatrical performances keenly, and a fine sense of music is common among them. "To be able to join with a second or third voice in a song which they have not heard before is a very common accomplishment." Mr. Grohman is above all a sportsman, and quotes sympathetically the perhaps not unreasonable words of the "Gemsjäger," who say that "a chamois-stalker who would exchange his life for that of a king is not a genuine chamois-hunter." He has had perilous adventures whilst pursuing blackcock, eagle, and chamois among rocks and avalanches, and he tells such stories admirably. We may instance the graphic description of the capture of two

young eagles, after which the author was through a misadventure left suspended by a rope in mid air for four hours, and exposed during that time to the fury of a mountain storm. The illustrations form a useful accompaniment to the text; the style is always bright and picturesque, and the book is eminently readable.

A second edition of Miss Muir Mackenzie's⁶ and Miss Irby's travels in Christian Turkey was a natural outgrowth of the Eastern disturbances. To many the reading of their first edition has given an interest in the life of the rayahs which became pain eighteen months ago, and it is no doubt owing much to that book that the flame of enthusiastic sympathy was so quickly kindled. It were to be wished that this fresh edition might arouse it again wherever it shows signs of dying out. These two ladies—one of whom is since dead, but finds a successor in Miss Johnson—first made acquaintance with the Christian provinces in the year 1863, when they travelled observantly and with as little official Turkish escort and interference as possible. They were so greatly interested by the character and condition of the people that they devoted themselves to help them, especially in the efforts already so nobly begun to establish efficient schools for girls throughout the lands which were the old empire of Servia. They found their help much appreciated, and returned to the training-school for teachers at Serayero when the insurrection in Bosnia in July 1875 began. They hastily removed the girls over the frontier into Austria, and there devoted themselves to the work for which they have since been known, sparing no labour or effort to relieve the distress of the poor hunted refugees. They have, however, never abandoned their faith in the necessity of education, "the stupidity of the people being a necessary condition for Turkish rule," and have adopted the plan of receiving children into schools where they are fed, clothed, and taught, so as to be a worthy population for their ancestral lands when at last order comes and peace into the miserable devastated region. That is, perhaps, the greatest value of their work; but the greatest value of their book is to show how what has shocked all Europe is but a comparatively slight exaggeration of the common course of things. For instance, peasants seeing them, foreign women, travelling for once with a Turkish guard, asked them from what country they had been stolen, and with the same Turkish protectors they found that they could easily have travelled without paying their way or caring for the remonstrances of drivers going far from their homes. In a school at Prishtina they asked for Servian histories, but found them hidden for fear of the super-Turkish Hungarian or Polish officers in the Sultan's service, who threatened the schoolmaster for possessing them. There, too, they found that it was held difficult for girls to pass safely through the streets to school. In every way the picture of the Christian rayah is as pleasant as well can be, considering the cen-

⁶ "Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey in Europe." By G. Muir Mackenzie and A. P. Irby. With a Preface by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. Second Edition. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1877.

turies of increasing oppression under which he has groaned; and its details are lifelike and minute enough to stimulate in the reader the warmest hopes for a nation that can so long and under such circumstances retain its patriotism and its enthusiasm for its own ancient glories. The institution of the village community, which is universal among these Southern Slavs, and which finds a home for the widow and the orphan, as well as serves to secure the passing on of glorious tradition from generation to generation, besides affording a germ for local self-government, will doubtless prove an invaluable instrument in the organisation of the various provinces when the hold of Turkey is removed from this part of the world. Two or three chapters added by Miss Irby on her more recent experiences give a freshness and zest to these volumes, and the preface by Mr. Gladstone points out the rare value and trustworthiness of the book, and the invariableness of the results of Turkish domination.

M. Fédor Demelié⁷ has done good service by analysing and translating into French the first volume of a work on the customary law of the Southern Slavs. The customary law of those populations has for them and for foreigners a special interest, because, having been so long under alien dominion, and scorning to settle disputes among themselves in the law courts of the oppressor, they have used their customary law and retained it in more unbroken vigour than most nations. In addition to this source of interest there is another—namely, that as the various branches of the race lift their heads and begin afresh to organise themselves as political communities, they are apt to put themselves under the yoke of foreign systems of law, tempted by the ready-made neatness and ease of such a proceeding, and forgetful or ignorant of the fact that a system of law, to work well, must be the outcome and expression of the national and not of an alien life. To collect, tabulate, and so preserve for juridical reference, an account of as many as possible of the Slav customs is a most laudable design, and M. Bogisié has undertaken it thoroughly. He has distributed broadcast papers of questions, the answers to which he has tabulated without attempting to digest them, giving his authorities in all cases. The subjects dealt with in this first volume are betrothal and marriage, property rights of the community, and laws of compensation for murder or for its revenge.

Mr. John S. Storr⁸ found it irresistible both to go to Russia and to write about it. He thinks that nothing will explain the attitude of Europe last year but the theory that the West is benumbed at the bidding of Russia. He holds modern Europe unhappy in the choice of her leaders, and that everywhere is darkness, distrust, falsehood—"leading to chaos." He says he found the conviction prevalent in Russia that

⁷ "Le Droit Coutumier des Slaves Méridionaux." D'après les Recherches de M. V. Bogisié. Par Fédor Demelié. Paris: Ernest Thorin, 7 Rue de Médicis. 1877.

⁸ "Russia as She Is." Three Letters. By John S. Storr. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

Prince Bismarck and Lord Beaconsfield, aided by the war party in Russia, pushed Russia into the fight, and now "intend to leave her to it and in it." He believes Russian affairs to be corrupt and rotten throughout, while her Church is an "imposture," and quite a tawdry, hideous one when compared with the beautiful simplicity of Mohammedanism. He states that the bar in Russia is mercenary and rapacious, and thinks that trial by jury leads there to curious results. He says that "the Russian land system, though little understood in England, is well worthy of notice;" that military service leaves heavy tasks to be performed by the women; that the peasantry have too many holidays; that they live together in village communities, and that they are heavily taxed. Emigration from the less to the more fruitful lands, and a revision of the Imperial financial system, are needful, but "sacrificed to the god of war," and Russia is thrown back at least half a century. Dr. Congreve is quoted as an irrefragable authority, deciding that Russia is not fit to be admitted into the European polity, and Mr. Archibald Forbes as to the pitiableness of the Emperor Alexander's position. We must accept Turkey as a fact; and why ever do the European nations have such large standing armies?

With that difficult burden a brilliant reputation behind him, Mr. Bryce⁹ appears before the reading public in a walk of literature somewhat removed from that which first gave him fame. But this new volume will not only increase but widen his fame, and will make him popular as the most brilliant, companionable, and suggestive of travellers. Passing, twelve months ago, through countries to which the outbreak of war subsequently drew all eyes, Mr. Bryce ascended Mount Ararat alone, without even a guide, a most daring thing to do on an almost unknown mountain, and a venture excusable, in a man whose life is as full of promise as Mr. Bryce's, only by the fact that he went alone only because all his guides and his companion failed him on the way up. Abundant and varied information, carried with him or extracted from people whose languages he could or could not speak, all harmonised by the digesting thought of a highly cultured man, is to be found here on most matters concerning Ararat, Transcaucasia and parts of Asia Minor, and it is not possible by description or extract to give any impression of the buoyant cheerfulness and easy humour of the whole. Mr. Bryce sums up the political impressions gained by him by saying that, starting slightly prejudiced against Russia, he found her not neglectful of her duties to her subjects in Transcaucasia, freeing the serfs and giving them regular local courts, fostering industry by creating security for capital. He attributes some of the fear of Russia which exists among some classes in England to the impression produced by the large space it covers in the map of Europe, an impression created in the absence of an understanding of the facts that while Russia continues to be in her present extreme want of money, and of men to be her administrators, huge size only

⁹ "Transcaucasia and Ararat." Being Notes of a Vacation Tour in the Autumn of 1876. By James Bryce. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

denotes weakness. He denies to the Turks the right to their name, since their physique gives the lie to the idea of their being descended from the hardy genuine Turcoman, and speaks of the obvious signs of decadence which force themselves on the observation of a traveller in Turkey. He thinks that out of the ruins of Turkey a good and substantial state might arise in Armenia for the Asiatic portion of the empire, as in Bulgaria for some of the European portion.

Mr. Bryce does not hold—for reasons well argued but too long to quote—that Russia at Constantinople would be a difficulty for us at all comparable with the cost and difficulty of fighting to oppose such an occupation.

The exhaustive knowledge of a country obtainable by a German man of science, dwelling for years in an out-of-the-way town in the closest relations with the native society, is what fills and illuminates the volume published by Herr Klunzinger,¹⁰ as the result of nine years in Koscir, on the Red Sea, as quarantine doctor. Discarding the narrative form, he treats in separate subdivisions the different phenomena of Egyptian life with a sympathetic appreciation that makes itself most pleasantly apparent throughout. On the subject of slavery Herr Klunzinger is an unimpeachable authority up to the end of last year, and those are credulous who believe that much change has been wrought since. His testimony is that in Upper Egypt the trade flourishes still, though not so largely as formerly, and “Government officials themselves lend a hand when an escaped slave is to be tracked out; and more than that, it is an open secret that the native Christian or Mohammedan consular agents of European Powers often invest their money in the slave-trade, though not in their own names.” A miserable story of child-stealing and of razzias for grown-up slaves is told, but Herr Klunzinger points out that for some women-slaves a comfortable life is possible, and even for men. The conversation at a native dinner-party is described as “in the highest degree brilliant and intelligent, in spite of the amount of ignorance it betrays, and the superstition, fanaticism, and fatalism which are seen in every action and breathe in every word.” This volume is a perfect museum of knowledge of the social life of Upper Egypt, and is enhanced in value by a preface from the pen of Dr. Schweinfurth.

Mr. Edwin de Leon,¹¹ formerly agent and consul-general in Egypt, a long resident in Egypt, and officially as well as privately brought into close relations with the present and two former rulers of Egypt, has a presumptive right to publish his large-printed and tempting-looking volume on the changes wrought in the old “House of Bondage” by Mehemet Ali and his successors. Mr. de Leon finds much to praise in the present Khedive, whom he asserts to be anxious to govern his subjects well, but to be constantly baffled by the immobility

¹⁰ “Upper Egypt; its People and its Products.” By C. J. Klunzinger, M.D. London: Blackie & Son. 1878.

¹¹ “The Khedive’s Egypt; or, The Old House of Bondage under New Masters.” By Edwin de Leon. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1877.

of the East. He finds it hard to get faithful native subordinates, and the substitution of foreign instead of native officials has not proved a success except in the great Government centres. The Khedive, in the midst of less laudable schemes, has found time and energy to do much for education. In his predecessor's time about 6000 children were to be found in the schools; in six years after this Khedive's accession this number rose to 60,000, and now probably exceeds 100,000. He has established large girls' schools in the name of his wives, and thus begun to make the education of Egyptian women fashionable. One-fifth of the land of Egypt belongs to the Khedive's family personally, and forced labour is, though now illegal, largely used for his estates as well as for public works. Seven-tenths belong to the fellaheen, who are grindingly taxed in kind. Domestic slavery will be very difficult to extirpate. Many details of Egyptian innovations are given by Mr. de Leon, but he expressly says that social life has undergone no apparent change as yet, nor can it do until the position of high-class women is changed.

Mr. M'Coan,¹² with a less lengthened, intimate, or detailed personal knowledge of Egypt than either Dr. Klunzinger or Mr. de Leon, is, however, a warmer admirer of that country's present ruler and condition than they either of them are. He maintains that the fellaheen are in a better condition than any other peasantry in the East, and are not too heavily taxed. He does not allude to the subject of forced labour, which is discreet on his part. He believes that a considerable amount of aspiration after "Egypt for the Egyptians" is to be found among all orders of society, and expects a greater amount of freedom from Turkey to result from the present war. The newly introduced reforms in financial arrangements will relieve the country from much injustice, and should operate as a check on the expenditure, in which case Egypt ought to see very prosperous days, as the national wealth, as represented by trade, has increased, after accounting for paid dividends, to half as much again as the entire revenue at the accession of the Khedive. Vigorous descriptions in hopeful terms of the various recent changes in Egyptian administration compose the larger part of Mr. M'Coan's book, and to them succeed careful accounts of manufactures and products of Egypt, including Captain Burton's rumoured rediscovery of gold in the desert near the Gulf of Akhabah, to work which English capitalists may soon be invited to subscribe. Mr. M'Coan thinks the domestic slavery of Egypt in many respects less oppressive than domestic service in Europe, but his facts scarcely bear out that view, and he says that the cruelty of the trade which supplies the market—since there is no considerable supply of home-born slaves—condemns it to extinction.

The carefully digested opinion on Indian affairs of a man who feels at liberty to claim that he has had "unusual opportunities for testing, from a non-official point of view, the opinions of official men, civil and military, in India, together with perhaps equally unusual opportunities,

¹² "Egypt as it is." By J. C. M'Coan. London, Paris, and New York: Cassell, Petter, & Galpin.

from the same point of view, for testing the drift and tendency of native views and feeling," must always claim attention. Mr. Routledge's¹³ volume is well arranged, and gives easy access to his thus carefully formed opinion. His visit to India was in Lord Mayo's time, and his praise of him is warm, though he thinks he was by no means free from blundering, as, for instance, specially in removing the seat of Government for eight months in the year to Simla, the effect of which on native minds was to convey a firm impression that Englishmen cannot live in the plains, and therefore cannot take root in India. A spirited chapter on our Indian foreign policy, apropos of Afghanistan, concludes with the warning that all the conditions of the wars of Ghengis Khan, Timour, and others exist still, dominated only by the new strong power of England east of the Indus; and "all who hate wars and bloodshed, and wish to see civilisation advance, may well pray to God that the rule may be as wise and good as it has been strong." Another chapter deals with causes of disquiet among the hill tribes on the borders, and another with internal difficulties caused by Wahabeism. Mr. Routledge believes that while the most docile native rejoices in the warlike gifts of native princes, and finds comfort in the thought of possible peril to his English rulers, yet he would be very unwilling to exchange the English for the Russians. A conversation held with Sir Dinkur Rao, the veteran statesman of Gwalior, conveyed to Mr. Routledge the impression that he and other wise natives feel that England has frequently failed to keep faith with India and with her princes, and consider that confidence between England and India has diminished as intercourse has increased, partly because competitive examinations send out an inferior race of officials. A few pages sum up the practical results of the reforms of the Indian law as far as it has yet been accomplished by Sir H. S. Maine, Sir James Stephen, and others. Criticisms of the character and official capacity of some recent Indian high officials, such as Sir Richard Temple, Sir George Campbell, and Sir Arthur Phayre, are amusing as gossip. The question of irrigation and of famine management are ably discussed, and many interesting facts of the famine of 1874 told. Mr. Routledge says it only wants a man of genius as Viceroy to put almost a final end to Indian famines. The question of repudiating or respecting the land settlement of 1793 is decided in favour of the settlement by Mr. Robinson, and his statement of both sides of the question is very helpful to those who would wish to make their own minds up on the question. A history of the Mutiny, and a chapter on the educational, material, and moral progress of India, practically conclude the book, which is one of peculiar value, as containing in comparatively small space a mass of information difficult to get at elsewhere so succinctly.

A Madras civilian,¹⁴ who from the beginning of the present famine

¹³ "English Rule and Native Opinion in India, from Notes taken in 1870-1874." By James Routledge. London: Trübner & Co. 1878.

¹⁴ "A Pamphlet towards the History of the Madras Famine." By a Madras Civilian. London: Ridgway. 1877.

was serving in the famine districts, writes in short and earnest words the story of that famine, and of the various modes of dealing with it. Grains not needing irrigation like rice, but damaged by too much rain, had failed from too great rainfall in 1874, and were not an average crop in 1875, and they are the staple food of the country. Towards the end of 1875 prices rose, and in 1876 were double the average. The lands are so poor that a farmer's average profits for the maintenance of his family are calculated to be between £8 and £9 per annum. So that there were no accumulations to fall back upon. Experience pointed to the great desirableness of waiting till the last moment before opening relief works, but all preparations were made, and in September 1876, on the failure of the autumn rains, were opened, a man's daily wage sufficing to buy 2 lbs. of grain. In December, in one district, out of a population of 600,000, 100,000 were on the works, and the work of organisation was very heavy. It was found necessary slightly to raise the wage, though the area of distress was largely increasing, and things were in such good order that deaths were rare. In the beginning of 1877 Sir Richard Temple and an experienced staff were sent to the districts, and by his advice the wage was reduced below the first rate, while a systematic village relief and house visitation was undertaken. In March this severity was mitigated by the resolution to give to little children of "relief coolies." The idea got abroad that Government was using the necessities of the people to get work done cheaply; many refused to work, and everywhere the death-rate rose frightfully. Careful observation was made as to the condition of the labourers, and in May it was obviously necessary to raise the wage. The deaths from want of food are said to be already more than half a million, and though the prospects of the harvest of 1878 are fair, the miserable results of the famine must long remain.

An eyewitness¹⁵ pleaded eloquently for the help so generously given by England.

In printing a paper read before the "Hitakari Sabha, Ooterparah," and elsewhere in India, Mr. Ghose¹⁶ does good service not only to his countrymen, but to Englishmen who care to obtain a candid expression of opinion from a well-educated Indian gentleman. Sir H. S. Maine's lecture at Cambridge on the "Effects of Observation of India on Modern Thought" put into Mr. Ghose's mind the idea of viewing England as a scientific study, and trying to disabuse his countrymen of some stereotyped misapprehension of things English, making it clearly understood the while that though he dwells on the superiorities of England, this is not because he does not see another side to the picture. First he notes the rationality of Christian ethics, and attacks Mr. Buckle as failing to give evidence to support his materialistic modes of accounting for different faculties in races. Then he dwells on the superiority

¹⁵ "Bring us Help." A Letter to the Lord Mayor about the Indian Famine. By an Eyewitness. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1877.

¹⁶ "The Effects of Observation of England upon Indian Ideas and Institutions." By Nagendra Nath Ghose, Esq. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, & Co. 1877.

of the ideas of duty and moral obligation inherent in Christianity. To the long freedom of England and the centuries-long subjugation of India Mr. Ghose attributes the difference between the two nations in moral characteristics. He insists on a due appreciation of the "business-like" nature of an Englishman as essential to a proper understanding of him, qualifying him as imperturbably calm, somewhat slow and stupid, and not keenly foreseeing. Several eloquent pages dwell on the effect of true home life on the citizen, and contrast English quiet home order with the turmoil of an Indian household. Mr. Ghose then speaks warmly of the higher tone of both personal and public morality in England, combating common Indian opinion, which holds English morality to be very lax, and insists on the elevating effect of a high standard also of comfort. A certain coherence or solidarity strikes Mr. Ghose as a distinctive feature of English society. In conclusion Mr. Ghose speaks of the advantages to a young Indian of coming to England as lying by no means alone in the formal teaching he will get, or the opening thus made for him into lucrative professions, but, above all, in the influence of the society which will surround him; and his words, could they but be widely known, would be enough to open the doors of many English homes to the Indian students who come to us in such numbers, but who often find it quite difficult to put themselves in contact with that society from which they ought to gain much that is valuable to their native land, and so, indirectly, to the governing race.

A handsome and well-illustrated volume contains the Report to the Canadian Minister of Education¹⁷ on the educational features of the Philadelphia Exhibition, to which is added an account of the present state of education in some important countries which did not or did exhibit at Philadelphia. Some eighty states and countries thus pass under review. One of the newest facts brought out by this volume is that China is laying the foundation of an effective system of instruction for her people, sending into various parts of Europe and to America students who are to introduce Western learning and ideas among the Chinese. The whole volume is full of most interesting and valuable statistics and facts, and concludes with a summary of "educational lessons for Canadians from the Centennial Exhibition," which contains much that would be valuable to the teachers of other countries.

Mr. Catlin's¹⁸ volume will receive a warm welcome, and his readers, old as well as young, will close it with hearty regret that his rambles and his stories are over. His style has all its wonted picturesqueness and vivacity as he takes us from *Terra del Fuego* to British Columbia, telling of stirring incidents and showing us wild and varied scenes in brilliant succession. The points of interest in the book are too

¹⁷ "Special Report to the Hon. the Minister of Education on the Ontario Educational Exhibit, and the Educational Features of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876." By J. George Hodgins, LL.D., Deputy Minister. Toronto: Hunter, Rose, & Co. 1877.

¹⁸ "Last Rambles among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains and the Andes." By George Catlin. London and Edinburgh: Gall & Inglis.

numerous to be indicated. The first chapter takes us back to the author's boyhood, describes a rattlesnake's trap of ingeniously simple construction, and tells an admirable story about the destruction of a rattlesnake's den by fastening a horn of gunpowder and a slow match to the tail of one of the inhabitants. The second gives the history of an attack of "nugget fever" which took Mr. Catlin among the vast and silent forests of the Amazon and the rugged grandeur of the Crystal Mountains. We find curious facts about animals and men; we learn that Indians are proof against mosquito bites, and that rattlesnakes cannot poison swine; we have directions for cooking a tiger's tail and mosquito soup; and we have vivid descriptions of natural beauty and touches of strong human interest. Nothing could be more graphic than the picture of a stranded whale and the eager delight it occasioned among the miserable Indians of the North-West coast, to whom a whale ashore is an invaluable prize. As the news reached them they sprang upon their feet; some leaped in the air, and others clapped their hands and danced; and as it spread, the wigwams were all emptied, for "outdoors" was a larger and freer space for the circulation of the mutual expressions of joy that rang from every mouth. When the huge creature was seen upon the sand, some hundreds, if not thousands, of Indians of all ages had congregated round it, but all were waiting patiently and loyally till every one should arrive who had a right to share in the prize. There is pathos, too, in the apprehension that "King George's men" would claim the whale, and in the mournful murmur which consequently rose from the crowd at the approach of Catlin's party, quickly changing to grateful applause when he bade the interpreter say in his name that he considered "the Great Spirit loves them, and has sent this large fish to them as an evidence of it; that it therefore belongs to them and to nobody else!" Mr. Catlin is generously eloquent on the subject of the Indians' wrongs, and foresees troubles and retribution for the white man in the future; he asks indignantly, "Is it wonderful that the American Indians should be suspicious of the white man and his fair promises, his civilisation, his faith, and his proffered religion?" He believes the Indian race to be indigenous to the American continent, seeing no sufficient grounds for the hypothesis of an Asiatic immigration, and he looks upon the Crows of the Yellow Stone River and the Rocky Mountains as the best representatives of the original stock. This famous tribe he confidently identifies with the Toltecs and Aztecs, who are traditionally said to have poured down upon Mexico from the mountains of the North-West, and Baron von Humboldt supports this view. He says, "I believe with you that the Crows are Toltecs; and I was instantly impressed with this belief when I first saw your portraits of Crow chiefs in London."

All readers of Mr. Fraser Rae's¹⁹ former book, "Westward by Rail," will be glad to have this supplement to it. Pleasantly and

¹⁹ "Columbia and Canada." By W. Fraser Rae. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1877.

clearly written, it deals with some topics common to any writer, such as the history of steam communication between Great Britain and America, the details of the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, and particulars of personal travel in the States and Canada; but Mr. Fraser Rae's opinion on Canadian politics—of which he says there are more to the square mile than in any other portion of the habitable globe—is more interesting. He regrets the severance of the Dominion, and mentions as a calamity the fact that he perceives among some classes of Canadians a foolish desire to be erected into a semi-independent State, with representatives at the various Courts. He is in favour of a Confederation of Canada, as well as of other colonies, in close association with Great Britain. Another idea propounded by Mr. Rae must be considered on its own merits. It is that, by an Act of Parliament and an Act of Congress, all the citizens of America and England should be declared citizens of the "Anglo-American Empire;" but he does not suggest any scheme as to the necessary administrative, constitutional, social, dynastic, and other changes which would necessarily ensue.

Mr. Grant's²⁰ record of Mr. Sandford Fleming's expedition through Canada has already been noticed in these pages, but a new edition calls for fresh commendation. When British Columbia joined the Dominion in 1871, the construction of a Pacific railway within ten years was one of the conditions, and would in any case have been a natural consequence of political union; but the region through which a railway must pass was so entirely an unknown land that the undertaking involved no common difficulties. There were maps of the country dotted with lakes and lacustrine rivers here and there; but these had been made up largely from sketches on bits of birch bark or paper, and from the verbal descriptions of Indians, who have little or no conception of scale or bearings. The engineers, therefore, were sent out into trackless, inhospitable regions, obliged to carry their provisions on their backs over swamps, rocks, and barriers of all kinds, when the Indians failed them; and they could only be instructed to find out all they could in as short a time as possible. After reports had been received, the responsible engineer deemed it necessary that he should himself make the journey from ocean to ocean, the diary of which, as kept by his secretary, is now before us. Notes are transcribed, we are informed, almost word for word as they were written among the exigencies of travel—sometimes in the bottom of a canoe, and sometimes leaning against a stump of a tree; on horseback in fine weather, under a cart when it was raining, or the sun's rays were fierce; at night in the tent, by the light of the camp-fire in front; in a crowded wayside inn, or on the deck of a steamer in motion. The style of the book is as natural as the method of construction; the descriptions have the freshness and distinctness of first impressions, and do not fail of picturesque beauty in many passages; but the writer's first care is to

²⁰ "From Ocean to Ocean." By the Rev. George M. Grant. New Edition, enlarged and revised. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1877.

furnish facts, and though he kindles as he describes the grandeur of the Rocky Mountains, and the loveliness of lake and valley, he prefers to dwell upon the climatic and agricultural advantages of the "fertile belt," the vastness of the coalfields beyond, and the prospects of railway enterprise. He sees abundant encouragement for emigration in the wide regions which he traversed, and wonders that whilst England has owned for generations all this boundless extent of beauty and wealth, and her statesmen have been confounded and perplexed by social and economic problems, they have not once turned their eyes to a land that offered a practical solution to them all. Even the extreme west of the Dominion seems to possess every attraction for settlers, except accessibility, for farm-labourers in British Columbia "ought to be able to buy and stock good farms of their own out of the savings of four or five years, and then they are comfortable and independent for life;" and 10 per cent., with "undoubted security," is given throughout the province for the use of money. An Appendix gives a sketch of the last few years in Canada, and a specially interesting history of treaties with the Indians. In reply to the question, "What is the secret of our wonderful success in dealing with the Indian?" the writer says, "We acknowledge their title and right to the land; and a treaty once made with them, we keep it." This policy has answered as well as it deserves.

The elaborate statistical tables of the Italian Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce for 1876²¹ show an increase of population of 300,000, a ratio which would double the population in about eighty years. Curiously enough the rural population of Italy seems to be increasing in a greater ratio than that of the towns. Separate returns relating to the shipping interest prove that the number of sailors has grown by one-fourth since 1865, while their perils are indicated by the fact that in 117 shipwrecks of Italian vessels in 1876, 115 men appear to have lost their lives. The political statistics are interesting, because they contain comparative tables of the range of the franchise in several European countries. Thus in Italy the Lower House of Parliament is elected by 2·26 per cent. of the total population; in Belgium by 1·17 per cent.; in Austria by 6·29 per cent.; in the German Empire by 20·78 per cent.; in France by 26·84 per cent.; in Great Britain and Ireland by 8·03 per cent.; and in Sweden by 5·9 per cent. Taking, again, the percentage of electors who voted in the latest elections, we find in France 76 per cent.; in Italy, 59; Belgium, 71; Austria, 66; Germany, 62. Coloured maps are given showing the comparative distribution of electors and of voters over the country, and showing that while Northern Italy has a larger proportion of electors in its population, the electors of Southern Italy are far more ready to exercise their privileges.

²¹ "Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio. Divisione di Statistica." (a.) Popolazione. Movimento dello stato civile, Anno 1876. Parte Prima. Roma. Tipografia Cenniniana. 1877. (b.) Navigazione. Parte Seconda. Roma. Tipografia Elzeviriana. 1877. (c.) Statistica Elettorale Politica. Roma. Tipografia Cenniniana. 1877.

More interesting are the minutes of the central statistical "giunta," published by the same department,²² and containing discussions and papers on the proportions of civil and religious marriages, mortality of infants (in which Italy and Austria excel), deaths by violence, statistics of land tenure and mortgages, of charities, of exports and imports—in short, on all the topics which naturally engage the attention of a public statistical bureau. In view of the recent decision of the Italian Chamber to abolish capital punishment, it is useful to note that the number of murders, though greatly diminished under the kingdom (reduced, that is, from 141 per 100,000 in 1866 to 54 per 100,000 in 1875), is still three or four times as great as that prevailing in Great Britain, Prussia, Belgium, and Sweden. The minutes contain also a careful study of the English land law, drawn principally from a study of the articles of Mr. Froude and Mr. Shaw Lefevre in "Fraser" and the "Fortnightly;" and we note, not finding space to describe, a review of the work of the last ten years in converting the old Catholic foundations of Italy into charities of a modern type. Two parliamentary papers on banking²³ and on the classification of the population according to their avocations²⁴ complete the present issue. In the latter it is remarkable to see the numbers of women and men returned as landed proprietors and capitalists nearly equal. The women teachers and professors outnumber the men by some thousands. On the other hand, but six women are entered as devoted to literature, which surely shows something wrong in the returns. It appears that nearly eleven millions of Italians are without any definite calling, and this is after counting all the beggars, prisoners, and the like. It is of course very difficult in such matters to attain anything approaching to accuracy.

The city of Buda-Pest possesses, however, a bureau of statistics which outshines all the labours of the Italian Government, and publishes a long and searching series of papers on the population, the building, the rates, the public schools, and the mortality of the city. Two numbers of the series have recently appeared, devoted to the finances and the death-rate respectively of the capital.²⁵ In the latter are to be found tabulated or discussed the causes of death, accidental as well as natural, treated according to age, religion, quarter of the city, and season of the year; accident, suicide, and murder; disease of all kinds; station in life, early employment in business, medical assistance, overcrowding, and illegitimacy.

²² "Annali del Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio." No. 88. Roma. Tipografia Eredi Botta. 1877.

²³ "Atti Parlamentari." Sessione del 1876-77, xiii. Legislatura. Camera dei deputati. No. XVI. Relazione sull'andamento del consorzio e degli istituti di emissione durante gli anni 1875 e 1876.

²⁴ "Statistica del Regno d'Italia." Popolazione classificata per professioni, culti e infermita principali censimento. 31 Dicembre 1871. Introduzione. Vol. III. Roma. Regia Tipografia. 1876.

²⁵ (a) "Untersuchungen über die Einkommen und Hauszinststeuer für Buda-Pest." (b) "Die Sterblichkeit der Stadt Buda-Pest in den Jahren 1874 und 1875 und deren Ursachen." Von Josef Korasi. Uebersetzung aus dem Ungarischen. Berlin: S. Geistmann. 1877.

SCIENCE.

MR. PROCTOR, in the "Myths and Marvels of Astronomy,"¹ expounds anew a number of questions, in which Astronomy links itself more or less with human affairs. The volume consists of twelve essays written in the author's most attractive manner, which allure the reader with striking headings, such as the "Religion of the Great Pyramid," the "Suns in Flames," and the "Origin of the Constellation-Figures." In the first section, which treats of Astrology, an entertaining comparison is made between the attempted divination by the stars in olden times, which the author argues to have been not without a plausible theoretical basis, and the modern astrology or foretelling the earth's climate by sun-spots, which similarly is argued down to an absurdity. All the old fancies as to the influence of the planets on births are explained with the nicest precision. And an astrological origin for the week of seven days is not the least quaint of the lore of the book. The argument is as follows: The planets were formerly arranged in the order of their supposed distances, in the series Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon; and since the day consists of twenty-four hours, it is obvious that the hours of the day would be ruled by the planets three times over, and that there would be three hours running into the fourth series. Thus beginning with Saturday, the last three hours of the day would be ruled by Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars. Hence the next hour, which is the first of the following day, belongs to the Sun, and therefore Sunday follows Saturday. The last three hours of Sunday are governed by the Sun, Venus, and Mercury, which causes the moon to be the first planet for the next day, and therefore Monday follows Sunday. In the same way Mars is the first planet of Tuesday, Mercury of Wednesday, Jupiter of Thursday, and Venus of Friday. The "Religion of the Great Pyramid" is used as a test for discovering the skill and astronomical knowledge of the Egyptians, and for ridiculing those who have attributed to its measurements a supernatural origin. Assuming that it was desired to place the pyramid in latitude 30°, it is shown that the architects probably determined latitude by the stars, and were unaware of the refraction of the atmosphere, since the building is placed one mile and a third south of the thirtieth parallel. And since the error in the orientation of the base is probably only one foot, the author concludes that no method but stellar observation could have been used for that purpose; and argues that the slanting tunnel at the base of the pyramid was cut in the solid rock to make the necessary observations on the pole star of that time.

The author agrees with Professor Smyth that the builders of the pyramid knew the earth to be a globe, and that their measure of length is fairly approximate to the 20,000,000 part of the earth's mean

¹ "Myths and Marvels of Astronomy." By Richard A. Proctor. London: Chatto & Windus. 1878.

diameter, but sees no reason for supposing that the Egyptians could have been acquainted with the polar compression of the earth. The third chapter treats of the Mystery of the Pyramids, and the difficulties which surround all endeavours to discover the purposes for which they were successively built. Each successive king appears to have found it necessary to build a separate pyramid for himself, and this led to the theory that the buildings were tombs. But the account given by Herodotus renders it probable that the great pyramid was built in consequence of the influence exerted upon Cheops by shepherd-kings who came from the east. These men, probably Chaldeans, caused the Egyptian ruler to shut up the temples and renounce the religion of his ancestors. They were astrologers, and taught the belief in one Deity. Hence these pyramids, it is thought, were regarded as a means of predicting the king's future. The four sides would then be placed like the four sides of the ordinary square scheme of nativity. And all the other details of construction are such as might fall in with the astronomical requirements of an astrological religion.

Swedenborg's visions of other worlds are treated of to show that the spirits who came to converse with him omitted all mention of the existence of Uranus and Neptune and the asteroids, and that the communications which they were supposed to make on subjects astronomical were determined by the knowledge of the time in which Swedenborg lived. In the chapter "Suns in Flames," the occasional brilliance of stars in the Milky Way, and of a star in the Northern Crown, is supposed to be produced by the infalling of comets; and it is to the falling into our own sun of meteoric matter following in the trail of a comet moving round the sun in a period of about eleven years that Mr. Proctor attributes the formation and periodicity of sun-spots; it being then that the coloured flames in its atmosphere leap to their greatest height and are most brilliant. The Rings of Saturn are discussed, and shown to consist of small separate meteoric bodies, so that the several rings are removed from the category of anomalies, and their separate existence accounted for. The account of the "Lunar Hoax" is delightful. The book is charmingly vigorous, and is a lucid exposition of the subjects of which it treats. Every section displays admirable art in its construction; and the art with which science is made to merge in story demonstrates a remarkable power of teaching.

Mr. Sharman has published the sermon² delivered in Plymouth during the last British Association meeting. It deals with the persecutions suffered by scientific men, and with surviving superstition, such as West of England belief in witchcraft, and belief in spiritualism. The author regards science as the pioneer of religion. And at the same time protests that

"Geology has destroyed the Hebrew Genesis; no compromise is pos-

²"Science: Her Martyrdom and Victory." A Sermon in Treville Street Chapel, August 19, 1877, during the Assembly in Plymouth of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. By William Sharman. London: E. T. Whitfield.

sible, no reconciliation can be attempted; Anthropology has removed the Hebrew Adam from the genealogy of man. Creationism is no longer possible as a belief, except as the badge of establishmentarian conformity or of dissenting superstition. Religion is yet possible to scientific men; but it is a religion whose fundamental doctrine is, that God is the Father of lights, and that the search for knowledge is the first service of Him."

Dr. Magnus,³ in a lecture delivered at the private institution for education of the dumb in Königsberg, gives an interesting historical sketch of the development of the methods in use for their instruction. He dwells fully on the organs of hearing, and the received theories of the transmission of sound; and subsequently describes a talking machine, first designed by Professor von Kempellen. *a* is the loudest vowel, *s* is the loudest consonant, the deepest vowel is *u*, and the deepest consonant is *r*. Echoes and other musical sounds are fully described, but the author appears to make no new contribution to knowledge.

Few persons would have thought of finding in the Bible directions concerning vivisection,⁴ nor would any one have turned to such a source for argument who did not believe that reasoning was in vain. There is a craze diffused that the recent legislation on vivisection has made the pursuit of practical physiology too easy, whereas we believe the fact is that only about three licences to vivisect have been granted by the Home Secretary. And although enough is done to sustain the growing reputation of the English School of Physiology, many of our students are driven abroad. We cannot, under these circumstances, approve of the denunciations which the author hurls against the religion of those whom he calls scientists, who are supposed to worship a God unknown to Christians. Nor is the taste commendable which would imagine a lawsuit between "James Whalley and Sir Roger, surgeons, against Messrs. Kencaly & Co., live dog and cat purveyors to the London School of Vivisectionists." Essays such as this are mischievous only to those unlearned in the nature of scientific endeavours, and are pitiable, as showing how religious bigotry may sometimes sap man's intelligence.

Professor Braun,⁵ at the opening of the Victoria Lyceum in Berlin, founded for the higher education of women, delivered an address on the value of plant knowledge as a means of culture. The author's purpose is hence more educational than scientific; and he urges the study of botany on the ground of the influence it has on the moral nature. Plants have always played an important part in the history of man, and it is urged that better ideas of man himself may be gained

³ "Gehör und Sprache. Vortrag, gehalten zum Besten des Privat-Institutes für den Unterricht taubstummer Kinder zu Königsberg." Von Dr. U. Magnus. Berlin: Carl Habel. 1877.

⁴ "Vivisection Viewed under the Light of Divine Revelation." An Essay. By M. A. Cambridge. London: William Ridgway. 1877.

⁵ "Ueber die Bedeutung der Pflanzenkunde für die allgemeine Bildung." Rede, gehalten bei Eröffnung des Victoria-Lyceums in Berlin, am 5 Januar 1871. Von Dr. Alexander Braun, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Robert Caspary. Berlin: August Henschwald. 1877.

by studying nature, of which he forms but a part. The plant kingdom stands to man in some respects much nearer than the animal kingdom, since animals must be sought for, and plants are around us everywhere. Every land, moreover, has its own forms of plant life, and these each have a special influence on the minds of the population. All peoples have their favourite and sacred trees: the lotus of Egypt, the date-palm of Arabia, the cypress of Persia, the plane-tree of Greece, the linden of Germany. In the several countries the sacred festivals were celebrated with different flowers. Greece crowned her honoured children with olive; Rome used the evergreen oak. All man's relations to the plant world are briefly touched upon in this pamphlet, which is more remarkable for elegance and evidence on the author's part of culture than for anything else.

So many of the scientific results of the voyage of the "Challenger" were sent home and published while the ship was still at sea, and so many of the more curious observations made by its staff in the field of physical geography and in the field of zoology have been published in the Proceedings of various learned societies, that the interest of the official journal of the voyage is to some extent discounted. Still it is well to have, in a connected form, the narrative,⁶ which Sir Wyville Thomson now supplies, of that part of the voyage which was devoted to a survey of the Atlantic. In the author's opinion the objects of the expedition, which were to discover as much as possible about the deep sea, have been fully carried out. Both the two volumes are illustrated with a number of admirable woodcuts of animals dredged, which are typical of the new forms which were discovered; with these are a few views of scenery, a number of tables illustrating the temperature of the ocean, a few maps and charts of the voyage, an excellent map showing the contours of the Atlantic sea-bed in gradated colour, and a portrait of the author.

The first chapter describes fully the equipment of the ship, explains the nature of the apparatus to be used in the several researches which were to be carried on, and contains the correspondence between the Royal Society and the Admiralty which led to the expedition being sent out, together with the recommendations of the Royal Society concerning the nature of the researches which the scientific staff of the expedition should pursue.

These preliminaries discussed, we have in the second chapter an account of the voyage from Portsmouth to Teneriffe. After leaving Gibraltar the trawl begins to bring up from depths of 1500 fathoms curious samples of deep-sea life. One of these, which is figured, is an amphipod crustacean with large faceted eyes an inch long, covering the whole cephalic region, as in some of the large-eyed trilobites of Cambrian rocks, such as *Æglina*. Another find was a remarkable species

⁶ "The Voyage of the 'Challenger.' The Atlantic. A Preliminary Account of the General Results of the Exploring Voyage of H.M.S. 'Challenger' during the Year 1873 and the early part of 1876." By Sir Wyville Thomson. In Two Volumes. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

of the silicious sponge *Euplectella*, a genus which abounds in the Philippines. This new sponge presents a singular external likeness to some of those quincuncially marked sponges from the English chalk which are named *Cephalites*. Associated with it were sea-urchins, such as are found in the chalk, especially a species of the genus *Salenia*, and a new species of the flexible urchin named *Phormosom*. There is strong evidence to show, although the author does not adduce it, that this peculiar type is the result of the calcification of the inner lining membrane of the animal, while the envelope in which the test is usually developed remains membranous.

The third chapter crosses the Atlantic to Sombrero. On getting into deep water the bottom temperature is found to be 2° Centigrade, though the specific gravity of the bottom water in 1945 fathoms is stated to be somewhat less at a temperature of about 65° Fahrenheit than that of the surface water. The yellowish ooze consists of foraminifera, the otolites of fishes, and dead shells of pteropods. Branches of an alcyonarian allied to *Isis* were found incrustated with pure black oxide of manganese. As the depths increased the ooze became red. In 2950 fathoms it contained few foraminifera; and as the colour became a deeper chocolate, the calcareous matter in it became less and less, and clay consisted of silicate of alumina and sesquioxide of iron, with a small quantity of manganese. Then further on, in mid-ocean, the bottom becomes calcareous again, and the dredge brings up a remarkable crustacean, very like an *Astacus*, but differing in having no trace of either eyes or eye-stalks; this is named *Willemcæsia*. Nearer to the West Indies the bottom temperature in 2325 fathoms sinks to 1.7° Centigrade. The ship now gets into the region of the gulf-weed. It occurred in bundles bound together with a viscid secretion of the fish *Antennarius marmoratus*, the interspaces between the fronds being filled with its eggs. In this deep region of the gulf-weed rounded concretions of black oxide of manganese again became common, and a red clay sea-bed occurs once more in deeper water. In 3000 fathoms the bottom temperature sank to 1.3° Centigrade. The white *Globigerina* ooze, where it occurs, as near the Canaries, consists almost entirely of shells of the foraminifera *Globigerina*, *Pulvinulina*, and *Orbulina*, mostly entire, with a small proportion of finely divided material, which consists chiefly of the curious structures named *coccoliths* and *rhabdoliths*, with a few spines and tests of radiolarians, and some fragments of spiculæ of sponges. Mixed with these are the dead shells of about half-a-dozen genera of pteropods more or less mutilated. Besides these surface forms are *Crystallarian* and *Milioline* forms of foraminifera, which lived among the ooze, together with sponges, corals, star-fishes, the higher invertebrates, and a few fishes. Below the surface layer thus formed is a somewhat firmer layer, an inch or two thick, with the shells more or less broken up and cemented into a calcareous paste. While beneath this is a nearly uniform calcareous paste, with only a few shells and fragments scattered through it. In all seas from pole to pole the surface water contains *Globigerinæ*. They are large in the tropics, and dwarfed towards the colder

regions. The live animal, as figured by the author, is as unlike the dead shell as two things could well be, being covered all over with long delicate spines like needles, which resemble the spines of a sea-urchin, and are calcareous and flexible. At the bottom of hexagonal spaces between these spines are the little pits out of which the sarcode of the animal flows and runs up the spines. *Orbulina* is similarly covered with spines; they are flexible and hollow. This form is thought to be probably the reproductive chamber budded off from *Globigerina*, and capable of independent existence. In this section *Rhabdospheres*, one of which is stamped on the cover of the book, come in for description, as do the silicious *Radiolaria*. The famous interpretation of the red clay, as formed of the insoluble substance of the shells of the surface animals, left after the calcareous matter is dissolved, is now somewhat modified. The author observes:—

“I do not suppose that the material of the red clay exists, in the form of the silicate of alumina and iron, in the living foraminifera, or pteropods, but that inorganic salts other than salts of lime exist in all animal tissues, soft and hard, is undoubted; and I hazard the speculation that during the decomposition of these tissues in contact with sea-water, and the sundry matters which it holds in solution or suspension, those salts may pass into more stable combinations.”

It has also been found that pumice occurs over a large part of the bed of the ocean in great quantity in all stages of decay. This pumice is most abundant in the red-clay area, and to its decomposition Mr. Murray attributes the origin of the red clay, while other volcanic materials are supposed to have formed the manganese nodules which usually occur in the red-clay area. The fourth chapter runs from St. Thomas to Bermudas, and describes a good many new animals—crustacea, corals, and sponges. The Bermuda Islands are treated of at some length. The islands consist of white granular limestone, formed of coral sand, sometimes cemented into a rock that can be polished. It is produced entirely by the wind, and may show, from this cause only, in a short distance, appearances which resemble all forms of denudation and unconformability, as well as anticlinal and synclinal folds. These eolian rocks show most regular stratification. And at Elbow Bay there is what the author calls a sand-glacier, about twenty-five feet thick, which has come from the beach, has filled up a valley, and is steadily progressing inland. The limestone is full of caves hollowed out by running water or by the sea. Here the rate of formation of stalagmites is observed. One cave—the Painter's Vale—contains a lake, and from the roof innumerable stalactites hang, several yards long, tapering to points like knitting-needles. Stalagmites too rise up, sometimes in pinnacles, sometimes in fringes, through the waters of the lake. The last chapter of the first volume treats of the Gulf Stream as it was studied in the run from Bermudas to Nova Scotia and back again. Where the ship crossed, the stream, which had a surface temperature of 23.9° Centigrade, was sixty miles wide, 100 fathoms deep, and flowed at the rate of three knots an hour. Very little information, however, is given

about the Gulf Stream, and the chapter is largely taken up with an account of the remarkable Echinodermata which were met with. The second volume opens with the voyage from Bermudas to Madeira, and gives an account of the Azores. The next chapter carries us into the South Atlantic, running to the coast of Brazil by way of the Canaries and Cape Verde Islands, parallel to the African coast. In this voyage several remarkable brittle stars and Encrinites occurred, some of the latter not unlike minute representatives of Palæozoic types. From Bahia the voyage goes on to the Cape of Good Hope. In this journey a visit is made to Tristan d'Acunha and the adjacent islands. The fourth chapter is the voyage home from the Strait of Magellan to Spithead. It is full of descriptions of various new and interesting types of Echinodermata, and records bottom temperatures below zero of Centigrade.

The last chapter is devoted to the general conclusions, among which are these: The mean depth of the Atlantic is a little over 2000 fathoms. Its bed is traversed by an elevated ridge, which follows roughly the coast outlines of the Old and New Worlds. One branch from this runs from 10° north latitude to the coast of South America at Cape Orange, while the ridge is joined to the coast of Africa about the parallel of 25° south. The bottom, away from coasts, is generally the Globigerina ooze. Near volcanic centres there is much volcanic matter upon the sea-bed. The water is warmest at the surface, cools rapidly for a hundred fathoms, then slowly for five or six hundred fathoms, and then very slowly to the bottom. While life is present on the bottom at all depths, it is not so abundant at extreme depths as at depths more moderate. The narrative forms a book that will well repay the reading for those who have the preliminary knowledge to follow the scientific descriptions. It takes a middle course between being popular and scientific; but although a delightful book as a record of a voyage for scientific purposes, it does not treat the subjects from the generalised points of view that would have been anticipated from one whose opportunities have been so exceptional. The author appears to be overwhelmed with the mass of materials collected, and to be waiting for conclusions. Perhaps it may be necessary first by this narrative to pave the way for a more philosophical record of research. One pleasant feature of the work is the author's obvious desire to give credit for the work done by those who shared with him the labours of this great investigation.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE third volume of the English edition of Dr. Ihne's "History of Rome,"¹ which has just been published, contains the period 200-133 B.C., comprising the conquest of Macedonia and Greece and the final destruction of Carthage. This instalment is in every way worthy

¹ "The History of Rome." By Wilhelm Ihne. English Edition. Vol. III. London: Longmans & Co.

of the earlier parts of Dr. Ihne's work. The style, whether it be that of a translator, or, as we suspect, that of the author himself, who is known to have turned a residence in this country to very good account, is excellently clear and agreeable. The matter is of course interesting; and the author exhibits great critical acumen in the weighing of his authorities—Livy chiefly in the first part, and Polybius and Appian in the latter part of this volume. In searching for special features of the work, we have noted that he assigns to Æmilius Paullus a character far higher than that of a successful soldier, and we have read with great interest his remarks on the very difficult topography of Carthage. In the last pages there is a pregnant comment on the progress of the Romans from being mere "peasantry on the Tiber" to controlling the known world. In the growth of Eastern empires, Dr. Ihne well says, either the personal supremacy of the founder or religious enthusiasm has been the chief agent. The Roman development, on the other hand, was slow, gradual, and regular. It was not caused by mere love of conquest; for all nations had then to be always ready for war.

"It was the normal policy of all peoples at that time to allow their neighbours only so much of independence as they could maintain by force of arms. The habit of living in peace with neighbouring nations, which is gradually becoming the rule in modern Europe, was as unknown in antiquity as it is now among the Anglo-Americans and the Red Indians. Only the weak were content to keep securely what they possessed. The right of the stronger, in its widest sense, prevailed among all nations, and was, even among the Greeks, hardly softened by the highest intellectual culture."

We wish we could feel as certain as Dr. Ihne that the habit of living in peace with neighbouring nations is becoming the rule of modern Europe. He is assuredly right in saying that it hardly seemed desirable to the nations of antiquity. If all, then, were so warlike, what was the secret of Rome's supreme success? It lay partly in

"The central position of Rome in the long and narrow peninsula of Italy. If the city of Rome had been situated in Sicily, or in Southern Italy, or on the Po, it could not, like a wedge, have divided the north from the south, and have successively subjected both. In the same way the central portion of Italy was, in the decisive crisis of the Hannibalic, and in the succeeding wars, the great obstacle to a combined attack upon Rome by all her enemies."

Dr. Ihne naturally does not attribute Rome's supremacy entirely to this cause. No geographical advantage could have given her her place among the nations had her citizens not been men who deemed "*imperia legum potentiora quam hominum.*" We think highly of this volume; and we shall look eagerly for the continuation of the work, in which the internal working of the forces which constituted Rome will be described.

Mr. J. R. Green, the author of the very successful "*Short History of the English People,*" has now published the first volume of a "*History of the English People,*"² which appears to be a new and somewhat

² "*History of the English People.*" By J. R. Green, M.A. Vol. I. London: Macmillan & Co.

enlarged edition of the earlier work in octavo form. We fail to note any very marked differences in the two books; and, as they are in great part verbally identical, we think that the title-page ought to have recorded the relation in which they stand to one another. Mr. Green's book, though we think it has had the misfortune of being praised too extravagantly, is quite worthy of the honour of appearing in two editions, and we welcome it in its new form. It is too well and widely known to need any criticism now, and we therefore need only add that the new first volume brings the history down to the Wars of the Roses.

Mr. S. R. Gardiner continues the work which he began so well with his able "History of England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I." with two more volumes on the "Personal Government of Charles I.,"³ which bring the record down to the promulgation in the Star Chamber of the opinion of the Judges in favour of Ship-money in the year 1637. Mr. Gardiner's books will long be accepted as the standard authority on the very important period of which they treat; and these latest volumes will be found in no wise inferior to their predecessors in their attractive interest, their honest research, or their dignified style. And we have not yet named the author's most striking merit, which is his singular impartiality. To exercise this virtue, too rare among our modern historians, in treating of so difficult a period as that of Charles I. requires a most judicial mind; and Mr. Gardiner is perfectly just, even when writing of Wentworth and Laud. We observe that he devotes an unusually large portion of his work to the consideration of foreign policy, which formed so important a factor of the reign of Charles I. His book is one of those which we often feel compunction in noticing in the scanty manner to which our space limits us. It will owe very little to what we, or any other critics, say about it; it has, however, our warmest commendation.

Mr. Sydney Owen, Reader in Indian Law and History at Oxford, has published, in a bulky volume, a Selection⁴ from the Indian Papers of the Marquess Wellesley. This labour he has undertaken in the interests of candidates in the Oxford History School. Lord Wellesley was Governor-General when French rivalry in India was finally extinguished, when Tippoo Sahib was overthrown, and when the Mahrattas were curbed at Assaye and Lasswary, results in effecting which he was largely helped by the younger brother who was in later years to eclipse him so decidedly. His papers, then, deal with sufficiently important matters. We cannot, however, say that this volume is very interesting. The general reader will probably think that life is too short for a persistent attack on it; and it will not do much to cure the regrettable apathy of the English in Indian affairs. The selection has, however, been judiciously made, and will doubtless be of use to those

³ "The Personal Government of Charles I., 1628-1637." By Samuel Rawson Gardiner. 2 vols. London: Longmans & Co.

⁴ "A Selection from the Despatches, Treaties, and other Papers of the Marquess Wellesley, K.G., during his Government of India." Edited by Sydney Owen, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

who desire to attain a minute knowledge of Indian affairs at the beginning of this century.

In Mr. Rutherford's "History of the Fenian Conspiracy,"⁵ we find a temperate and well-written book; but the careful labour and fairness which he exhibits are wasted upon the contemptible theme. In his desire to be just, Mr. Rutherford falls into the error of bestowing unmerited dignity upon a miserable combination of petty roguery, vanity, and silly enthusiasm; and we think that no respectable life assurance society will charge him any extra premium for the risk which he has incurred in writing of Fenianism, a risk which he says he has not underrated, if he has disregarded it. In the palmiest days of the Fenian cause, its forces would have been scanty had one subtracted the rascals who battered upon the petty cash out of which the ignorant Irish in America were beguiled; the shop-boys and others who revelled in the thoughts of uniforms and titles of "colonel" or "captain;" and the honest but simple fools who, either from the Irish taste for small conspiracy, or from the hatred of the bloody Saxon bred by bad whisky and their wrongs, parted with their money, and in a few cases with their liberty and lives, at the call of the first of these categories. It was the last class who did the little sorry *work* that was done, the ludicrous raids into Canada, the attacks on Irish police-stations, and last and saddest, the occasional assassinations which contributed so much to stifle the silly cause. Now it may be said that the rascals have been found out by the dupes; and the only remaining Fenians are the aspirants for green clothes and cheap colonelcies; and these will never hurt Mr. Rutherford or any one else, contenting themselves with airing their patriotism, courage, and clothes in funeral and St. Patrick's Day processions at New York. We repeat that Mr. Rutherford's book is admirably temperate, and is accurate and well written. Our only objection is that so much good work should have been wasted.

Admiral Maxse sends us a well-reasoned pamphlet on National Education.⁶ He begins by defining his subject as "Instruction in Elementary Knowledge," a definition which marks him as far apart from the majority in the London School-Board. He insists upon compulsion on grounds of justice and true economy, and gives some startling statistics of the numbers of those who escape the most elementary instruction under the present system. "I question," he says, "whether the majority of agricultural labourers have even yet heard that an Education Act has passed." He speaks strongly of the difficulties which denominationalism throws in the way of the educational reformer; but his words do not sound too strong to those who know how positive statutes prescribing liberty of conscience are ignored or disobeyed in some of our great schools. Admiral Maxse's pamphlet is a valuable contribution towards social progress.

⁵ "The Secret History of the Fenian Conspiracy." By John Rutherford. 2 vols. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.

⁶ "National Education and its Opponents." A Lecture. By Rear-Admiral Maxse. London: Ridgway.

The third volume of Mr. van Laun's "History of French Literature,"⁷ comprising, as it does, the whole interval between the end of the reign of Louis XIV. and the year 1848, is a monument of vast labour. In that period of more than a century and a quarter France has produced an extraordinary number of eminent writers. Her greatest man of letters and the most fruitful of her literary influences, fall within it. In passing, then, such a vast army in review in the space of a volume, the author is of necessity brief in his comments upon individual writers. We notice that he is relatively briefer in his treatment of the better-known authors; and in this we think he is wise, because it is easy to find able and full criticisms of such men as Voltaire and Rousseau, while information about men of the Duclos or Rivarol type is rare. The same cause fully justifies Mr. van Laun's great liberality in admitting to his temple of fame. We have failed to note the absence of any name known to us, except those of the Abbé Prévost and Louvet, which are omitted for obvious reasons. Mr. van Laun writes remarkably vigorous and pleasing English, and his criticisms are throughout sound and just. His remarks on the writers of the last generation will be perhaps the most valuable to the ordinary reader, as they are least known in England. The chapter on Honoré de Balzac is especially interesting. The English renderings, though good, ought to be superfluous in a work of this calibre; and, with this slight protest, we warmly commend the book.

Fired by the great and deserved success of Mr. Lucas Collins' "Ancient Classics for English Readers," the publishers are bringing out, under the editorship of Mrs. Oliphant, a companion series of "Foreign Classics," one of the earliest of which is Colonel Hamley's "Voltaire."⁸ It is a bright and judicious little book, which gives us a clear picture of all that is most interesting and most useful about the Patriarch of Ferney. Colonel Hamley has given a special charm to his book by writing at considerable length on Voltaire's visit to this country, on his "Letters on the English," and on the countless comments on England which are scattered throughout his works, and which are nearly always true and in his happiest vein. How exquisite, for instance, is this—

"I ask you if you think it is easy to define a nation which cut off Charles I.'s head because he wished to introduce the surplice into Scotland, and demanded a tribute which the judges declared to belong to him; whilst the same nation, without a murmur, saw Cromwell drive out Parliament, lords and bishops, and upset all the laws. Understand that James II. was dethroned partly because he gave a place in a college to a Catholic pedant: and remember also that the sanguinary tyrant Henry VIII., half Catholic, half Protestant, changed the religion of the country because he wished to marry a brazen woman whom he afterwards sent to the scaffold; that he wrote a bad book against Luther in favour of the Pope, and then made himself Pope in England, hanging those who denied

⁷ "History of French Literature." By Henri van Laun. Vol. III. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

⁸ "Voltaire." By Colonel Hamley. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons.

his supremacy, and burning those who did not believe in transubstantiation—and all this with gaiety and impunity.”

The mere grasp of the facts in the above passage is remarkable. Again—

“If there were but one religion in England, its despotism would be formidable; if there were only two, they would throttle each other; but there are thurty, and they live happily and peaceably.”

It is, however, easier to begin than to leave off quoting from the most brilliant of writers. Colonel Hamley appreciates duly all the many gifts of Voltaire, whose thorough kind-heartedness and passionate love of justice receive no less attention from him than his intellect and wit. The book is an excellent study.

Charles Lamb's school-fellow and “pleasant friend, Jem White,” who instituted the annual feast of chimney-sweepers immortalised in “Elia,” published in 1796 a volume of “Letters of Falstaff,” with which Lamb was extravagantly delighted, and of which he constantly makes mention in his correspondence. Mr. Robson, of Cranbourn Street, has thought Lamb's favourable opinion a sufficient ground for reprinting the work.⁹ We have read the dainty little volume through, but are utterly unable to acquiesce in Lamb's judgment. An imitation or a sequel is but poor work at best, and one of Shakespeare's most successful and most unique characters is not an easy subject to attempt. The names of the Fat Knight's companions and their peculiarities of speech are indeed preserved, but the humour is less perceptible. We find the book laboured and dull, and occasionally coarse.

Mr. Barnett Smith's Critical Biography of Shelley¹⁰ is not perhaps a very original or profound work, but it is a very readable sketch. The author gives us a short biography of the poet, some remarks on his political and religious views, and a criticism of his poetry. The last-named portion is the part of the book which has pleased us most. It follows the tendency of to-day to place Shelley in the very first rank of our English singers. Mr. Barnett Smith also shows that, in both religion and politics, Shelley was far more moderate than the last generation or two have believed. With the brief sketch of the poet's life we are less satisfied, because the author has followed nearly all those who have written on Shelley of late, in endeavouring to represent him as free from reproach. The cruelties and selfishness of Shelley to one and the other of his wives were disgraceful. The fact that these faults were condoned by her who survived him, and who had not to suffer desertion and a violent death like the woman whose place she usurped, in nowise lessens Shelley's guilt. And it is not a happy sign of the times if the possession of genius is held to free a man from the most essential responsibilities of humanity.

The third volume of the late Bishop Thirlwall's “Remains”¹¹ contains

⁹ “Falstaff's Letters.” By James White. Originally published in 1796, and now reprinted *verbatim et literatim*. London: B. Robson.

¹⁰ “Shelley: A Critical Biography.” By George Barnett Smith. Edinburgh: David Douglas.

¹¹ “Remains Literary and Theological of Connop Thirlwall, late Lord Bishop of St. David's. Edited by J. J. Stewart Perowne, D.D. Vol. III. Essays, Speeches, Sermons, &c. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co.

several papers on classical subjects (most of them reprinted from the "Philological Museum"), a few sermons, and several speeches on questions of State and Church. All the papers are of sufficient importance to merit preservation in permanent form. They all breathe that nobly liberal spirit that made Thirlwall a brilliant and almost solitary exception in his order. Of the classical studies, the paper on the Irony of Sophocles is perhaps the most valuable as well as the best known. The speeches delivered in the House of Lords on the Disabilities of the Jews, on the Disestablishment of the Irish Church are, of course, on the side of justice and progress; and those which were delivered in Convocation on retaining the Athanasian Creed in the Church services, and on the admission of unorthodox scholars to the Bible Revision Committees, were only too wise and tolerant for the body to which they were addressed. The ablest paper in the volume is perhaps a letter to the late Archbishop of Canterbury in reply to the summons to the Pan-Anglican Synod of 1867. The Bishop

"Cannot help suspecting that those who have been fascinated by the image of this spectacle, had first cast a longing eye on those which have been so frequently exhibited at Rome during the reign of the present Pope, who is said to take a peculiar pleasure in bringing his bishops together by hundreds from all parts of the globe, not indeed for the transaction of any serious business, from which he would rather keep them away, but simply to enhance the splendour of a gorgeous ceremony, and to exalt the majesty of the Pontifical throne. But even if the meeting to be held in September next should include every bishop 'in visible communion with the United Church of England and Ireland'—which is from various causes practically impossible—nothing could be more unwise than to invite a comparison between it and those which the Pope gathers round him in St. Peter's, either in point of numbers or (in theatrical phrase) of *effects*. Not only have we nothing to show that would not prevent a pitiable contrast to those glistening files of brocaded copes and jewelled mitres which adorn the Roman spectacle; but, unless the meeting was to be held, not, as your grace proposes, at Lambeth, but in Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's, we could show no spectacle at all."

He concludes his letter by observing that if the meeting is to discuss a variety of subjects suggested in the Archbishop's invitation, such as questions of faith, of providing a basis for inter-communion, of a right ecclesiastical discipline, of a procedure for trying ecclesiastics accused of denying the faith in a mode recognised by the whole communion:—

"Then I should feel myself obliged to make some kind of protest against these proceedings, and that which I should think most consistent with my respect for your grace would be to stay away from the meeting. I am not anxious to hasten a separation between Church and State; and, until that is accomplished, the discussion of such questions—unless considered as preparing the way for separation—would appear to me, whether the meeting is or is not 'competent' to entertain them, as premature, and much worse than a mere waste of time."

Thirlwall, bred a lawyer, had no liking for extra-legal proceedings; and before the Synod was over, probably many British and American bishops were converted to his views by the impotence of its doings.

It is amusing to think now that "Essays and Reviews" and Bishop Colenso were among the first causes of the meeting. The school of thought which was illustrated by those names can hardly be said to have been quite annihilated by it; nor does that unparalleled display of Anglican bishop power seem to have inspired much awe into the minds of the inferior clergy. The Council indeed was almost forgotten, when a few passages in the Life of Bishop Gray, and in other recently published books, threw a few glances of light on the back-bitings, the squabbles, and the efforts to patch these up, which characterised it almost as much as they did the subsequent Vatican Council on which Cardinal Manning has just been instructing us. Canon Perowne has made a most judicious selection from the papers of the manly prelate; and we look forward with impatience to the volumes of Thirlwall's letters which Deau Stanley and the Canon are now editing.

Professor Douglas has translated and harmonised a life of Temuchin, better known as Jenghiz Khan,¹² from the works of three Chinese historians. His authorities, as is generally the case with Oriental writers, limit their view to events near home. They write at great length of the great Mongolian's pedigree and earlier life. They also record his Asiatic conquests, but are silent upon his advance into South-Eastern Europe. His movements on the borders of Asia and Europe have, as Professor Douglas thoughtfully points out, had a vast influence on the world's history; for it was his presence which caused the Turks to force Byzantine culture out into Western Europe, and to form the chief factor in the Renaissance. The editor has supplied the deficiencies of his originals by an excellent introduction; and his version is in good and readable English, and will be found interesting.

Lady Wallace has favoured the English musical world with another biography of a composer, a translation of Dr. Nohl's Life of Mozart.¹³ The all too short career of that great man offers many points for consideration. Admirably brought up, patronised and famous from his very childhood, happily married: this advantage, in addition to his genius, ought to have sufficed to make him a prosperous man; yet Mozart lived and died in absolute want. The chief reason for so remarkable a fact is to be found in the fact that he had to depend so entirely on the patronage of the great. Like Goethe, who was his senior by some seven years, Mozart enjoyed the priceless advantage of having good parents, who worthily won and retained a boundless filial love from him. He was scarcely less attached to his eldest sister Nannerl, with whom he used to perform in public when they were both little children. His marriage, at the age of twenty-six, did not commend itself to his father (who, however, did not withhold his consent), and indeed might fairly seem an imprudent step; but it was to

¹² "The Life of Jenghiz Khan." Translated from the Chinese. By Robert Kennaway Douglas, of the British Museum, and Professor of Chinese at King's College, London. London: Trubner & Co.

¹³ "The Life of Mozart." Translated from the German work of Dr. Ludwig Nohl by Lady Wallace. 2 vols. London: Longmans & Co.

his wife that Mozart owed what happiness he enjoyed in the last nine years of his life. His letters are extremely bright and cheerful, and are full of little quips, parodies, and jokes. It is indeed extraordinary that a man who always had such good grounds for sorrow and anxiety could so keep up his cheerfulness. Mozart, however, enjoyed the love of many true-hearted friends; and he also had the satisfaction which an honestly spent life gives. Dr. Nohl's biography is a good work, and Lady Wallace has given it a worthy English version. We can cordially recommend it to the musical reader as a record of one of the greatest musicians, to the general reader as the history of a good and great man.

Miss Charlotte Williams-Wynn was the daughter of a Privy Councillor, and was born in 1807. Her family and her father's position afforded her every opportunity of mingling with the best people of the day. In 1836 she made the acquaintance of Varnhagen von Ense, with whom she maintained a close friendship and correspondence up to the time of his death. Other friends were M. Rio, Carlyle, Bunsen, and F. D. Maurice. She never married; and from ill health passed much of her later life on the Continent, where she died in 1869. One who could maintain such friendships must have been a noteworthy woman; and her sister has wisely published a volume of extracts from her letters and journals,¹⁴ which had previously been circulated among personal friends. A single woman, whose health was not good, Miss William-Wynn's life contained little adventure, though she was in Paris during the *coup d'état* of 1851. The merit of the volume lies in its exhibition of an amiable and clever woman, and in her able comments on the men and events of her time.

Dr. Hanna has issued the second volume¹⁵ of the "Letters of Erskine of Linlathen," the first of which was noticed in the July number of this "Review." The later volume is far more interesting than its predecessor, and makes us indeed feel that its subject was a remarkable man. Not only did he compel the warmest affection from all who knew him, among whom many were famous, but even such men as Adolphe Monod, Thomas Carlyle, and Principal Sharp owed him debt or gave him their hearts in the matter of their religion. Among the letters are many sayings that will bear quotation. Of Calvinism and Armenianism he said that "the former is a sheep in wolf's clothing, the latter is a wolf in sheep's clothing." A certain order of religionists is described in the remark that "those who make their religion their god, will not have God for their religion." He was not always equally happy. Some one having laughed to him at a preacher who said: "What were rocks made for, my brethren? Even that mariners might avoid them," Erskine remarks that "there was a gain in having avoided rocks which there would not be if rocks had never existed." This awakens reminiscences of Dr. Pangloss when he

¹⁴ "Memorials of Charlotte Williams-Wynn." Edited by her Sister. London: Longmans & Co.

¹⁵ "Letters of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen from 1840 till 1870." Edited by William Hanna, D.D. Edinburgh: David Douglas.

tells *Candide* that "all being done for an end, all is necessarily for the best end. Observe that noses have been made to carry spectacles, and we have spectacles. Legs are visibly instituted in order to wear breeches, and we have breeches. Stones have been formed to be hewn and to make castles of, so my lord has a very fine one: the greatest baron in the province ought to be the best lodged. Pigs being made to be eaten, we eat pork all the year round." Heine, too, agreeing with a dull traveller who prated of utility in nature, pointed out that oxen were made to supply men with meat, asses that they might serve men as illustrations, and man himself in order that he might eat meat and not be an ass. In making these light quotations we are thinking of no disrespect to the memory of the good Thomas Erskine. His life was one to be studied and imitated; and it is best told in the excellent selection from his papers which Dr. Hanna has made.

The next work¹⁶ before us is the autobiography of one of the best type of Englishmen, those daring and upright men who have created our Eastern Empire. Meadows Taylor was born at Liverpool in 1808. His father fell into reduced circumstances about eight years later; but he managed to give his son some schooling, after which the lad entered a Liverpool merchant's office. The work was not congenial; and in 1824 he was sent to a house of business at Bombay. The "house" proved to be a large shop which was in circumstances that were not flourishing. While Taylor was thinking over his disappointment, the Government Secretary, who was a relation of his mother, procured him a commission in the Nizam's army. He made a good impression on the British Resident at Hyderabad, and was soon appointed Police Superintendent of a district containing a million inhabitants. In this important post all his work was done to the satisfaction of his superiors. At this time he was greatly struck by the number of secret murders in his district, and he commenced investigations which, had he been allowed to pursue them, would have made him the anticipator of Sleeman in the discovery of the extraordinary crime of Thuggee, with which, however, his literary talent afterwards connected his name. But he was suddenly ordered to rejoin his regiment, after gaining great credit in his civil employment, being still only twenty-one years of age. He presently married, and in 1838 obtained a furlough to England. He now published his "Confessions of a Thug," a book which had an extraordinary success, and which made its author the lion of a London season. On his return to India he was appointed Political Agent at Shorapoor, a State which was tributary to the Nizam. Here the deposition of a regent, the management of a *Messalina* Ranee, and a boy ruler, and the smoothing of the perpetual triangular squabbles between the Nizam, the Shorapoor State, and the British Government, occupied him sufficiently for several years. In this position also he constantly received the distinguished approbation of the supreme Government. During this time he occupied part of his leisure in

¹⁶ "The Story of My Life." By the late Colonel Meadows Taylor. Edited by his Daughter. 2 vols. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons.

writing a correspondence for the "Times" which was of great merit. In 1853 he was moved to more important functions at Nuldroog, where he remained until 1857, the year of the Mutiny. He was then suddenly transferred to the Deputy-Commissionership of Berar, receiving from the Resident at Hyderabad the following note :—

"Go to Berar directly, and *hold on by your eyelids*. I have no troops to give you, and you must do the best you can. I know I can depend on you, and I am sure you will not fail me."

This came at a moment when he had just been informed that he was to have higher promotion in another direction. However, the beginning of the Mutiny was not the time, nor was Taylor the man, for hesitation. Three days after the arrival of this disappointing and alarming despatch, he received an affectionate address of farewell from the chief people of Nuldroog, and started for Berar, crossing the Godavery under very alarming circumstances. For the rest of that awful year Taylor was constantly exposed to anonymous threats, and often to manifestations of violence; but by his tact and courage he rendered his country the vast service of keeping Berar faithful. In 1858 he was sent back to Nuldroog. In this year he had the happiness to obtain a commutation of the death sentence passed on his former ward, the Rajah of Shorapoor, who had taken the wrong side in the Mutiny. The luckless young man, however, shortly afterwards shot himself, accidentally in Taylor's opinion. His mother, the Messalina before referred to, had long ago prophesied that he would not live to be twenty-four, which reminds Taylor, who would seem to have had an inclination towards belief in the supernatural, of a curious story. A captain of the 14th was sitting in his tent when a soldier entered, and asked that his arrears of pay should be sent to his mother, at a certain address, which the captain mechanically took down. When the man had gone, the captain bethought him that the man had not saluted either in coming or going. He asked the sergeant on duty why the man had been admitted so irregularly. "Sir," answered the sergeant, "the man died yesterday. Are you sure you saw him this morning?" The officer was quite sure, and showed the memorandum of the mother's address which he had made, and which proved, on examination of the regimental books, to be accurate. We leave the story to the reader's faith. Colonel Taylor remained in India until 1860, when he was invalided home. He now employed his leave on literary work, producing the novels, "Tara," "Ralph Darnell," and "Seeta." His bad health forbade him to return to work in India, and he accordingly had, with great reluctance, to remain at home. Literature, lectures, and study, as long as his sight lasted, filled his leisure. He had the pleasure of being appointed to the Order of the Star of India. And he finally paid a visit to Mysore at the time of the Prince's voyage to India. He was unable, from ill-health, to greet the heir-apparent, though he received a pleasant letter from him. He lived to return to Europe, not to England, dying at Mentone in May 1876, in his sixty-eighth year. This interesting book contains a moral lesson—that of treating the natives of India with

courtesy. Taylor tells that he was often reproached by Europeans with being too considerate towards them. Not being a servant of the Company, or of the Imperial Government, but of a native prince, he was obliged to treat natives humanely; and it brought its reward. He was beloved by them, and his popularity prevented (what might well have been expected) his death in 1857. The Prince of Wales read Taylor's books on his voyage out, and he expressed himself very strongly on the subject of being civil to natives. He probably would readily own that Taylor had helped him to his opinion. This book is perhaps somewhat self-complacent, which may be allowed to an old man who has distinguished himself without due reward. However that may be, it is very interesting, and is written in a fascinatingly brisk style which reminds us of Captain Marryat.

The third series of the "National Portrait Gallery"¹⁷ contains portraits and brief biographies of twenty such eminent Englishmen as Sims Reeves, the Duke of Westminster, Sir W. Vernon Harcourt, M.P., William Chambers, Charles Santley, and the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh. None of these famous men is likely to quarrel either with his likeness or with his description. The latter is invariably complimentary, if somewhat dull, and the portraits are charming. The complexions, except that of William Chambers, are of an agreeable and uniform light-brown colour, and perfectly smooth. Neither wrinkles or grey hairs occur; and, except the aforesaid William Chambers, who has white hair, and the Duke of Beaufort, who is made out to be bald, scarcely one of our great men appears to be more than thirty. Perhaps the younger Pitt's career was not so exceptional after all.

BELLES LETTRES.

"NICHOLAS MINTURN"¹ is an American novel, and as we so seldom meet with anything that is readable in the shape of an American tale, we have especial pleasure in calling attention to the merits of Dr. Holland's work. The keynote of the story may be found on the title-page in a quotation from the late Mr. Edmund Denison, "Giving away money only makes things worse. I am beginning to think that all bodily aid to the poor is a mistake, and that the real thing is to let things work themselves straight, whereas by giving alms you keep them permanently crooked." Now let no one be alarmed. Dr. Holland's book is no treatise upon political economy. It is simply a tale, most humorously and artistically told, which throws a flood of light upon some of the darkest spots in the large towns of the United States. We do not remember to have met, at all events, in recent literature, a better hyocrite than Benson, or a more living

¹⁷ "The National Portrait Gallery." Third Series. London: Cassell, Petter, & Galpin.

¹ "Nicholas Minturn: A Study in a Story." By J. G. Holland, Author of "Sevenoaks," "Arthur Bonnicastle," &c., &c. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1877.

picture of a consummate and polished Pharisee. His little court of female admirers is also excellently done. "‘Duty, you know, perhaps,’ said Mr. Benson, ‘has been the watchword of my life.’" "‘Isn’t it grand?’ interrogated Miss Coates, smiling upon the group, as if they had been caught in a shower of pearls without umbrellas" (p. 59). By such touches as these Benson’s female court is revealed. But it is not until the story develops that Dr. Holland’s power is clearly shown. He then quits comedy and gives us some tragic scenes, for which we must say we were utterly unprepared. In the last part of Chapter XIII. will be found a fine analysis of a guilty conscience struggling with its better angel for the mastery. Altogether we can most strongly recommend "Nicholas Minturn," especially to those who wish to know something of American life and manners, told with grace and humour, and also tragic force.

How comes it that the authoress of the "Schönberg-Cotta Family"² is so little known? The answer, we think, is easily given. She writes too exclusively for one set of people—the most narrow-minded and illiterate of all our religious sects. It must have been Evangelicals of this class that the Rector of Lincoln was thinking about when he described the average library of the middle classes. Many of these worthy people will still not admit a novel into their homes. Thackeray is regarded by them with as much horror as an opera. Now we say it advisedly, that the authoress of the "Schönberg-Cotta Family" has been all her lifetime wasting her great powers, for she really has great powers. Cultivated, she has been toiling for people who despise culture. Artistic, she has been writing for those who hate art. Humorous, she has been wasting her humour on those who think all joking sin. She has in vain tried to bring herself down to their level. But in doing this she has dwarfed her own powers. In giving a peculiar religious flavour to her works she has spoiled their artistic excellence. The secular novel-reading public knows, in fact, nothing of the works of the authoress of the "Schönberg-Cotta Family." And yet her tales are superior in every way, in style, knowledge, descriptive power, humour, and analysis of character, to ninety-nine out of a hundred novels. The reason, as we have said, lies on the surface. We trust that the present volume of selections will do much to extend the circulation of writings which are far too little known, and whose spirit can do nothing else but good. We had marked a great number of passages for selection, some for their simple beauty, some for their descriptive power, others for their humour, and others again for their enthusiasm for what is noble and pure, but unfortunately we have no room for them, and must therefore content ourselves with a general word of praise for the whole book.

We are no admirers, as a rule, of stories told for a purpose. The reason is very simple. Generally speaking, in all such tales art is sacrificed, and often not only art but truth. The author writes *non*

² "Selections from the Writings of the Author of 'The Schönberg-Cotta Family.'" By a Friend. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1877.

ad narrandum sed ad probandum. His one aim is to prove his case. We must, however, make an exception in favour of "Them Boots."³ "Them Boots" is a teetotal tale, but told in such a way that it could not, we imagine, give offence to the whole Association of Licensed Victuallers. The humour, too, is worthy of Sir Wilfred Lawson, and this is giving Mr. Gilbert very high praise. We are afraid that such characters as Mrs. Rigton and Mrs. Watson are far too common, and that "original sin," in Mrs. Rigton's sense of the word, has much to answer for. Mr. Gilbert has no need to make any apology for his characters. They are only too common. Most people have some time or another come in contact with these unfortunate Rigtons and Watsons. Mr. Gilbert's concluding chapter should be studied by all Members of Parliament and social reformers. One of the greatest evils of the day is the adulteration of spirits, especially those which are sold in public-houses. We trust some remedy may be devised.

We wish that Mr. Jenkins⁴ could be persuaded to take a leaf out of Mr. Gilbert's book, and write with somewhat a lighter touch. Still he has improved since we last met him. Our sympathies are entirely with Mr. Jenkins, and we wish him all success in his undertaking, but in this section our chief concern is with art, and from this point of view we can hardly regard the book as quite successful. But it is not given to everybody to write an "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Still "Dilloo and Lutchmee" should be read as a duty by everybody. Whilst such oppressions and cruelties last as are described in Mr. Jenkins's pages, no Englishman should rest until the hateful system under which they are perpetrated is altered. As Mr. Jenkins rightly says, "The sorrows of Dilloo and Lutchmee are the sorrows of humanity." We therefore recommend Mr. Jenkins's book, not so much as a novel, but as something of far higher importance, to all those who would alleviate the wrongs and woes of their fellow-creatures.

"The Pale and the Septs"⁵ is another Irish story. It has been noticed that Irish saints are different from all other saints, and true Irish novels certainly differ from all other novels, and this particular Irish novel seems to differ from all other Irish novels. We can only do it justice by extracts. This is the sort of thing of which we have page after page:—"Beshrew thy stars, Sir Knight! how hath it chanced thee to loiter behind thy hare-footed comrades in the rout? Hurt, peradventure, by glaive or bullet, and so lamed for speed. Nathless in these words misjudge not of your cead mille falte," &c., &c. Now, this sort of jargon would, we think, be most appropriate in some melodrama on the boards of a transpontine theatre.

There is no necessity for us to call attention to Mr. Blackmore's

³ "Them Boots." By William Gilbert, Author of "De Profundis," "Shirley Hall Asylum," "Contrasts," &c., &c. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1877.

⁴ "Lutchmee and Dilloo: A Story of West Indian Life." By Edward Jenkins, M.P. London: William Mullin & Son. 1877.

⁵ "The Pale and the Septs; or, The Baron of Belgard and the Chiefs of Glenmalure: A Romance of the Sixteenth Century." By Emelobie de Celtis. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1877.

"Erema,"⁶ which has so long delighted the readers of the "Cornhill Magazine." In some respects we consider "Erema" his finest work. If any one wants a proof that Mr. Blackmore's hand has lost none of its cunning, let him turn to the thirty-fourth chapter of the second volume, and see with what skill the little village of Shoxford is drawn, with its churchyard and mill and village inn, and then let him try to make a similar picture. Mr. Blackmore's style seems easy to imitate, but it is really one of the most difficult because it is so simple. As another crucial test of power, let the reader turn to "The Sawyer's Prayer" in the first volume, or to the three chapters of "Betsy's Tale" in the second volume, and then let him attempt the still more difficult task of making characters speak in character, and not in the conventional style of most novelists. By "Erema" Mr. Blackmore has done something more than hold his ground amongst the foremost novelists of the day.

We can strongly recommend "A Douce Lass"⁷ for family reading during the long winter nights. The scene is laid in the North, and might fit any of the little fishing towns from, let us say, Berwick northwards. The whole of the life in such a place is painted with marvellous fidelity. But what will recommend the book most is the way in which the writer paints what we may call the home and domestic feelings.

Amongst the remaining novels we may particularise the "Heir to Two Fortunes"⁸ and "Reediford Holm."⁹ The first is noticeable for the vast amount of love-making which it contains, and the second for its descriptive power, which the writer may some day turn to account. A word of praise should also be given to the authoress of

"Heir to Two Fortunes" for her description of the Moselle in the third volume. Perhaps one of the love scenes in the second volume had better have been omitted. Amongst reprints of novels we must call attention to "Pandurang Hári."¹⁰ The present edition is enriched by a preface by Sir Bartle Frere. The book had become so scarce that it was with difficulty a copy was found from which to make the present reprint. The author was a Mr. Hockley, who belonged to the Bombay Civil Service, and served under the Commissioners in the Deccan. The great value of the book is, as Sir Bartle Frere reminds us, that it presents "a series of photographic pictures from the past generation of a great Indian nation." Of the truthfulness of the sketches Sir Bartle Frere can speak from his own experience. The book will therefore have a special interest to all Anglo-Indians.

⁶ "Erema; or, My Father's Sin" By R. D. Blackmore, Author of "The Maid of Sker." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1877.

⁷ "A Douce Lass." By the Author of "Citoyenne Jacqueline," "A Garden of Women," &c., &c. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1877.

⁸ "Heir to Two Fortunes." By the Author of "The Life of the Moselle." London: Remington & Co. 1877.

⁹ "Reediford Holm: A Tale." By Thomas Rowland Skemp. London: Remington & Co. 1877.

¹⁰ "Pandurang Hári; or, Memoirs of a Hindoo." With an Introductory Preface by Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, G.S.I., K.C.B., D.C.L. New Edition. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

Amongst criticisms upon novels, a high place must be given to Professor Kaufman's "George Eliot and Judaism."¹¹ The four great representative Jews in fiction would be Marlowe's, Shakespeare's, Lessing's, and George Eliot's. To analyse them all, and show how each was to a certain extent the product of the age, is a task well worth doing. Professor Kaufman's searching criticism upon "Daniel Deronda" will certainly throw new light upon a character to which justice has not hitherto be done.

The volumes of poetry are this quarter more numerous than ever. One of the most interesting is a reprint of Mrs. Browning's earliest poems¹² Like the early pieces of Tennyson, they by no means foreshadow the writer's future greatness. Most of them are ordinary enough. The longest is a rather dull poem in heroic verse called an "Essay on Mind" Its philosophy is of an utterly extinct order. Here and there the lines glow for a little bit, and then speedily sink into the stereotyped prize poem order. Once or twice we meet with an epigrammatic couplet like

"Some hold by words who cannot hold by sense,
And leave the thought behind, and take th' attire—
Elijah's mantle, but without his fire" (p. 49)

Here, too, is a variation on *cuculus non facit monachum* —

"The cynics, not their tubs, respect engage,
And dirty tunc never made a sage" (p. 53)

But even such couplets as these are rare, and we find little but a "deluge of words poured upon a waste of ideas" The other poems are considerably better, and here and there we find a pretty fancy and a happy expression. In the following lines we may, for instance, see something of the future poetess, the creator of "Aurora Leigh":

"Perchance in childhood bold
Some little elf, four summers old,
Adown the vales may chance to run,
To hunt his shadow in the sun,
But when the waters meet his eyes,
He starts and stops with glad surprise,
And shouts with merry voice to view
The banks of green, the skies of blue,
The inverted flocks that bleating go,
Lilies and trees of apple blow" (pp. 120, 121)

"The inverted flocks" is nearly as happy an expression as Wordsworth's "double swan."

All visitors to the Grosvenor Gallery last season will remember the classic Renaissance which was so conspicuous on its walls, Burne Jones's "Venus's Mirror," Walter Crane's "Renaissance of Venus," Spencer Stanhope's "Love and the Maiden," and Strud-

¹¹ "George Eliot and Judaism. An Attempt to Appreciate 'Daniel Deronda'" By Professor D. Kaufman. Translated by J. W. Ferrier. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1877.

¹² "The Earlier Poems of Elizabeth Barrett Browning" 1826-33. London: Bartholomew Robson. 1878.

wick's "Love's Music." A similar classic Renaissance seems in a lesser degree to be going on in poetry. Men's eyes turn back from the present to the happier past, or rather the happier past, in an artistic sense, of bluer skies than our own, and of fairer beauty than we can see. Atalanta has for some time past been a favourite subject with both painters and poets. In 1876 we had Poynter's noble picture in the Academy. The author of the "Earthly Paradise" has also sung her charms, and now Mr. Brent¹³ enters the lists. His "Atalanta" is classical in many ways in its style and finish; and if it wants Keats's "large utterance of the gods," still the attempt is in every way creditable to the poet.

A still more praiseworthy attempt is made by Mr. Barclay¹⁴ in his "Orpheus and Eurydice" to give us something of the feeling of the classic world. Some of his shorter poems, such as the tale of the little Cupid who falls asleep by the roadside, and is looked upon with wistful eyes and varied feelings by maiden, matron, and old man, is very beautifully told. We shall hope to meet both Mr. Brent and Mr. Barclay again in classic land.

Below will be found three volumes^{15 16 17} which contain a tragic story of a young poet snatched away in the very bloom of life. The three volumes have been brought out by a brother's loving care. We have seldom read a story so profoundly sad. Mr. Armstrong was carried off in his twenty-fourth year, leaving behind him two goodly volumes of essays and poems, all of which are marked by an originality which is wonderful in one so young. We fear that the cause of his premature death is too plainly told us by entries in his diary like the following: "Friday, Jan. 6th. Rose at 4 A.M. Read half 2d Philippic (Cic.). Wrote verse. Ground with W. Headache all day." At Trinity College, Dublin, Mr. Armstrong carried off everything before him, and appears to have endeared himself to all who knew him. After a brilliant university career he joined the London press, the most trying of all occupations. We can now only record his sad death, and hope to have some future opportunity of speaking of his literary remains.

"Lotos Flowers"¹⁸ is very unequal. The authoress never seems to have fairly made up her mind whom she intends to imitate. Sometimes we are reminded of Hood, sometimes of Keble, for the writer is versatile. Here, however, is one of the most original bits which we can find, describing a child—

¹³ "Atalanta, Winnie, and other Poems." New and Revised Edition. To which is added "Guillemette la Delanaise: A Provençal Romaunt." By John Brent, F.S.A. London: Knight & Co. 1877.

¹⁴ "Orpheus and Eurydice." By Hugh Donald Barclay. With Illustrations by Edgar Barclay. London: Hardwicke & Bogue. 1877.

¹⁵ "Life and Letters of E. J. Armstrong." Edited by G. F. Armstrong. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

¹⁶ "The Poetical Works of E. J. Armstrong." Edited by G. F. Armstrong. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

¹⁷ "Essays and Sketches of E. J. Armstrong." Edited by G. F. Armstrong. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

¹⁸ "Lotos Flowers: Gathered in Sun and Shadow." By Mrs. Chambers-Ketchum. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1877.

"All gentle things
 Were teachers and playfellows unto him.
 In the glad spring-time he would sit for hours
 Beneath the tulip trees and watch the wren
 Building her tiny nest, or try his skill
 To mimic the quaint mocking-bird, whose song
 Held his young spirit spell-bound. In the cart,
 Homely and rude, it was his highest pride
 To ride far down into the hollows green,
 And gather berries to bring home to me ;
 And then, with earnest look, inquire if God
 Had berries and a wagon in the sky" (p. 118).

This is natural and quaint. But it is too obviously founded upon Wordsworth to make us feel sure whether the writer has any originality, or is merely the mocking-bird of which she sings.

We are not quite sure that we understand the author of "Ione,"¹⁹ when he concludes his preface with these words, "If ever the solution to the great enigma is found on earth, its discoverer will be neither priest nor philosopher, but a poet." The poets have certainly often enough tried their hands at the "great enigma," but hardly with satisfactory results. The "great enigma" had better be left to Science, whilst the Muses give man what consolation, what hope, what encouragement, what courage, they can. At present the look-out is sad enough. The author of "Ione" fairly recognises some of the difficulties of modern life—

"We wrest each bauble from some weaker hold,
 And not a bliss we own but has been bought
 At price of others' suffering Our gold
 Is human agony stored up, and wrought
 In the red furnace of our strife. All thought
 That is not sordid, that we miscall brave,
 Is rooted in despair ; the battle fought
 That we all lose in turn, and none can save,
 Then still the greenest herbage grows above the grave" (p. 93).

This is certainly considerably above the ordinary level of the poetry of the day, and represents a growing feeling, which will be probably heard in louder tones, as it has been already heard elsewhere. The author writes with force and clearness, and his illustrations are marked by much originality. We shall look forward with much interest to his next work.

We have only room to very briefly characterise the remaining volumes of poetry. "Essex"²⁰ certainly shows power, and is marked by one very pretty song, sung by a page to Penelope Devereux, beginning—

"Had I more gems than stars above
 On fairest nights do shine,"

which recalls the best manner of the Elizabethan poets. In Mr.

¹⁹ "Ione." A Poem in Four Cantos. By the Author of "Shadows of Coming Events." London : Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

²⁰ "Essex : A Play." By D. Charles D. Campbell. London : Williams & Norgate. 1877.

Hewlett's "Sheaf of Vine" ²¹ we find some sonnets to the months far above the average; and in "The House of Ravensburg," ²² as in all Mr. Noel's writings, fire and vigour and dramatic power. Amongst reprints of poetry we must not forget to notice a most convenient and well-printed edition of Sir Henry Taylor's works. ²³

"Spanish Salt" ²⁴ is one of those delightful little books which we can take up at any time, and always learn something from them. If "iron sharpeneth iron," a witty saying sharpens a man's wits. One proverb brings forth another proverb; for proverbs are like misfortunes—come not by single spies, but in battalions. In 1872 Mr. Burke published a little book called "Sancho Panza's Proverbs," which soon went out of print. This in reality is the basis of the present work. Mr. Burke reminds us that he does not profess to give a perfect collection of Spanish proverbs, but only of those in "Don Quixote." His plan is to take a proverb, and, so to speak, give us its history, and illustrate it by other proverbs from other nations. It is this which makes his collection so different from all others. Malebranche's criticism upon Seneca's writings may be applied to most collections of proverbs—they are like dancers, who end where they begin. Mr. Burke's work, however, is compact and well put together. He brings stores of quaint illustrations from all quarters, which fit into one another and throw light upon the proverb in hand. The little book is tastefully got up, and does credit to the publisher. For the benefit of book collectors we may add, that only a very limited number of copies has been published, and that all the large copies are already taken.

In the excellent account of the Yorkshire dialects by Mr. Clough Robinson, published in the English Dialect Society's bibliographical list, Sheffield makes a very conspicuous figure. We are glad to see that Bywater's "Sheffield Dialect" ²⁵ has been reprinted by an enterprising local firm. Few books have so great a provincial reputation. It is popular not only in Sheffield, but throughout the High Peak of Derbyshire. Prefixed to the new edition is a short life of Bywater. From it we learn that he was not, as is generally supposed, a grinder, but a chemist in a good way of business. As may be guessed from his writings, he was a staunch Nonconformist. Besides the life of Bywater, we have also a short glossary. This last might, however, have been increased with great advantage. Still it will be found useful to that large majority who are ignorant of the Sheffield dialect, and who wish to understand the humour of Bywater. For the real

²¹ "A Sheaf of Vine." By Henry G. Hewlett. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

²² "The House of Ravensburg." By the Hon. Roden Noel, Author of "The Red Flag," "Beatrice," "Livingstone in Africa," &c., &c. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1877.

²³ "The Works of Sir Henry Taylor." London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

²⁴ "Spanish Salt: A Collection of all the Proverbs which are to be Found in 'Don Quixote.'" With a Literal English Translation, Notes, and Introduction. By Ulick Ralph Burke. London: Basil Montagu Pickering. 1877.

²⁵ "The Sheffield Dialect." By Abel Bywater. Third Edition. Sheffield: Thomas Rodgers. 1877.

glossary of the Sheffield dialect we must wait till Mr. Leader's long-promised volume appears, when we shall return to the subject.

A complete Tennysonian literature is springing up. Some time ago we had an admirable analysis of "In Memoriam," and now Mr. Elsdale presents us with an equally searching criticism upon the "Idylls of the King."²⁶ Once or twice, perhaps, Mr. Elsdale falls into the faults of indolent reviewers, and deals in vague generalities. Thus he concludes his study of the "Holy Grail" with such an unmeaning sentence as—"Nevertheless, it will hardly be disputed that it is a fine work, worthy of the poet's great reputation." Now a critic pushed for time and unwilling to commit himself might be pardoned for pronouncing such a verdict upon a poem of the Laureate's on its first appearance. But a writer who deliberately chooses his own theme and is master of his own time should give us something more precise and definite. Mr. Elsdale, however, does not often offend in this way. He takes as a rule the accepted estimate of Tennyson—that his mind is rather receptive than creative; that he has faithfully reflected the difficulties and the doubts of the present day in his poems; that he has also given us its eager spirit of inquiry, and above all mirrored its refinement and culture. To use Mr. Elsdale's own words, "All this Mr. Tennyson puts before us in a most poetic and charming shape, with a highly cultivated artistic perception, with a careful observance of the laws of harmony, contrast, and arrangement" (pp. 3, 4). Perhaps, Mr. Elsdale might have still better brought out Tennyson's true place in literature had he contrasted him with Swinburne, Clough, or Matthew Arnold. With regard to the "Idylls of the King," Mr. Elsdale's general opinion may be summed up by saying, "That there is an absence of solidity in the whole work" (p. 147). And we think that here Mr. Elsdale has hit upon the weak point. As Mr. Elsdale goes on to observe, "There is an absence of a consistent, clearly-defined programme of action and character in the poet's mind." There is, in short, a want of perspective throughout these poems. As Mr. Elsdale well says, "Whether it be a question of the original conception of each separate poem, of the portraiture of the different characters, of the grouping and correlation of the incidents, or of the minor ornamentation of simile and epithet, I recognise everywhere the same want." On the other hand, Mr. Elsdale does not fail to do justice to the great beauties of the whole poem, in our opinion the finest poem of modern days, not forgetting even what Wordsworth has written. Early in his volume Mr. Elsdale recognises their true teaching:—"They show us the secret of failure, the dread working of that mystery of iniquity which mars and ruins the fairest of prospects." Mr. Elsdale also does full justice to the minor beauties scattered with so lavish a hand throughout these idylls. Altogether his volume will be found a most useful companion, and should be put upon the same shelf as the poem which it so well illustrates.

Shakespearian literature keeps increasing. The late Mr. Simpson

²⁶ "Studies in the Idylls: An Essay on Mr. Tennyson's 'Idylls of the King.'" By Henry Elsdale. London. Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

unfortunately never lived to see his "School of Shakespeare" ²⁷ published. The labour of seeing it through the press has devolved upon Mr. Furnival and Mr. Gibbs. The book could not possibly have fallen into better hands. Of course, Mr. Simpson's views will arouse endless criticism and controversy. At the same time, however much we may differ from him, no one will deny that this is one of the most interesting contributions to Elizabethan literature which has for a long time past been given to the world. No Shakespearian library will be complete without these two volumes. Many of the plays, apart from their historical connection with Shakespeare, are well worth reading as a picture of manners. Mr. Simpson's introduction, critical notices, and biographies give us an amount of information which it is not possible to find elsewhere, and which have taken the labour of a life to collect. Our thanks are especially due to the two editors for the way in which the book is brought out. Their labour has assuredly not been a slight one. Another Shakespearian contribution also claims attention on account of its importance. In his new edition of "Macbeth" ²⁸ Mr. Paton puts forth what, we believe, is a new theory with regard to the capital letters in the first folio. "Shakespeare," says Mr. Paton, "seems to have so marked (with capital letters) every word he intended stress to be laid on, and here, in our opinion, is the key to the way in which he read his own works, and in which they ought to be read by others." Before we adopted Mr. Paton's conclusion we should have to examine other works of the period to see if capital letters might not have been also used in a similar method by other writers. Mr. Paton has worked out his theory with great care and patience, and equal care and patience are demanded from any critic who attempts to controvert it. We can, however, only call attention to Mr. Paton's discovery without pretending to pass any verdict upon its merits. A word about Mr. Paton's notes, which are all excellent. We notice that, like some other critics, he has a lingering love for that *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*, "barlet," and thinks that it will still turn up somewhere. Mr. Paton, however, himself gives us two examples of the form "marlet," and we will add a third from Withal's "Shorte Dictionarie" (1586), "a marlette, which is of the quantity of a swallow, having no feete to goe, but only lympe, cypselus." Sig. A. 6.

The translations are this quarter unusually numerous and unusually good. First come the two translations of the "Agamemnon" by Browning ²⁹ and Mr. Morshead, ³⁰ upon which so much has been said.

²⁷ "The School of Shakespeare. Including the Life and Death of Captain Thomas Stukely, with a new Life of Stukely from unpublished sources. Nobody and Somebody. Histrio-Mastire. The Prodigal Son. Jack Drum's Entertainment. A Warning for Faire Women. With Reprints of the Accounts of the Murder, and Faire Em." Edited with Introduction and Notes by Richard Simpson, B.A. London: Chatto & Windus. 1878.

²⁸ "The Tragedy of Macbeth." According to the First Folio. With Remarks on Shakespeare's Use of Capital Letters in his Manuscript." By Allan Park Paton. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Co. 1877.

²⁹ "The Agamemnon of Æschylus." Transcribed by Robert Browning. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1877.

³⁰ "The Agamemnon of Æschylus." Translated into English Verse by E. D. A. Morshead, M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford, Assistant Master of Winchester College. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

It has been once or twice asked, Does Æschylus really seem to Mr. Browning what he makes him in his "transcription?" Mr. Browning, we think, might reply to his critics as Turner replied to the lady who complained, "I can never see all those colours in nature which you put in your pictures,"—"Don't you wish you could?" Perhaps we might go further, and even venture to say that, for the ordinary world, a great poet is not the best translator of a great poet. He is too creative. In this particular case we have not the "Agamemnon" of Æschylus, but of Æschylus-Browning. For the world at large, we hold that Mr. Morshead is a better translator; and further, we think that the man who does not know Greek will gain a truer idea from Mr. Morshead of what Æschylus is like than from Mr. Browning. With much in Mr. Browning the mere English reader will be simply bewildered. And it is necessary to say this somewhat emphatically, because the great merits of Mr. Morshead's translation are likely to be overshadowed by Browning's poetical reputation. Another translation also claims attention for its grace and poetry, no less than for its fidelity—Mr. Green's rendering of the similes in Homer's "Iliad."³¹ It is a book alike for the learned and the unlearned, for the critical scholar and the poet who cares less for scholarship than poetry. It is further graced by a charming preface, in which the English reader will probably for the first time learn to know what Homer is really like, and what, in short, the true Homeric flavour means. In these days, scholars in their introductions and prefaces are too much inclined to write only for one another. Mr. Green addresses himself to the world. He takes the great poets of the world, Dante, Spenser, Milton, and contrasts their similes with Homer's, and shows us which have most of the true Homeric feeling, that old-world tone which can only be realised in Homer himself. Further, Mr. Green's book has this great advantage over most translations, that the original is placed on the opposite page, so that we can, whenever we like, drink from the original fount. It would be simple presumption to praise Mr. Green's scholarship. We will, therefore, merely recommend his book both to learned and unlearned, gentle and simple. Amongst other translations we may mention Mr. Harrison's version of the first book of the "Odes of Horace,"³² and amongst schoolbooks Mr. Sidgwick's two books of the "Iliad."³³ The latter appears to be just what is wanted by a schoolboy. Amongst children's tales, which are so plentiful at this time of the year, are Mr. Hope's "Knight and the Lion,"³⁴ a kind of Van Amburgh of the Middle Ages, and a religious story by E. E. H.³⁵

³¹ "The Similes of Homer's Iliad." Translated with Introduction and Notes, By W. E. Green, M.A., Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Assistant Master in Rugby School. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

³² "The Odes of Horace in English Version." Book I. By C. Harrison. Boston: Ginn & Heath. 1877.

³³ "Homer's Iliad." Books I. and II. By Arthur Sidgwick, M.A., Assistant Master at Rugby, Late Fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Rivingtons. 1877.

³⁴ "Old Tales of Chivalry." By A. R. Hope. London: Gall & Inglis. 1878.

³⁵ "Allée; or, Into the Light." By E. E. H. London: Gall & Inglis. 1878.

MISCELLANEA.

THE new volume of the "Encyclopædia Britannica"¹ contains perhaps a lesser number of striking articles than some of its predecessors, fewer that could come under the head of brilliant essays; but on the other hand, some of the most valuable subjects within the whole range of the Encyclopædia are dealt with. As a rule, the various papers are written by those best qualified to speak with authority on their theme: thus, Henry Richard, M.P., on Cobden, John Morley on Comte and Danton, Algernon Charles Swinburne on Congreve, W. M. Rossetti on Correggio, Professor Legge on Confucius, all write with a thorough knowledge of their subject.

This is, however, not always the case. Thus, it is a little surprising to find the article on Dante written by Mr. Oscar Browning. Without in the least calling in question Mr. Oscar Browning's knowledge of and interest in his subject, without at all denying that he may from long private study be well fitted to treat of the people and the poetry of Dante's time, it may be said that the choice does not seem the most appropriate that might have been made. There are about half-a-dozen men among contemporary writers who could make a reasonable claim to write with authority on Dante, and Mr. Oscar Browning's name would certainly not figure in that list. But he acquits himself fairly enough in his task, and turns out a sufficiently readable article. It is agreeable to find that Mr. Browning consents to admire Goethe, and does not, like so many of the advanced school of the day, affect to despise the German literature which they so frequently fail to understand. But at the same time we do not greatly care for such criticism as this:—

"If we had to select two names in literature which are still exercising their full influence on mankind, and whose teaching is still developing new sides to the coming generations, we should choose the names of Dante and of Goethe. There is no department of modern literature or thought which does not bear upon it the traces of the sage of Weimar. But if we rebel against this teaching, and yearn once more for the ardour of belief, the fervour of self-sacrifice, the scorn of scorn, and the hate of hate, which is the meed of the coward and the traitor, where shall we find them but in the pages of the Florentine? The religion of the future, if it be founded on faith, will demand that faith be reconciled with all that the mind can apprehend of knowledge or the heart experience of emotion. The saint of those days will be trained, not so much on ascetic counsels of Imitation, or in Thoughts which base men's greatness on the consciousness of his fall, as on the verse of the poet, theologian, and philosopher who stands with equal right in the conclave of the Doctors and on the slopes of Parnassus, and in whom the ardour of study is one with the love of Beatrice, and both are made subservient to lift the soul from the abyss of hell, along the terraces of Purgatory to the spheres of Paradise, till it gazes on the ineffable revelation of the existence of God Himself, which can only be apprehended by the eye of faith."

¹ "The Encyclopædia Britannica." Ninth Edition. Vol. VI. Cli—Day. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black.

This kind of style is getting too stereotyped, and the theories it contains scarcely call for serious consideration. It is in the bibliography that Mr. Browning fails chiefly. Among the translations from Dante, neither Dante Gabriel Rossetti's nor Theodore Martin's translations of the "Vita Nuova" are mentioned, nor Wright's nor Cayley's translations of the "Divina Commedia;" and, by the way, the name of Cary is wrongly spelt Carey; while in commentaries no allusion is made to the studies on Dante of Gabriel Rossetti, the Italian poet and patriot, studies in which he endeavoured to show that the "Divine Comedy" is full of deeply hidden political allusions to the persons and events of his time.

Mrs. Fawcett, in her clear and careful article on Communism takes care to state that

"Communism, meaning thereby community of goods and the abolition of private property, has no connection with the commune of Paris which was overthrown in May 1871. The French word *commune* is a household word in France for 'township' or 'corporation.' Every town or village in France has its *commune* or municipality. In nearly every town and village there is corporate property called *les biens communaux*, and this property is vested in the corporation or *commune*. The similarity, however, of the French word for corporation to ours for expressing the doctrine of community of goods, has led to a great amount of misconception and confusion, even among writers who are generally careful and well informed. The revolution of the *commune* was entirely political; it propounded no new economic theories. It arose from a joint effort of many sections of extreme politicians, who were agreed in nothing but in demanding the establishment of (1) a democratic republic, and (2) the communal (or corporate) independence of Paris. Only about seven out of the seventy members of the Communal Government were Communists in the economic sense. . . . It is sufficient to state that its doings were not even tinged with Communism in the economic sense of the word."

It is curious to note how ingeniously Mrs. Fawcett contrives to slip the woman question into her article.

Professor Legge's article on Confucius is exceedingly valuable. His estimate of Confucius, which concludes the article, deserves quotation for its interesting *resumé* of the character of the philosopher:—

"A very remarkable man Confucius was, persistent and condensed, but neither his views nor his character were perfect. In the China then existing he saw terrible evils and disorders, which he set himself, in the benevolence of his heart, to remedy; but of one principal cause of its unhappy condition he had no idea. Near the beginning of this article, the existence of polygamy and the evils flowing from it were referred to. Confucius never appeared to give the matter a thought. We saw how he mourned on the death of his mother; but no generous word ever passed his lips about woman as woman, and apparently no chivalrous sentiment ever kindled in his bosom. Nor had he the idea of any progress or regeneration of society. The stars all shone to him in the heavens behind; none beckoned brightly before. It was no doubt the moral element of his teaching, springing out of his view of human nature, which attracted many of his disciples, and still holds the best part of the Chinese men of learning bound to him, but the conservative tendency of his lessons, nowhere so apparent as in the *Ch'un T's'u*, is the chief reason why successive dynasties have delighted to do him honour."

Professor Legge might have made some mention of the French

translation of Confucius to which those not versed in the Chinese language are chiefly indebted for their knowledge of his teachings. Among other interesting articles may be mentioned Mr. G. Smith's on Clive, and Mr. E. W. Gosse's on Cowley, Davenant, and other English poets; in the Cowley, Mr. Gosse's statement as to the *editio princeps* of his complete works is open to question. The valuable musical articles, though unsigned, are doubtless by Mr. Francis Hueffer, and the various articles on the heroes of the French Revolution are presumably from the pen of Mr. Morley.

As was pointed out in a previous notice, the chief defect of the new edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" lies in the frequent inaccuracies and shortcomings of the shorter articles, in which by far the greatest amount of accuracy is reasonably to be expected. This defect is painfully obvious in the present volume. Thus the notice of the French writer Louise Colet would be of little value to any one unacquainted with the subject. No one would judge, for example, from this sentence, "In 1841 Paris was diverted by her attempted reprisals on Alphonse Karr for certain notices in *Les Guepes*," that these reprisals took the form of a semi-theatrical attempt at assassination. Also, in mentioning her novel "Lui," no mention is made of Alfred de Musset.

The lengthy article on Columbus would have been made more complete by some reference to the recent unsuccessful attempt to obtain canonisation for the great navigator. The article on the Lake of Como is as incomplete without an allusion to *I promessi Sposi*, as a notice of Loch Katrine would be without a reference to the "Lady of the Lake." In the article on Concordances, no allusion is made to Mrs. Furness's valuable concordance to Shakespeare's poems, which so admirably supplements Mrs. Cowden Clarke's concordance; no mention is made of Todd's verbal index to Milton's poems, and the name of the author of the concordance to Milton published in 1867, C. D. Cleveland, is not given. The article on Conspiracy might have pointed the allusion to Baron Pollock's ruling at Leeds in 1874 by the decision that, if two or more persons agreed together not to travel in any omnibuses which were not painted blue, it would be a conspiracy at common law. The few lines devoted to Adamantius Coray, the Greek philologist, omit all mention of his ancestor, Antoine Coray, the Hellenic poet of the seventeenth century, and the paragraph on the Cordeliers should have given some allusion to the estimation in which the Franciscan monks were held in France at the time of the *Heptameron*; while to say that "the immorality of Crebillon's novels is not surpassed in literature" is a rather reckless statement. Moreover, some reference to *Cotyto* and to the *Comneni* should have been given in this volume. These are slight blemishes, but their existence makes all the difference between a trustworthy and a faulty work; and faults in a work intended more as a work of reference than as a collection of brilliant essays are certainly to be deplored.

The scheme of the series of "Foreign Classics for English Readers"²

² "Foreign Classics for English Readers." Dante. By Mrs. Oliphant. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons.

is a very good one, and in intrusting the editorship to Mrs. Oliphant the publishers have made a happy choice. Mrs. Oliphant begins the series with an admirable volume on Dante, a volume that stands only second to the masterly work on Dante of Professor Vincenzo Botta of New York, because it does not profess such deep scholarship and keenly critical power, while on the other hand it is more suited for general reading on account of its ready style and pleasantly instructive method, which would serve to show Mr. Oscar Browning how a popular work on Dante should be written. A brief account of the great poet's life is followed by an interesting condensation of the *Vita Nuova*, a careful analysis of the *Divina Commedia*, and some account of the prose works. It is gratifying to find that in her chapter on the *Vita Nuova*, which she justly calls "such a love story as was never written before or since," she believes in the real existence of Beatrice, as opposed to the fanciful abstractions which it has pleased fanciful commentators to invent. How any one reading the *Vita Nuova* in a sympathetic spirit could think otherwise is a matter that is always surprising to enthusiasts in the "New Life." More selections from Dante Rossetti's noble translation would have been acceptable, but the translations all through are very well chosen, and Mrs. Oliphant's own are exceedingly good, especially those from the "Divine Comedy," where, however, her adoption of the difficult *Terza Rima* of the original compels a certain regrettable sacrifice of fidelity. In her chapter on the prose works Mrs. Oliphant is too brief, and a chapter on the other poems of Dante would certainly have been welcome. The influence of the Provençal poets upon Dante might have claimed some share of attention, especially as it was from Arnaut Danjel, of whom Dante sang—

"Versi d'amore e prose di romanzi
Soverchio tutti,"

that Dante got the difficult *Sestina* verse-form, which a modern French poet, M. de Grammont, has contrived to render yet more complicated. As Mrs. Oliphant mentions the meeting of Arnaut Daniel with Dante in Purgatory, such an omission as this is the more surprising, especially as she might have found an example of the *Sestina* for quotation in the poem translated by D. G. Rossetti beginning—

"To the dim light and the large circle of shade."

These two pleasant volumes³ would be perhaps best described as a sort of commonplace book, into which all sorts of scraps and jottings upon musical matters of an out of the way nature have been consigned. A variety of facts, anecdotes about musicians, popular stories, musical legends and superstitions, are to be found in these two volumes, in which combined amusement and information are scattered through the pages in more or less confusion. First we get some sensible remarks upon a musical library, *à propos* of the deficiencies in this respect of the British Museum; then comes a paper upon Alsace and Lorraine; then the British Association's scheme for obtaining accurate information respecting the music of different nations is dealt with, next comes an

³ "Musical Myths and Facts." By Carl Engel. London: Novello & Co. 1876.

article on musical myths and folk-lore, in which one or two of the many stories that might come under this head are narrated. This is followed by a paper on the studies of great composers; then come some superstitions concerning bells; then curiosities in musical literature are considered, then English instrumentalists, then musical fairies and their kinsfolk, and with sacred songs of the Christian sects the first volume comes to an end. The second volume is much the same; a similar delightful confusion of interesting facts, huddled together without any idea of appropriate connection, characterising its pages. In fact, the book is merely a specimen of bookmaking, less elaborate and more useful and amusing than such efforts usually are; it is an olla podrida of musical notes tumbled together anyhow into two volumes of agreeable desultory reading.

Miss Thompson⁴ speaks with exceeding modesty of her little "Handbook to the Public Picture Galleries of Europe," but it deserves great praise as a useful and agreeable companion to foreign travel. Too often in a Continental picture gallery the art-tourist is in want of some reliable authority to which to turn for some suddenly needed scrap of information as to dates, names, &c. Wants like these Miss Thompson answers by compiling a handbook which contains, first, a brief sketch of the history of European painting, and, secondly, condensed catalogues of the chief European picture galleries. The former is exceedingly well executed, a great deal of valuable information being cleverly compressed into a small space, and the latter, as far as we can judge, are accurately made up from the official catalogues of the various galleries. The occasional changes in numeration which take place in Continental galleries will not injure much the value of the work, for Miss Thompson describes each picture sufficiently clearly to make the finding of it easy in spite of any such chance. We are glad to find that Miss Thompson has not omitted to enumerate Guido's little known *Atalanta's Race* in the museum at Naples. When Miss Thompson indulges in criticism she occasionally errs, but her judgment is generally accurately expressed.

Lovers of old china, its history and its literature, will be glad to welcome a new edition of Mr. Binns' work⁵ on Worcester pottery, which has become exceedingly rare since it first appeared in 1865. The work has been carefully revised, improved, and enriched with new illustrations, all of which make it well worthy to retain the high place in the literature of ceramic art which it justly assumed when it first appeared. We can imagine few greater pleasures for the amateur in English china than may be afforded by a study of this fascinating volume. To those who have gone deeply into the mysteries of collecting, the part treating of the resemblance of some of the early Worcester porcelain to Oriental, a resemblance that is sometimes the despair of collectors, will be especially interesting. Among the merits of the work an admirable index calls for commendation.

⁴ "A Handbook to the Public Picture Galleries of Europe." By Kate Thompson. Macmillan & Co. 1877.

⁵ "A Century of Potting in the City of Worcester." Being the History of the Royal Porcelain Works from 1751 to 1851. By R. W. Binns, F.S.A. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1877.

The archæological mania, so prevalent at the present time, has naturally created a demand for valuable and handsome archæological works,⁶ and this demand, according to the laws of political economy, has produced the supply. Every new season sees a shoal of works on archæology come in with the tide of new books, some the work of long experience and careful study, some the experiments of eager if not often well-informed amateurs, but all rivalling each other in the magnificence of their get-up. A Scotch publishing house has the honour of publishing one of the handsomest as well as the most interesting of this year's batch of archæological works. Mr. Miln's book is brought out in a manner that renders it attractive to the bibliophile as well as to the antiquarian, and for beauty of type, largeness of paper, and the other qualities which appeal to the heart of a lover of books, it leaves nothing to be desired. The book itself, if it does not claim the importance of Dr. Schliemann's works, is an interesting example of investigation in one of the byeways of archæological research.

Dr. Holden⁷ has here produced a work which will be of much value to all students of the science of language. His object has been to lay before the reader a clear exposition of the present state of the science, and to familiarise him with the materials and the means for utilising these materials, which have been collected into a series of systems by Bopp, Humboldt, Schlegel, Müller, &c. It is an eminently practical book, entering into minute details, yet never diffuse. Dr. Müller shows, for instance, what is the nature of the reaction of speech upon thought.

Dr. Lenz⁸ inquires into the views of Hard, Schwab, and Sauerland, regarding the authorship of the three essays on the Council of Constance, titled, "Avisamenta Pulcherrima," "De Difficultate Reformationis," and "De Modis Uniendi." He agrees with Schwab that the first is the work of Dietrich von Niem, but while Schwab considered "De Difficultate Reformationis" no less certainly Dietrich von Niem's, but ascribed "De Modis Uniendi" to Andreas von Randolph, Dr. Lenz holds that Niem was the author of both. He bases this on internal evidence, and on deductions made from other known works of Dietrich's and Randolph's, as well as on two notes made by the writer of a copy, supposed to have been executed at the time of the Council.

Among the minor German novels of the day, these two may be taken as examples of the good and the bad. Franzos' book,⁹ as its title implies, is a collection of tales of Jewish life. They are of a very peculiar character, being drawn from the ghetto of Podolio in Poland, and are hardly to be appreciated save by those who have known some-

⁶ "Excavations at Carnac, Brittany." By James Miln. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1877.

⁷ "Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft." Von Dr. F. Müller. Vienna: Holder. 1877.

⁸ "Drei Tractate aus dem Schriftencyclus des Constanzer Councils." Von Dr. Max Lenz. Marburg: N. G. Elvert. 1877.

⁹ "Die Juden von Barnow." Novellen von Karl Emil Franzos. Stuttgart und Leipzig: Eduard Hallberger. 1877.

thing of the peculiarities and persecutions of those people before 1848, the time of the revolution. The tales are true to life, well written, mostly tragic, and equal to some of Paul Heyse's short stories. "Hinter der Front,"¹⁰ on the other hand, is feeble. It is laid in the time of the Franco-German war, on the borders of Germany, Alsace, and Lorraine. The chief actors in the book are noblemen and Jesuits of anti-Prussian tendencies, all conquered however by the victories and triumphs of Prussia.

Conrad Fiedler gives a solemn little essay¹¹ of the heaviest German type on criticism of the Fine Arts. The theories, divested of their philosophic amplitude of garb, appear often familiar enough to have needed less ceremony of introduction.

In the series of tracts¹² of Popular Knowledge edited by Rud. Virchow and Von Holtzendorff, Professor Von Rittershain gives an interesting treatise on the practitioners of the healing art and their civic position in Ancient Rome; and in "Klytia"¹³ Dr. Mannhardt presents a fanciful and at the same time instructive account of what may be called the Mythology and Natural History of the Sunflower legend.

Fénélon's thoughtful and beautiful "Spiritual Letters to Men,"¹⁴ may be welcomed in an admirable translation by the author of the valuable Life of Fénélon.

Niederberger's German grammar of Italian¹⁵ is one of the best works of its kind we have met with for some time, and any one who, knowing German, wished to learn Italian, could not do better than adopt this method.

The anonymous author of "Dates and Data"¹⁶ has compiled an exceedingly interesting and useful volume, which may be studied with advantage by all concerned with the subject he treats.

Those who may think there is nothing easier than to draw a straight line will do well to learn from Mr. Kempe¹⁷ what a difficult feat it is.

Mr. Simmonds has written a valuable and attractive work on "Tropical Agriculture"¹⁸ which bids fair to take a place as a standard work of reference.

¹⁰ "Hinter der Front." Von Erwin Schlieben. Three Vols. Jena: Hermann Cestinaire.

¹¹ "Ueber die Beurtheilung von Werken der bildenden Kunst." Von Conrad Fiedler. Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1876.

¹² "Die Heilskünstler des Alten Roms." Von Professor Gottfried Ritter von Rittershain.

¹³ "Klytia." Von Dr. Mannhardt. Berlin: Carl Habel. 1875.

¹⁴ "Spiritual Letters of Fénélon to Men." London: Rivingtons. 1877.

¹⁵ "Anleitung zur Erlernung der Italienischen Sprache." Von Joseph Niederberger. London: Williams & Norgate.

¹⁶ "Dates and Data relating to Religious Anthropology and Biblical Archæology." London: Trubner & Co.

¹⁷ "How to Draw a Straight Line." Nature Series. By A. B. Kempe. London: Macmillan & Co.

¹⁸ "Tropical Agriculture." By P. L. Simmonds. London: E. & F. N. Spon. 1877.

THE
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ART. I.—THE LITERATURE OF THE SERVIANS
AND CROATS.

1. *Antologija Pjesnictra Hrvatskoga i Srbskoga* (Anthology of Croatian and Servian Poetry). Edited by AUGUST SENOA. Agram. 1876.
2. *Srpske Narodne Pjesme iz Bosne* (Servian National Songs from Bosnia). Edited by BOGOLJUB PETRANOVIC'. Sarajevo. 1867.
3. *Srpske Narodne Pjesme iz Hercegovine* (Servian National Songs from the Herzegovina). Prepared for the Press by VUK STEPHANOVIC', and published by his Wife. Vienna. 1866.
4. *Anthologie Jihoslovanská* (South Slavonic Anthology). Edited (in Bohemian) by V. KRIZEK. Prague. 1863.

WE do not propose, however great the temptation may be, to touch the political question of Servian or Croatian nationalities in the present article. Our readers have probably long ere this heard enough and to spare in the columns of the philo-Turkish press about the shortcomings of the inhabitants of the little principality. Have they not been publicly branded as a nation of pork-butchers? and did not one member of Parliament, a little while ago, while furiously beating the war-drum, politely [Vol. CIX. No. CCXVI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. LIII. No. II. T

style Prince Milan a cringing hound and consummate scoundrel? We may perhaps remark, while putting the question by, that a more generous treatment might have been expected from the English, a people who have fought out their own freedom, towards another people who, after centuries of the most degraded slavery and prostration, have been endeavouring to work out theirs.

Leaving, however, these political questions, let us turn to the main purpose of our article, viz., Servian and Croatian literature. And here, perhaps, we may furnish some information to our countrymen which may not be without its value to them. Save here and there a few translations of Servian national tales, in very many instances—we shrewdly suspect—served up through a German medium, we know nothing worthy of notice on the subject of Servian literature since Sir John Bowring's publication, put forth upwards of fifty years ago, to which we shall allude more fully in a subsequent part of our article. This is perhaps the reason why we hear people so often tell us, with consummate effrontery, that this branch of the Slavonic family is absolutely without culture. If they will concede us the courtesy of a little attention, we may perhaps send them away in one respect wiser men—

“Nec lusisse pudet sed non incidere ludum.”

The Servians belong to the Eastern division of the Slavonic race, to follow the classification of Schafarik and Schleicher. Their language is identical with that of the Croats and the Dalmatians. It also stands in very close relation to that of the Slovens, as we shall show in the latter part of this article. Some have proposed to give these people the generic title of Illyrian, probably suggested by classical associations and the souvenirs of the short-lived Napoleonic kingdom of 1809. The name, however, has not become permanent, and, if used at all, only obtains among scholars.* The population is thus estimated by Schafarik:—

Servians (including Bosnians and Herzegovinians)	5,300,000
Croats (including Dalmatians)	800,000

And, to make the list complete, we shall here add—

Slovens (in Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria)	1,150,000
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But their relation to the Croats and Servians will be afterwards more closely examined.

Vuk Stephanovic', the celebrated Servian lexicographer and collector of their national songs, of whom more anon, has divided these Illyrian dialects (to use the generic name) as follows:—

* Cf. “Grammatik der illirischen Sprache,” by Ignaz Berlic, Agram, 1850.

1. The dialect of Herzegovina, Bosnia, Montenegro, Dalmatia, Croatia (especially that of the so-called military frontier), and the upper part of Serbia, in the district of Matchva, as far as Malyevo and Karanovatch. Of these, the Herzegovina,* Bosnia, and Montenegro are under Turkish rule, more or less; Dalmatia and Croatia are Austrian.

2. The Resavian dialect, spoken in the district of Branitchevo on the Resava, in the district of Levatch on the Upper Morava, and along the Tsrna Rjeka as far as Negotin.

3. The Syrmian, spoken in Syrmia, Slavonia in the Batchka, or Batscher Comitatus in south of Hungary, and in Serbia between the Save, the Danube, and the Morava.

The minuteness of these details may perhaps be permitted us in consequence of the prominence given to these localities by the present war.

This great Illyrian family is not only divided politically—some of its members being subjects of Austria, some of Turkey, and others independent—but also theologically, the chief creeds being those of the Greek and Latin Churches, the few Protestants being comparatively insignificant in number. The religious divergence has led to a further separation in the alphabets employed, those of the Greek Church naturally preferring the Cyrillian, those of the Roman the Latin. This causes a deplorable confusion and a chaos of orthographies.† Some take Vuk's modified Cyrillic alphabet. About forty years ago an attempt was made to establish one that should be universal by Dr. Ljudevit Gaj, the founder of the so-called Illyrian school of literature, but his efforts were only partially successful.

Our business is, however, not with grammar, and we must turn to the legitimate purpose of our article. We shall divide the periods of Illyrian literature as follows:—

a. From the earliest time until the extinction of Servian nationality at the battle of Kosóvo (1389).

b. From the battle of Kosóvo till the revival of Servian literature in the latter half of the eighteenth century (1750).

c. From 1750 to the present time.

Before, however, examining each of our divisions in detail, a few words may be allowed on Servian history, as a guide to the student of its literature. In the earliest period, somewhere about the beginning of the seventh century, we find the Servians

* This word is an evident barbarism from the German *herzog*. It was first used in the time of Stephen, one of the Servian princes who acknowledged himself the vassal of the German Emperors.

† And here let us say that we ourselves in the present article have been occasionally compelled to be inconsistent, sometimes modifying the spelling of the Servian names, the better to adapt them to English pronunciation.

settling, with the consent of the Emperor Heraclios, in what had been the ancient Mæsia. Our chief authority for their migrations is the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, but there is a very mythical flavour about his narrative; and we need not puzzle ourselves with too close an accuracy about the heroes Klukaz, Lobelos, and Chrobotos, nor the sisters Tuga and Buga.

The early Crusaders, who passed through the territory occupied by the Servians, speak of them with great severity; but, as Schafarik truly remarks, we do not know what the Slavs, in their turn, thought of these hypocritical brigands, who were a scourge wherever they marched. It is to be wished that some Servian monk had left us *his* opinion on the conduct of these adventurers in his country, not persons of the most scrupulous character, as a counter-statement.

The Servians were successively subjugated by the Bulgarians, who treated them with great cruelty, and the Greeks, but eventually managed to secure their independence, under Tchedomil, in the twelfth century. After this their power and territory greatly increased. They were engaged in continual struggles with the decaying power of the Byzantine Empire, which at that time exhibited the spectacle, so forcibly described by the German historian, of the corpse of antiquity laid out in state.

The Servians, under their celebrated Tzar Stephen Dushan, who was the contemporary of our Edward III. (1336-1356), came into collision with the Byzantine Emperor Catacuzenus, who did not hesitate to employ as his allies the Turks, then gradually pushing their way towards Europe. Dushan ravaged Macedonia* with fire and sword; his impetuous onset is compared by the Greek historians to the headlong course of a swollen torrent. Among his other triumphs was a great defeat of the Hungarians, and in 1347 he was declared by the Republic of Ragusa its Protector. We cannot, therefore, wonder that the Servian writers look back to this period as their most glorious national epoch, and regard him with the same reverence as the Bulgarians feel for their Tzar Simeon, the Poles for Sigismund Augustus I., and the Cechs for Charles IV.

The dominions of Dushan included, besides the Servian kingdom properly so called, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, Thessaly, and other parts of Greece. Documents are still extant in which he is styled by the Pope "magnificus princeps, illustrissimus," &c. Like many other powerful sovereigns who stereotype a nationality, Stephen was also a legislator; his code of laws has been preserved, but we shall discuss it more at length in a subsequent

* See Finlay's "Byzantine Empire," vol. ii. p. 541.

part of our article, so as not to break the continuity of this little historical sketch. If we find the Servians yearning for their independence, we must remember that they have the records of a noble past to fall back upon, even though it be a remote one.

“And all the great traditions of the past
They see reflected in the coming time.”

It was just in the same way that the Greeks throughout the Middle Ages did not forget that they were the descendants of Themistocles and Epaminondas. Nay, are we not even told somewhere a whimsical anecdote that during the early part of the present century, while his country was groaning under the Turkish yoke, some Greek pointed out Aulis with pride to a foreigner as the place from which their fleet had once sailed to Troy!

On the death of Dushan his dominions were broken up into petty states, and the Turkish Sultan Murad, taking advantage of the weakness of Lazar, the Servian prince, invaded the country, and utterly defeated the Servians at the battle of Kosóvo (the field of blackbirds) on the 10th of June 1389. No event has been more celebrated in the national songs than this. Many are the lays to tell of the treachery of Vuk Brankovic', and the glorious self-immolation of Milos Obilic', the Servian Leonidas, who stabbed the conqueror on the battlefield. The shroud, made of silk embroidered with gold, with which his Tzaritza, Milica, covered the body of her husband, is still preserved in the cloister of Vrdnik in Sylvania; and a tree which the beloved Queen planted is still shown to travellers at Zupa. Her name is not likely to be easily forgotten, cherished as it is in a hundred traditions, and borne in its Slavonic sweetness by so many of her fair countrywomen at the present time.*

The miserable country was now entirely prostrate before its conqueror. We will not fatigue our readers with picturing the benefits of Turkish civilisation which it enjoyed, not the least distressing of which was the tribute of its youths to be enrolled among the Janissaries, thus turning into its oppressors those who would have been the sturdiest supporters of their native country.† The growing literature of the country was stifled: the Turks con-

* Cf. also the beautiful ballad on the finding of the Tzar's head in the collection of Vuk Stephovic', "Obretenje Glavé Kneza Lazara" ("National Songs," ii. 158).

† As illustrative of this horrible practice see the ballad of Rusa Dragana, in the collection of the Brothers Miladinov ("Bulgarski Narodni Pesni"), where a Janissary plunders a home, murders the inmates, and carries off a beautiful girl, whom he discovers to be his own sister, and himself the murderer of his parents. Cf. also the fine dramatically conceived ballad of Mickiewicz, "The Renegade" (Renegat).

sidered that their rayahs had no need of books. The clergy alone were permitted to peruse those works which were indispensable for the service of the Church, and these were transcribed either in the cloisters or printed in Russia or Austria. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we get a little stir among this miserable and degraded people. There was at that time a great emigration of Servians from Turkey to Hungary, who settled in the southern Comitats. In 1690 the Patriarch Arsenius III., with 37,000 families, and in 1737 Arsenius IV., with many more, emigrated thither.

By the treaty of Passarowic' in 1718, the greater part of Servia was incorporated with Austria, but 1739 again saw this people under Mussulman rule. During the latter half of last century little was heard about them; at the beginning of the nineteenth we have the insurrection of Kara (black, Serv. *Tsrni*) George, who made a noble stand for the liberty of his country, and has gained a European reputation. And a fine manly looking fellow he must have been, to judge by the portrait prefixed to Paton's "Travels," with a handsome classical face and bright daring eyes, rendered a trifle more picturesque by the dash of the brigand—a very respectable character in these parts—which pervades him, and the amazing and portentous case of rudely ornamented pistols enswathed about his midriff. Space prevents us from dwelling upon subsequent events, which are pretty generally known, even to people so incurious of Slavonic matters as the English. During the rule of Milosh Obrenovic' four universities were founded, and the Servians were advancing in commercial prosperity and intellectual activity till the outbreak of the present sanguinary war. We shall not introduce from Schararik the tedious list of the petty princes of Bosnia, a territory which derives its name from the river Bosna, which flows through it. Many of its rulers were feudatories to Hungary—their country being the frequent battle-ground in the wars between the Hungarians and Turks. Matthias Corvinus drove the Turks out of Bosnia, and made the land into a Hungarian Banat, and afterwards in 1473 into a kingdom; but in the reign of Ferdinand I. (1528) Bosnia was entirely lost to Hungary, and all subsequent attempts to recover it were unsuccessful. While owners of this province, the Hungarian kings took the additional title of sovereign of Rama, the name of the southern part of Bosnia.

The earliest composition which has come down to us in the *Illyrian* language (to use the generic term), is the production of an unknown priest of Dioklea, now Duklja—a mere collection of ruins, formerly the capital of South-Western Illyria, on the river Moraca. Hence he is called in Latin Anonymus Presbyter Diocleas, or in Illyrian Pop Dukljanin. He must have lived

about the middle of the twelfth century, as the chronicle in verse compiled by him extends to the year 1161. The poem itself consists of about 1165 lines. Like our own rhyming histories, it is tedious, and is interesting only as a literary monument. It is printed by Kukuljevic' Sakcinski in the Archives for South Slavonic History ("Arkiv za pověstnicu Jugoslavensku"), Agram, 1851.

The early period of Servian literature has been investigated with great care by the celebrated Schafarik. We cannot, however, follow him here in his minute enumeration of the oldest documents to be found in the Servian language, the inscriptions on coins, &c. We shall, however, select the most important.*

1. The "Life of St. Simeon," by his son, St. Sabbas, the first Archbishop of Servia, preserved in a MS. of the seventeenth century.

2. The "History of St. Simeon and Sabbas," by Domitian, compiled in 1264, and preserved in a MS. of the fourteenth century—for the copy must certainly have been written between 1350 and 1400. Domitian (or Domitian) was a monk of the cloister of Khilander. It has been edited several times, the latest edition being that of Danicic', a scholar to whom we are indebted for an admirable lexicon of the Old Servian, indispensable to all students of this interesting language.

3. The "Rodoslov; or, Lives of Servian Kings and Archbishops," compiled by Archbishop Daniel, who died in 1338. Here are contained the lives of Kings Radoslav, Vladislav, Urosh, Dragutin, Queen Helena, Milutin, Urosh III., and Stephen Dushan. After his death his book was continued by an anonymous writer or writers in the work entitled, "Tzaroslavnik." The "Rodoslov" has also been edited by Danicic' (Agram, 1866). We must tell the reader candidly that neither elegance of style nor vigour of narration will be found in these productions. They are written in an involved and confused manner, and the language differs very much from the modern Servian, being, in fact, a kind of ecclesiastical Slavonic, greatly modified by Servian influences. The prose is, however, as good as anything of the kind in our own country at a similar period.

In 1394 we have the celebrated code of laws of King Stephen Dushan, one of the earliest specimens of Slavonic legislation. This in importance can only be compared with the "Rousskaia Pravda" of Yaroslav.

The laws have been much praised for their humane and

* The two oldest documents of the Servian language, properly so called, which have come down to us, are a letter of Koulin, the Ban of Bosnia in 1189, and the letter of the Tzar Simeon Nemanja to the monastery of Khilander, on Mount Athos.

civilised spirit in many respects, especially their encouragement of the virtue of hospitality. Some of the punishments, however, which they sanction appear barbarous at the present time.*

After the fall of the Servian monarchy at the battle of Kosóvo in 1389, there is hardly any written literature in Servian for some centuries, although, as we shall show presently, the activity of the Dalmatians to a certain extent compensated for it. There was, however, a noble ballad literature living orally among the people in the midst of their deplorable degradation. They did not forget that they were once a nation.

It is now time that we should speak of these ballads, which are inferior to none which any other European people can show. The first attempt to collect them and give them forth to the general public was made by the Franciscan monk Andrew Kacic' Miosic', a Dalmatian, who died in 1783. Here was clearly a man of good taste, and with a poetic insight far in advance of his age, *for as yet no scholar had in any country thought of collecting national ballads.* Such poems were altogether alien to the artificial French taste which was then dominant throughout Europe. "Percy's Reliques," which may be said to have created the modern romantic school of poetry, which rapidly spread from England to Germany, were not published till 1765. The collection was printed at Venice in 1756: it consists partly of songs taken from the mouths of the people, and partly of pieces of his own composition. Attention was called to them by the Abbé Fortis, but they were not fully known till the publication of the four volumes of Vuk Stephanovic' Karadshic' in 1824 ("Narodne Srpske Pjesme," Leipzig). Many of these were translated into German by Theresa von Jacobi, afterwards the wife of Professor Robinson of America, who wrote under the pseudonym of Talvj ("Volklieder der Serben," Halle und Leipzig). Soon afterwards an English version of some of the most remarkable appeared from the pen of Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Bowring, with an

* Take the following as instances:—

Whoever sells a Christian (slave) to a man of any other faith shall have his hands cut off and his tongue cut out.

If a nobleman commits an assault on another nobleman, he is to have his hands and nose cut off; if a peasant commits an assault on a nobleman, he is to be hanged.

If slaves assemble together in a riotous manner, they are to have their ears cut off and their eyebrows singed off; &c., &c.

These laws were first published from the MS. by Raic in his History at the close of the last century, since which time they have been edited by Schafarik and Miklosic'. We have used the convenient little edition printed by Novakovic', at Belgrade ("Zakonik Stephana Dusana, Tzara Šrpskog"), 1870. Macieiwski, a Pole, has written an excellent history of Slavonic legislation, of which there is a German translation.

elaborate introduction. The renderings, however, it must be confessed, are diffuse and inaccurate. A very extraordinary production was that issued by the present Lord Lytton in 1861, entitled "Serbski Pesme" (*sic*),* or "National Songs of Serbia." The version is obviously made from a French translation, although here and there a few words of Servian are quoted; and we are told of the lays at the conclusion of the preface, "Whether they be weeds or wildflowers, I have at least gathered them on their native soil, amidst the solitudes of the Carpathians and along the shores of the Danube." Of these translations it may be remarked with truth, that they are carelessly executed and utterly false to the spirit of the original.

The metre of the Servian poems is the unrhymed trochaic—rendered familiar to Englishmen by Longfellow's "Hiawatha:" it seems the natural rhythm of people in a rude state of civilisation with poetical instincts, occurring in the old Bohemian fragment, "The Judgment of Libusa" ("Libusin Soud"), and also in the Finnish epic, the "Kalewala."

In a short article like the present, a minute analysis of these remarkable songs cannot be attempted. The ballads are sung to an instrument with one string, called a *gusla*, of which a representation may be seen prefixed to the first volume of Vuk's collection. It is a sort of half-violin and half-guitar, and in shape resembles one part of a pear cut in two. No doubt the melody of the language, as in Italian, greatly assists all these *improvisatori*. The use of the *gusla*, thanks to the march of civilisation and the spread of Parisian fashions, which in the minds of many people are identical things, is fast going out. It is certainly a curious phenomenon that in such modern times we should find a class of Homeridæ chanting to such primitive music the heroic achievements of their ancestors. A great deal of this kind of poetry is still in process of composition, as many of the songs relate to comparatively modern events, especially the exploits of Peter the Great and Napoleon I.†

To the majority of readers the cycle which treats of Knez Lazar and his fate at the battle of Kosóvo would prove the most interesting. Very beautiful is that in which Milica, the wife of Lazar,

* The title alone betrays an ignorance of the simplest rules of Servian grammar. Such forms as "Ouroch, Douchan" at once show their French origin, but it is difficult to account for the following: "This people, a branch of the old Slavonic family, descended in the seventh century from the *Krapak* mountains and established themselves, under permission of the Emperor Heracleus, in *Mesia Superiora*" (p. xiv.).

† A good collection of songs of the Montenegrins (*Tzrnogortzi*) was published at Leipzig in 1837 by Milutinovic', under the name of Tchoubri Tchoikovic'.

in order to save some scion of her race, entreats her brothers, one after the other, to stay from the battle—but they are all eager to go:—

“ Mildly throws hēr arms around her brother,
 And doth in these words at once accost him :—
 ‘ O my brother, Jugovic’ Voïno !
 Thou art granted to my close entreaties,
 And the Tzar doth send thee kindly greeting ;
 Give the horses to what chief thou choosest,
 Thou with me shalt rest thee at Kroushévtaž,
 I shall have a brother still to swear by.’ *
 To her Voïno Jugovic’ replieth :
 ‘ O my sister ! to thy white bower hie thee ;
 Never backward goes a noble warrior,
 Never leaves the coursers of his master,
 Even when he knows that death awaits him.
 Let me, sister, go unto Kosóvo,
 For the Holy Cross my blood to lavish,
 Dying for my faith, and with my brothers.’
 Thus he spake and quickly passed the portals.”

The news of the result of the battle is brought by two ravens : the Tzar is defeated, and afterwards put to death in the tent of the conqueror Murad, who is himself stabbed by Milosh Obilic’, destined to be memorable for ever afterwards in Servian legend and song. We are somewhat afraid that our fragment of a version may appear bald by the side of others—*οὐ γὰρ ποιητικοὶ ἐσμὲν*, as Socrates said—but it will be found strictly literal, and an attempt has been made to imitate the rhythm of the original.

Besides the historical persons who figure in the ballads, there is the great legendary hero, Marko Kraljevic’, who, like the Russian Ilya Murometz, has many of the characteristics of a supernatural being. He lives a hundred and sixty years, and no sword or club can kill him. His victories, chiefly over the Turks and Hungarians, are narrated in the most exaggerated phraseology. It is the old incarnation of manhood and prowess with which we meet in the popular poetry of all nations. At last, in the glory of his strength, he perishes on the field of battle, but the circumstances of his death are enveloped in mystery. According to some he was conveyed from the scene of strife to a secret cave, where his wounds were healed, and where, like our own Arthur in his “ isle-valley of ‘ Avilion,’ ” he lies hid, destined to appear on some future occasion to rescue his people from their oppressors. Almost as mysterious a being as the hero himself is his horse Sharatz, who was presented to him by a vila or fairy. These same beings appear in Bulgarian poetry under the name of Samovilas (solitary vilas) or Samodivas.

* Alluding to the custom of pobratimstvo.

Their magic powers are unlimited ; they carry off young girls ;* their songs have such bewildering sweetness, like those of the sirens of old, that men who listen will eventually lose their reason ; on the other hand, they are capable of human passions, and we find them enamoured of Servian and Bulgarian heroes, and luring them away.

Many of the love-songs and poems relating to domestic life are exquisite and show great refinement of feeling. All this must necessarily be a source of amazement to those who are only prepared to find a nation of pork-butchers, as a leading daily paper was pleased to style the unfortunate Servians a little while ago, forgetful of the *δῖος ὑφορβός* of Homeric traditions. After the death of Vuk Stephanovic', a supplementary volume was published by his widow, which her husband had left prepared for the press ("Srpske Narodne Pjesme iz Herzegovine," Vienna, 1866). We cannot hope for a much further prolongation of this delightful period of popular poetry in Slavonic countries,—such productions only emanate from a people conscious of great national struggles and national triumphs, before naive emotions and crudely fresh imaginations have been flattened down to a dead level by cosmopolitan realism and the matter of fact of science.

One of the last collections which we have seen is a little volume of Servian national songs from Bosnia, published at Sarajevo in 1867 by Bogolub Petranovic' ("Srpske Narodne Pjesme iz Bosne"). Here the songs, many of which are very beautiful, and of a truly idyllic character, are thickly interspersed with Turkish words. Let us take one at random from page 129, and give some of it in an English prose version, probably the first time it has ever worn an occidental dress : †—

"O maiden, thou beautiful one !
 Why dost thou hide thyself from me ?
 I can recognise thee
 By thy white sheep.
 O maiden, thou fair one !
 Do not hide thine eyes from me ;
 I can know thee
 By thy tall stature ;
 Thy stature is noble
 As a green palm.

* Many of the same propensities are found in the Russian rousalki and the Polish wili. A host of parallels in the Western mythologies will occur to the English reader—the lovely story of "Kilmeny," the best thing ever written by the Ettrick Shepherd, Leyden's "Maid of Colonsay," and Mr. Arnold's "Forsaken Mermaid," show some of these legends in a pleasing poetical shape.

† "O djevoiko *dilbere*
 Shto se krijesh od mene ?"

The word *dilbere* is Turkish, and signifies *beautiful*.

O maiden, thou fair one !
 Do not hide thine eyes from me ;
 I may know thee
 By thy fair face ;
 Thy face is fair—
 A rosy colour on the fairness.
 I wish to take away thy kerchief,
 To see thy dark eyes,
 To kiss thy fair face."

This seems to us a very sweet pastoral ; we have only given two or three of the verses. How sad to think that it comes to us from fields so lately deluged with the blood of their long-suffering inhabitants. Well may the Bosnian exclaim—

"*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.*"

The loss of culture which Servia was obliged to suffer when passing under the yoke of the Turk was in some measure compensated by the outburst, in the succeeding century, of a vigorous national life among the Dalmatians, especially in the little republic of Ragusa (called by the Slavonians Dubrovnik), which reached such a high pitch of civilisation. During the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries this city, now in a state of decay, was a kind of Slavonic Athens. The influence of Italian literature, then culminating, was further strengthened by crowds of learned Greeks, Chalkokondylas, Laskaris, and others, who found refuge within its walls when Constantinople had been taken by the Turks.

We do not intend giving a list of all these authors ; we shall select a few of the more noteworthy, so as to give our readers some idea of what Dalmatian literature actually was. Lyrics generally, and the lyric drama, seem to be the staple of Dalmatian productions. Hannibal Lucic' (1480-1525) was a very popular poet in his day, author of erotics, a drama, translations, &c., published first by his son Anthony at Venice in 1556, and reprinted by the indefatigable Dr. Gaj, who occupied himself with editing the Dalmatian Classics at Agram in 1847. Very celebrated in its time was the "Jegjupka," or "Gipsey," of Andrew Cubranovic' (1500-1559). We are told of the poet that he was originally a silversmith, but deserted this craft and betook himself to that of the Muses. The poem of the "Gipsey" is said to have been evoked in this wise. He was on one occasion following a young lady, the object of his affections, and urging his addresses, when she turned round and said scornfully in Italian to her attendant, in the hearing of the poet, "*Che vuole da me questo zingaro?*" ("What does that gipsey want with me?"). The despised lover took up the word of reproach, and wrote a poem in which he introduced a gipsey prophesying their various fortunes to a company of ladies, and concluding with an expostula-

tion to the hard-hearted nymph for her obduracy. Schafarik speaks of this piece with great enthusiasm, and calls it "a truly splendid flower in the garden of the Illyrian Muses." A very similar story is said to have suggested the "Dervise" ("Dervish") of Stjepo Gucetić, in which the author represents himself as a Turkish dervish. These two pieces are elegant and spirited productions in the Italian manner.

The chief of the Ragusan poets, however, was Ivan Gundulić (sometimes called by his Italian name of Gondola). Very few facts are known of the life of this man, so celebrated in his own country. He died in the year 1638, aged fifty, having discharged several important public offices in the state. "His death," adds Schafarik, "was not too early for his fame, but too early for literature and the glory and prosperity of his country." He himself published but little in his lifetime, and it is deeply to be regretted that so many of his writings perished in the earthquake in 1667, after which disaster Ragusa never recovered her former prosperity. The so-called Petrarchan School of Illyrian poetry languished after this, and vapoured itself away in mere elegances and prettinesses. Dalmatian poets of the last and present century have not made any considerable figure. Those of our readers who wish to make acquaintance with their productions, cannot do better than consult the two works mentioned at the heading of our article; firstly, the admirable "Anthology of Croatian and Servian Literature" ("Antologija Pjesništva Hrvatskoga i Srbskoga"), published at Agram in 1876, by August Senoa; and secondly, the "South Slavonic Anthology" ("Anthologie Jihoslovanská"), edited by Václav Krizek, at Prague, in 1863. The former of these works contains a very full collection of the best pieces, including many of the ballads. Here we see that the voice of the nation is a real audible voice; and it is quite possible that the whirligig of time, among its other changes, may even yet bring to light an Illyrian nationality, however much such an idea might at the present time produce ridicule in some quarters. The city of Ragusa itself has dwindled down into a petty provincial town under Austrian government; its commercial and literary glories have vanished. The population is now probably not more than 7000 people.

The "Osman" of Gundulić, on which his fame rests, is an epic in twelve books, and was written to celebrate the victory of the Poles under Chodkiewicz over the Turks and Tartars, in 1621, at Chocim.* Schafarik praises Gundulić for the richness of his imagination, the lofty tone of his verse and its delicately

* This battle has also formed the subject of a Polish epic by Bishop Krasicki, a poor production, although once very much admired.

constructed rhythm. We are perfectly willing to allow that "Osman" possesses considerable spirit, and that the versification is very soft and melodious; but, on the whole, it seems to us a tedious poem. The short quatrains in which it is written lack the true epic dignity.

Leaving now the Dalmatian (or Croatian) offshoot from the Illyrian stock, let us return to the Servians. We shall pass over a few insignificant writers, but may perhaps allude briefly to George Brankovic' (1645-1711), who compiled a history of Servia till the end of the seventeenth century, which is still preserved in MS. From this time till the close of last century Servian literature did not exist: the spirit of the people seemed crushed out of them, as they were tortured by Austrian persecutors on the one hand, and Turkish on the other. Till the reign of Milosh Obrenovic' in the present century, hardly a Servian printed book was to be seen. The great progress which the Servians have made since their country was emancipated from the Turkish yoke is the best answer to those who would, from political motives, speak of them with depreciation, and at the same time the severest condemnation of Ottoman rule. To this gloomy period belongs a work of considerable philological importance, viz., the "Critical Servian Grammar" of George Krizanic' (with comparison of the Russian, Polish, Croatian, and White-Russian), still preserved in MS. at Moscow. Very little is known of the life of Krizanic'. He was a Roman Catholic priest, who, upon some accusation, which has not been ascertained, was banished to Tobolsk, in Siberia, where he finished this laborious work. He has himself placed at the end of his manuscript, "pisanov Sibiri" (written in Siberia). This obscure and unrecognised philologist showed a great deal of insight into his subject, and anticipated many of the views of Vuk Stephanovic'. Thus he adopts a similar system of orthography (and Servian orthography, up to the present day, like Bulgarian, is a terrible chaos); he rejects the mutes at the end of words, and employs *j* for the preiotised vowels. Another of his manuscripts is preserved in the Synodal Library at Moscow. It is to be regretted that no one of the indefatigable Russian antiquaries—no Kostomarov or Sreznevski—has printed the curious work of the obscure exile.

The spark of nationality still existed, and there were men found to fan it. Such a man was Raic' (1726-1801), a thorough patriot. He was born in Slavonia, a province of Austria inhabited by Servians, the son of poor parents, but he had all the enthusiasm for learning of the Russian Lomonosov, whom he very much resembled. Thus we find him making his way on foot from his native town to Kiev, where he was received into

the ecclesiastical seminary, and devoted himself to theology. Here he spent three years, and on the conclusion of his studies betook himself to Moscow. On his return to his native country, having met with a cold reception from those whom he had expected to foster his studies—"quum nullus arideret Mæcenas," in the words of Goronwy Owen's epitaph—he returned to Russia, and while at Kiev resolved to write the history of the Servian nation. He set about his task with all the ardour of a patriot and the conscientiousness of a true scholar. Knowing that the Slavonic cloisters in European Turkey contained many unpublished manuscripts (numbers of which have since unfortunately perished in the miserable wars which have harassed the country), he visited Constantinople and many other parts of that empire. On his return to Austria he took up his abode at Neusatz on the Danube (in the earlier part of this century also for long the headquarters of the celebrated scholar Schafarik), and here he busied himself with his history. This work he finished in 1768, but it was not published till upwards of twenty years later. In 1772 he became a monk, and died in 1801, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. The work of Raic' is extremely interesting as a monument of learned industry, a triumph of "man's unconquerable mind," as Wordsworth has it; but at the present time it does not possess much critical value. The style is harsh, and a great deal of the ethnology (a science then in its infancy) unsound. Thus, among other strange statements, he holds the Bulgarians on the Volga to have been Slavonians.

After Raic' we come upon two indefatigable Servian workers: Dositei Obradovic' (1739–1811), and Vuk Stephanovic' (1787–1864). The life of the former has been written by himself. He was a man of varied learning, and his career was marked by many curious adventures. After having visited nearly every part of Europe (including England, where he was received with great hospitality*), Obradovic' returned to Servia, and became tutor to the children of Tzrni George. Obradovic' was a man sprung from the people, an indefatigable worker for national education, and his labours were crowned with success. The list of his compilations and translations is very great. It is such men as this who are invaluable in the infancy of the civilisation of their country. Acting on the wise principle that the language *as it is spoken* should be cultivated, and not a jargon, overloaded with archaic and supposed classical forms, he did incalculable good by destroying the influence of the Old Slavonic among his

* Thus, in the inscription in a book presented to him by Dr. Fordyce, an eminent London physician of the time, we find the following:—"Dositheo Obradovic' Serbiano, viro linguis variis erudito, sanctissimis moribus morato," &c., a sufficient proof of his popularity among our countrymen.

countrymen. Up to his time the style of a book was adjudged to be good just so far as it approached that antique standard, and the language of the people was despised. We always find this struggle in a half-formed literature. The same mania for supposed purisms is at present widening the gulf which already exists between the written and spoken languages in the case of modern Greek and Roumanian. Before his death his great services to his country were recognised by his appointment as member of the Senate and Superintendent of National Education.

The man, however, who was destined to bring the Servian language into the greatest prominence was Vuk (or Wolf) Stephanovic' Karadshic', of whose collection of songs we have previously spoken. Vuk was an indefatigable scholar and patriot. Up to his time the Servian language had been, so far as all foreigners were concerned, simply *rudis, indigestaque moles*. He wrote a good grammar, which has formed the basis of all published since, and to which Jacob Grimm furnished a preface, thus ushering it into the world under the most favourable auspices. To him, also, we owe a Servian dictionary ("Srpski Riechnik"), and collections of tales and proverbs. The Servian national tales are in the highest degree interesting—a small volume of them, translated into German, was published by Vuk's daughter, Wilhelmina.

It was Milosh Obrenovic' who introduced the printing-press into Servia. Up to the commencement of the present war literature was in a flourishing state; a great impulse had been given to Croatian studies by the establishment at Agram, the capital of Croatia, of a South Slavonic university. The Matica Srbska, a literary society, founded in part by Schafarik, still flourishes at Belgrade. Modern Servian literature appears, in great measure, to have taken the German for its model, and cannot be said to have studied in a bad school. One could wish there were not quite so many poems written in hexameters and pentameters, and so many alcaic odes. The Bohemians are guilty of the same weakness, and, as far as that goes, the Hungarians too, although they have nothing to do with our Slavonic family. But the Slovak poet Holly fairly distances all with his pieces in hexameters, his elegiacs, his sapphics, and the whole classical *repertoire!* Surely a good deal of this must be mere scholarly verse-making, and alien to the genius of the language.

We shall not attempt to give anything like a complete list of the Servian and Croatian authors of this century—any such

* "Volksmärchen der Serben. Mit einer Vorrede von Jacob Grimm." Berlin, 1854. Some translations will also be found in the "Contes Slaves" of Chodzko, and "Slavonic Fairy Tales" by John T. Naaké of the British Museum.

enumeration would far exceed the limits of our article. A few names—each of which marks a definite feature of the literature—must suffice. Lucian Musici, an archimandrite, and afterwards bishop (1777–1837), was highly esteemed by his countrymen as a poet. His patriotic odes are said to have affected them like an electric shock. Musici employs the classical metres frequently; he seems to be equally at home in hexameters, elegiacs, and alcaics. The great flexibility of the Slavonic languages, and the marked emphasis of the accent, make it possible to employ every kind of rhythm.

Simon Milutinovic' composed an epic poem entitled "Serbianka," which describes the chief incidents of the Servian war in 1812. It was published at Leipzig in 1826. We have previously alluded to his collection of Montenegrin songs. He is also the author of a tragedy on Milosh Obilic', who slew Sultan Murad, and divides the honours in modern Servian poetry with Kara George; and there cannot be a doubt that both the men were heroes, although their sphere of action lay in a remote country, and had obscure surroundings. The Croats have also been very active in the development of their literature. One of the most celebrated of their poems in modern times is the "Death of the Agha Ismail Cengic'," by Ivan Mazuranic' (born in 1813, in Croatia). Of this production we are told that it is so popular among the Servian races, as stimulating their passions against the detested Turk, that it has been called "The Epos of Hate." Ismail was the descendant of an old Bosnian family, who had turned Mussulmans to keep their estates when the country was first invaded. From a well-known principle of human nature, it has been found that these renegades are more fanatical than the Turks themselves. His exploits were chiefly directed against the Uskoks and Montenegrins. The poem is composed in the metre rendered so familiar by the Servian ballads collected by Vuk. It is spirited, but with a savage air about it, engendered by the scenes described—the fierce border wars of long hereditary hatred; and the conclusion, where the head, turban, and sabre of the slain Agha are brought in as spoils of triumph is dramatically conceived.

Some of the modern lyrical poets write very gracefully, and among them Preradovic', Jovanovic', and Radicevic' especially deserve mention. We have no space to venture here upon any versions; nor, indeed, do we believe that a review ought to be filled with such sort of things. We must send our readers to M. Senoa's capital Anthology—a veritable *corpus poetarum Serbicum*. They will there see how gracefully some of these men can write, albeit their very names are unknown among us. Indeed, a sort of pity comes over us when we think of the fate of

the men of genius who produce their works in what may be styled *proletarian* languages. The Englishman, Frenchman, and German, and the inhabitants of one or two other nationalities, address a magnificent audience, and their "thoughts that breathe and words that burn" are wafted to the four quarters of the winds, and salute each hemisphere; but how circumscribed the area of a Dane, a Dutchman, a Hungarian, and a Servian!

We must here say a few words about the literary movement under Dr. Ljudevit Gaj, which lasted from 1836–1848. This patriotic enthusiast endeavoured to fuse all the South Slavonic dialects or languages—among others, the Slovenish, of which more anon—into one common language, to which he proposed to give the name of Illyrian; but the borrowing of the dual from the Slovenish, and other grammatical peculiarities, were disagreeable to the Croatians; a kind of piebald literary language was created, and his efforts resulted in failure. Still the struggle was a noble one, and bore some good fruits; the desperate development of dialects, which has been the bane of all Slavonic *literati*, was somewhat checked. Many of the old Illyrian classics were reprinted, and the labours of such men as Babukic' the grammarian, and Stanko Vraz the poet, threw a lustre upon the period.

One of the most indefatigable and patriotic of modern Croatian scholars is Ivan Kukuljevic' Sakcinski, who, besides editing many early Croatian and Servian works, has earned the gratitude of all labourers in this field by his admirable "Arkiv za povestnicu Jugoslavensku" ("Collection of Documents for South Slavonic History"), of which several volumes have appeared. This work is a veritable storehouse of Slavonic history, archaeology, and literature: in it many important documents were first published,* and in Dr. Francis Racki he has found an excellent coadjutor. Croatian history has been well handled by Professor Ljubic. It is indeed pathetic to see the patriotic struggles of this people: although dismembered, they never cease to labour for that unity which is necessary for their healthy national existence. When will politics cease to be the playthings of despots and matters of antechamber grimace and mendacity, and be settled by those who alone have to bear the heat and burden of the struggle—the people?

It is, indeed, as true now as it ever was—

"Quidquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi."

* We should be absolutely wanting in gratitude and *pietas* if we failed to call attention to the excellent Slavonic Review now being published at Berlin by Professors Jagic', Leskien, and Nehring. It is the duty of every lover of things Slavonic to become a subscriber.

A few words must be added on the Montenegrins, who in these last months have been brought very prominently forward. Frequent travellers have described the mountain home of the sturdy patriots, whom we persist in rather whimsically calling by an Italian name. Perhaps Mr. Tennyson's sonnet may do something towards making their legitimate appellation more current. This curious little country—a true eagle's nest—has succeeded in securing a quasi-independence in spite of its being surrounded by Turks: it originally contained those refugees who, flying from Servia after the fatal battle of Kosóvo, had refused to own allegiance to the Sultan. Here we have, indeed, the mountain voice of Liberty, about which Wordsworth wrote in his fine sonnet.

Their national existence has been a constant series of struggles against Turk, Austrian, and French (during the despotism of the first Napoleon). Originally the ecclesiastical and civil functions were combined in one person, called the Vladika, who ruled over this little principality; these offices were, however, separated at the death of Peter II. We have already alluded to their collection of national songs—very curious on linguistic, poetic, and historic grounds. These stern mountaineers have not driven the Muses from their strongholds. Peter II. himself was a poet and author of several works. The best which we have seen is the piece entitled "*Loucha Mikrokozma*" ("The Light of the Microcosm"), published at Belgrade in 1845.

It appears to us that our notice of Servians and Croats would be incomplete without some remarks upon the Slovenes, who are connected with them so closely by their political history and language. These people are frequently styled Wends, and their language Wendish—an inconvenient term, as it causes some confusion with the tongue of the Lusatian Wends, who belong to the western branch of the great Slavonic family, and are included partly in Prussia, partly in Saxony. The Slovenish language is spoken in Carinthia, Carniola, and a portion of Styria, where it begins just south of Klagenfurth. It is also the vernacular of some parts of Hungary. These provinces seem generally to have gone together in the varying fates of the sections of the Austrian empire, with which they were connected as a Margravate as early as the tenth century. For a time they were seized by Ottokar of Bohemia, but regained by Rudolph I., who divided them among his sons.

The importance of modern Slovenish literature is slight, but their language (for it can in reality assert higher claims than those of a dialect) has acquired a great interest from the

* Our article is not, strictly speaking, philological, and we have there-

views of Kopitar, Miklosich, and others, who regard their country as the cradle of the old Slavonic, now used only as the ecclesiastical language. It was here that Cyril and Methodius, the Slavonic apostles, principally laboured, according to some traditions. It must be remarked that both Kopitar and Miklosich are Slovens by birth. For the subdivisions of this Old Slovenish (Altslovenisch), as he calls it, the reader must betake himself to that *opus magnum* of Slavonic philology, the "Comparative Grammar of Miklosich," an astonishing monument of erudition and clear linguistic insight. And here let us say once for all that the mere Greek and Latin scholar, the man who has never had the courage to go out of the somewhat narrow groove of an (English) university curriculum, must not imagine that these bypaths of philology have not had the advantage of acute students and scientific method. The Russians can point with pride to such fine scholars as Vostokov and Sreznevski; the Poles to Linde, whose large lexicon, "*omnis Slavitatis*," as we might almost say, is a work more to be expected from a national academy than a single individual; and the Bohemians can show triumphantly the learned labours of Jungmann. The origin of no race in the world has been treated of in a more exhaustive manner than that of the Slavs by Schafarik in his "Slavonic Antiquities." On the subject of Pálæo-Slavonic, Miklosich declared his views unaltered in his latest publication.* "The language which forms the subject of the present treatise is, according to our conviction, in spite of all opinions expressed to the contrary, that of the Pannonian Slovens in the middle of the ninth century. This language was in the following centuries the liturgical tongue of the Bulgarian Slovens, the Serbs, Croats, and finally of the Russians. In the nature of things it was by each of these peoples brought nearer to their native idiom." Such is the opinion of Miklosich, who must be acknowledged to be at the present time at the head of Slavonic philologists. The only other great name on his side has been that of Kopitar. Of deceased Slavists, Schafarik and Schleicher (a great authority) held it to be Old Bulgarian; and of those living, this is the view of Professor Leskien, author of an excellent handbook of the language.† It is this question, and that of the relative antiquity of the Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets, which may be said still to divide the Slavonic camps. If we may

fore said but little of the subordinate dialects of these Slavonic languages, which in many instances have had their special authors. It is in this way that the Slavs have played into the hands of their enemies, who have thoroughly understood the great motto of despotism *Divide et impera*.

* "Altslovenische Formenlehre in Paradigmen." Wien, 1874.

† "Handbuch der Altbulgarischen Sprache." Weimar, 1871.

venture our opinion, we must give in our adhesion to the view of Schleicher and Leskien. The subject is far too minute to admit of discussion in the present pages, a great part of the argument turning upon the existence of certain Palæoslavonic sounds which are not found in modern Slovenish, but can be very plainly seen in modern Bulgarian. How can we hope to interest general readers with these minutiae?

The orthography of Slovenish is in a very unsettled state: the language struggles hard for existence, as German is in fashion, and takes the lead in the large towns. It has also largely encroached upon the Slavonic language, and sometimes produces as grotesque an appearance as the Anglo-Welsh which one hears in the Principality. What are we to say of such words as *farba*, colour; *ferbezen*, bold (Ger. *vorwitzig*); *farar*, Ger. *pfarrer*; and *britov*, a churchyard (Ger. *friedhof*)? In these piteous exhibitions we are reminded of the dreadful words which we occasionally meet in the Bohemian or Cech language.

An excellent grammar was published by Kopitar.* To this a very masterly survey of the Slavonic family of languages was prefixed. It is to be regretted that Kopitar, who has deserved so well of Slavonic philology, should have imported so much personal abuse into all his writings; his mean-spirited attacks upon Schafarik and Dunin-Borkowski are simply pitiable.

We have already alluded to the efforts of Ljndevit Gaj to construct a regular South Slavonic language, and to weld the Servian, Croatian, and Slovenish into one harmonious whole. Petty jealousies alone have prevented this. Slovenish stand in nearly the same relation to Servian and Croatian as Slovak to Bohemian—viz., it has preserved many older forms. Slovenish has kept the dual not only in pronouns and substantives, but even in verbs; and many other peculiarities could be specified approaching far closer to the antique type.

A fair idea of the area over which their language is spoken may be formed if we consider it as extending to Klagenfurth in the north, Fiume (Slavonic, *Rěka*) on the south, Agram and Varasdin on the east, and the Adriatic on the west.

In the Old Slovenish language are the celebrated Frisingian fragments, so called because discovered at Frising in Bavaria in 1807; they are now preserved in the Museum of Munich. They have been assigned to the latter half of the eighth century; and, if this date is correct (and there does not seem any reason to dispute it), this must be the oldest piece of Slavonic writing in existence. These fragments have been edited by Köppen,

* "Grammatik der Slavischen Sprache in Krain," &c. Laibach, 1808.

Kopitar, and Miklosich. Their contents are of a religious character.

The Slovenes are poorer in ballads than most of their Slavonic brethren. A vigorous impulse was given to their language and literature by the labours of Primus Truber, born in 1508, near Laibach, still the great centre of Slovenish culture. He was an indefatigable Protestant preacher, the intimate friend of Melanchthon, one of those noble-hearted workers whom we frequently find in the early history of a language. Persecution was soon active against him, and the detestable Ferdinand I. (almost as hateful as the second of his name who deluged Bohemia with blood) issued orders for his arrest—a proceeding which would probably have been followed by his summary execution. Truber, however, fled to the court of Christopher, Duke of Wurtemberg, who protected him. Here a printing-press was set up under the patronage of Ungnad, Baron von Sonneg, and other Protestants, which was busily employed several years. The Glagolitic types, with which most of the books were printed, became, curiously enough, at a later period, the property of the College de Propaganda Fide at Rome. The productions of this press are regarded as great bibliographical curiosities. The Gospel of St. Matthew was published in 1555, and two years later the whole New Testament. A copy of this rare work is preserved in the Bodleian Library. Although the sphere of his labours was necessarily limited, we find in Truber as genuine a worker as Luther or Calvin. Considering that his effort was to evangelise his whole nation, shall we not say of him, in the words of the inscription on Schill's grave, "*Magna voluisse magnum*"? Piety, love of country, learning, energy, all were there, only the vulgar element of success was wanting, and his poor benighted Slovenes were too few to spread his fame. Let us direct attention, be it but for a moment, to this neglected apostle of an obscure country, and piously clear the weeds from his grave. He died in 1586, having seen a good old age; but his labours were destined to be brought to nothing by the odious policy of Ferdinand II. and his satellites, whose misdeeds belong to history.*

As Truber was to the Slovenes, so was Michael Bucic' (between 1564–1574) to the Croats. He made use of the so-called Provincial Croatian dialect, which the most approximates to the Slovenish. Thus, in Croatia as in Carinthia, the cultivation of the national language was greatly fostered by Protestantism. Bucic' published several books in Croatian, but the details of his life are meagre. He was ultimately driven from his native

* Kopitar does not hold the worthy father quite guiltless of having foisted Germanisms upon the language, especially an *article*, which no Slavonic language ought properly to have.

country, but his fate is not known. In the South Slavonic provinces, as in Bohemia, Protestantism was flourishing very vigorously till stamped out by Ferdinand II. The sanguinary means by which this was accomplished are to be read of on some of the darkest of those pages upon which the history of the House of Austria is recorded—at best but a dreary catalogue of civil and religious persecutions. It is gratifying to think that the attempt to force all these peoples into a most unwilling homogeneity has resulted in a lamentable failure, never more conspicuous than at the present time.

In the year 1584 the first Slovenish grammar was printed at Wittenberg by Bohoric', a schoolmaster of Laibach, and pupil of Melanchthon. In 1592, the first Slovenish dictionary was published by Hieronymus Megiser.*

After the Protestant movement had been annihilated by Ferdinand II., a complete torpor fell upon the unhappy country, as in the case of Bohemia. This gloom lasted during almost the whole of the eighteenth century; the only productions of that barren period being a few plays and religious works without merit, and also the grammars of Pochlin and Gutschmann. At the present time the Slovenish language and literature can boast of but little cultivation. Valentine Vodnik, born in 1758, was a poet of some eminence. He flourished during the existence of the short-lived Illyrian kingdom, which had been evoked by Napoleon, and was destined to fall to pieces rapidly. About this time he composed his "Iliria Ozivljena" (or, "Illyria Resuscitated"), which gained a reputation among his own countrymen. A very active worker also in the field of Slovenish literature was the priest Valentine Stanic'. During the period of the French wars, when his parishioners were suffering from all the horrors of invasion, the worthy pastor took a petition to the Emperor Francis, at the conclusion of which he wrote—

"Iluda nas sila tre
Kruha nam daj, France,
Sicer o vecni Bog!
Umerjeme v ti nadlog."

Or, in a German version—

"Uns drückt Noth
Franz, gib Brod:
Sonst, o Gott!
Schneller Tod."

The Emperor was pleased with the petition, and neither neglected

* "Dictionarium quatuor linguarum, videlicet Germaniæ, Latinæ, Illuricæ, quæ vulgo Slavonica appellatur, et Italicæ sive Hetruscæ, auctore Hieronymo Megisero." Gratz, 1592.

the suffering peasantry, nor their advocate, who was afterwards made a canon and director of schools in Gorz.

Other poets are Ravnikar, Jarnik, &c., extracts from whom may be seen in Krizek's "South-Slavonic Anthology," cited at the commencement of this article, a very valuable and accurate little work. A selection is quite enough for the majority of these authors, as is frequently the case with our own poets. The Slovens, however, although occupying but a poor position in Slavonic literature generally, may boast, as before stated, of two very great names in Slavonic philology. Bartholomew Kopitar was born in 1780, at Laibach, and at the time of his death in 1844 was Custos of the Imperial Library of Vienna. Besides his excellent grammar of the Slovenish language, published at Laibach in 1808, Kopitar, by his "Glagolita Clozianus," raised himself to the very highest eminence among Slavonic scholars. This work appeared in 1836, and was an edition of some fragments of sermons by St. Chrysostom, translated into Slavonic, and written in the so-called Glagolitic character. The relative antiquity of the Cyrillic and Glagolitic letters has always, as previously mentioned, been a subject of keen dispute among scholars. The tradition was that these mysterious symbols were the invention of no less a person than St. Jerome himself. A more sober criticism, however, in modern times has dissipated this belief. Dobrowsky, the eminent Bohemian scholar, author of the "Institutiones Linguæ Slavicæ veteris Dialecti," even assigned them to so late a period as the thirteenth century. Kopitar, by the discovery of this manuscript (in the possession of Count Cloz of Trent) succeeded in raising their antiquity to at least the tenth century. And here the matter must be considered to rest at the present time, in spite of the assertion of Sreznevski that the Glagolitic letters must be the oldest, because in them are to be found traces of Slavonic runes, or of others who profess to discover in these letters some similarity to an old Albanian alphabet. There can be no doubt that one of these alphabets was moulded upon the other; we get the same order of the letters, and the difficulty of expressing the preiotised vowels is the same—perhaps the *one* great defect of these Slavonic systems of writing.

These grotesque characters are now only used in the religious books of the Dalmatians. It was, probably, their very hieroglyphical appearance which attached a mysterious value to the Sacred Book of Rheims used at the coronation of the French kings, and described more at length in a preceding article in this *Review*.

Miklosich, now the most distinguished representative of Slavonic philology, a professor at Vienna, is also a Sloven, having been born in Styria in 1813. His contributions to Slavonic

literature are indeed beyond all price. Besides many papers in the "Proceedings of the Vienna Academy of Sciences," to him we owe the great "*Vergleichende Grammatik der Slavischen Sprachen*," in four volumes. He has also published a lexicon of the Palæoslavonic (now in a second edition). The only other one of any repute is that published at St. Petersburg in 1847. That Miklosich may long be spared as the real Coryphæus of Slavonic studies, must be the heartfelt wish of all who have devoted themselves to these labours.

Concerning the Slovenish, we may say that there are ample and excellent materials for the study of it—grammars by Murko and Metelko (we omit the earlier ones) and dictionaries. A very elaborate "*Deutsch-Slovenisches Wörterbuch*" was published at Laibach in 1860, in two stout octavo volumes. It is often cited under the name of "Wolf," because the expenses of its publication were defrayed by Bishop Wolf; but it was really compiled by M. Cigale.

In conclusion, we would recommend the South Slavonians, on political and other grounds, to sink their differences, and to resist, might and main, all attempts at Germanisation. Time may yet befriend them; the ill-compacted Austrian empire has already received many rude shocks, and, with the help of their brother Cechs, Poles, and Ruthenians, they may at some future time achieve a national existence. The people who despise their own language play in the surest way into the hands of their conquerors.

ART. II.—POPULAR BUDDHISM ACCORDING TO THE
CHINESE CANON.

1. *The Buddhist Tripitaka as it is known in China and Japan.*
A Catalogue and Compendious Report. By SAMUEL BEAL.
Printed for the India Office. 1876.
2. *A Letter to Dr. R. Rost, Librarian, India Office, London.*
By SAMUEL BEAL. Printed for the India Office. 1874.
3. *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese.* By S.
BEAL. Trübner. 1871.
4. *The Romantic History of Buddha from the Chinese-Sanskrit.*
By S. BEAL. Trübner. 1875.

IN *the year 1875 there was delivered, at the Library of the India Office in London, a collection of books in seven large boxes, carefully packed in lead, with padding of dry rushes and grass. The books are the Buddhist Tripitaka in Chinese characters, with Japanese notations, issued in Japan, with an Imperial Preface, in the years 1681–1683 A.D. The entire series of 2000 volumes is contained in 103 cases or covers. When placed in the library, they required eleven shelves of ten feet in length. This was the magnificent gift of the Japanese Government to England, made on the suggestion of the ambassador who had recently visited Europe. He had doubtless been struck by the anomaly between the intense desire of the English to convert the heathen, and their profound ignorance of all religions except their own, and especially of the one which most closely resembles it, the state religion of his own country, Buddhism. Mr. Beal and Dr. Rost requested him to solicit the gift. No more appropriate gift could have been sent; and the Secretary of State directed the Rev. Samuel Beal, Professor of Chinese in the University of London, to prepare a “compendious report of the Buddhist Tripitaka.” The result of his labours is the catalogue *raisonné* now before us. Professor Beal is well known as one of the first Buddhist scholars in Europe, and he had already reported upon the Chinese books in the Library of the India Office.

The importance of the Chinese copy of the Buddhist canonical scriptures lies in the fact that it was commenced in the first century A.D. The translation was made from the Sanskrit, or from some Indian vernacular, by early Buddhist missionaries from India to China.

Like Socrates and other great religious teachers, Buddha taught only by word of mouth. Immediately after his death

his disciples assembled in conclave to recall and commit to memory the words of the master. These "words" were, like the Vedas, handed down from disciple to disciple, until they were finally committed to writing.* They were divided into three parts, or *baskets*, Tri-pitaka: (1.) Doctrinal and practical discourses; (2.) Ecclesiastical discipline for the religious orders; (3.) Metaphysics and philosophy. So long as the words of Buddha were handed down by oral tradition, there was danger of heresies and false teaching; therefore, about the year 246 B.C., King Aśoka, who stood to Buddhism in a relation similar to that of the Emperor Constantine to Christianity, summoned a council to fix the canon. This council was to India what the Council of Nice became to Europe. The assembled fathers, who numbered a thousand, received the excellent advice from the king, that they should seek only for the words of the Master himself, for "that which is spoken by the blessed Buddha, and that alone, is well spoken." The canon drawn up by this council is the one accepted by the Southern Buddhists of Ceylon, Siam, and Burmah. None of the Pitakas can be traced back with certainty to an earlier date, although they contain matter which is much older. The Northern canon, which is somewhat larger than the Southern, was fixed at a council held in Kashmir about the commencement of the Christian era. The Chinese is translated from this Northern canon; and many of the monasteries in China contain complete copies of the scriptures in the vernacular, and also of the Sanskrit originals from which the Chinese version was made. Great impetus to the work of translation was given by the influx of Buddhist missionaries on the conversion of the Chinese monarch in the middle of the first century of our era.† Thus, at the very time when Christianity was being carried westward into Europe by St. Paul and his companions, Buddhism was being carried eastward into China by missionaries no less courageous and zealous for the faith which they believed.

As Buddha did not claim any revelation, so the canon stands alone among the sacred scriptures of the world in not assuming any special inspiration for its contents: "For the attainment of those previously unknown doctrines, the eye, the knowledge, the wisdom, and the light were developed within me."

We propose to carry out the good intentions of the Japanese ambassador by giving an account of the life and teaching of Buddha as it is accepted by the popular Buddhist mind, apart

* Vassilief thinks that writing was not known in India until long after Buddha's death. "Der Buddhismus," 1860.

† Remusat, "Foe-koue-ki," p. 41; Beal, "Fa-Hian," pp. 20-22.

from the metaphysical speculations of the philosophical schools in the scholastic and mystic periods.

I. *The Personality.*—In the fifth century B.C. there arose in the civilised world the remarkable intellectual movement of which Pythagoras is the representative in Europe, Zoroaster in Persia, Buddha in India, Confucius in China. Buddha is more fortunate than the others in having bequeathed to the world not only words of wisdom, as did they, but also the example of a life in which the loftiest morality was softened and beautified by unbounded charity and devotion to the good of his fellow-men. His walk through life was along "the path whose entrance is purity, whose goal is love." The personality of the Buddha is still a living power in the world, and by its exquisite beauty it attracts the heart and affection of more than one-third of the human race.

Buddha is not, strictly speaking, the name of a man. The word means "The Enlightened," and is the title applied to a succession of men whose wisdom has enlightened mankind. It has, however, become identified with the founder of Buddhism, Gautama. Buddhists think it irreverent to say the word "Gautama," so they speak of him as the Buddha, Śakya-muni, "the sage of the Śakyas,"* "the lion of the tribe of Śakya," "the king of righteousness," "the blessed one." Gautama, then, is *the* Buddha, and his followers have been called Buddhists from the characteristic feature of the founder's office—he who enlightens mankind. Gautama claimed to be nothing more than a link in the chain of Buddhas who had preceded and who should follow him.† This modest claim is characteristic of great reformers: Confucius said, "I only hand on, I cannot create new things; I believe in the ancients." Mohammed claimed to return to the creed of Abraham, "the Friend." Nevertheless, the glory of a religion belongs to the founder, not to his predecessors nor his successors, he it is who makes all things new: and therefore it is to the life and teaching of Gautama that we must look for the mainspring of the religion. Buddha is one of the few founders of religion who did not claim a special revelation or inspiration: "I have heard these truths from no one," he said; "they are all self-revealed, they spring only from within myself." And he believed them to be true for all time: "The heavens may fall to earth, the earth become dust, the mountains may be removed, but my word cannot fail or be false."

* *Sakya* = the able ones: "These princes are *able* to found a kingdom and to govern it. Hence the name Sakya" ("Rom. Hist." 23). *Muni* comes from "man," to think; hence the thinker, the sage, the monk. Gautama is still the family name of the Rajput chiefs of Nagara, where Buddha was born.

† Traditional sayings of former Buddhas are translated in Beal's "Catena," pp. 158, 159.

Buddha commenced his preaching at the city of Benares on the banks of the Ganges, where Brahmanism was the religion of the mass of the people. He was a reformer. His reformation bears to Brahmanism the relation which Protestantism bears to Roman Catholicism, rather than that which Christianity does to Judaism, though it may be doubted whether a schism actually took place during Buddha's lifetime. It was primarily a protest against the sacrificial and sacerdotal system of the Brahmans; it rejected all bloody sacrifice, together with the priesthood and social caste so essentially bound up with them. The logical consequence of animal sacrifice he admirably showed in the words: "If a man, in worshipping the gods, sacrifices a sheep, and so does well, why should he not kill his child, his relations, or his dearest friend, in worshipping the gods, and so do better?" But while Buddhism was opposed to sacerdotalism, it was in close alliance with the teaching of the philosophers, for all its main positions may be traced to their origin in the teaching of the philosophical schools of India.* Buddha states and accepts the high aim of these schools: "All the different systems of philosophy are designed to one end—to overthrow the strongholds of sin." He endeavoured to popularise this end of the philosophy of the day, and to bring it within the comprehension of the poorest and most outcast of the people. Indeed, one secret of his success lay in the fact that he preached to the poor as well as to the rich, and that the common people heard him gladly.

II. *The Birth and Early Manhood.*—The birth of Buddha † is veiled in a myth, the outward objective expression of the inner subjective idea, which is the ethical centre of his religion: Unbounded self-sacrifice and tenderest compassion for mankind. The scriptures say that Buddha, having by the Law of Evolution passed through the various stages of existence, at length attained the perfection of being in the highest of the heavens. It was not necessary for him to be again re-born; he was prepared to pass into the rest and repose of Nirvâna. Nevertheless, "he was so moved by the wretched condition of mankind and all sentient creatures, that by the force of his exceeding love." ‡ he took upon him the form of man once more, in order that he might "save the world" by teaching them the way to escape from their wretchedness, and attain that perfection to which he had attained, and enjoy the rest and repose of Nirvâna. "I am now," he said, "about to assume a body, to descend and be born among men, to give peace and rest

* Prof. Monier Williams gives a popular sketch of these philosophical systems in "Indian Wisdom."

† M. Senart has investigated the story as a solar myth in his "Essai sur la légende du Bouddha, son Caractère et ses Origines." Paris, 1876.

‡ "Catena," pp. 15, 130.

to, all flesh, and to remove all sorrows and grief from the world.* He chose as his earthly mother the wife of the king of Kapilavastu, named Mâyâ, who was henceforth known as the "Holy Mother Mâyâ." He was her first and only son.† In an account of his incarnation contained in a Chinese translation made in the year 194 A.D., this event is literally translated: "The Holy Ghost descended into the womb."‡ The purity of Maya is described in a very beautiful sutra:

"As the lotus springs unsullied from the water,
So was thy body pure and spotless in the womb.
What joy and delight was it to thy mother,
Desiring no carnal joys, but rejoicing only in the law,
Walking in perfect purity, with no stain of sin," &c., &c. §

The "Incarnation Scene" is frequently met with in the Buddhist sculptures at Sanchi and Amravati, which are about the date of the Christian era. Around this myth there have gathered a string of legends which bear a striking resemblance, and a no less striking difference, both to the Gospel history and the apocryphal Gospels. On the day of the child's birth the heavens shone with divine light, and the earth shook withal, while angelic hosts sang, "To-day Buddha is born on earth, to give joy and peace, to give light to those in darkness, and sight to the eyes of the blind." The light shone because Buddha should hereafter enlighten the darkness of men's minds, the earth shook withal because he should shake the powers of evil which afflict the world. An aged hermit of the Himalayas is divinely guided to the spot where the young child lay in the arms of Mâyâ, his mother, and placing his venerable head under the tiny feet of the infant, || spoke of him as the "Deliverer of sin, and sorrow, and death." Weeping, he repeated the following canticle:

"Alas, I am old and stricken in years;
The time of my departure is at hand;
I rejoice and yet I am sad.
The misery and the wretchedness of man shall disappear,
And at his bidding peace and joy shall everywhere flourish."

And he added: "Alas! while others shall find deliverance for

* "Rom. Hist." p. 33.

† St. Jerome says: "It is handed down as a tradition among the Gymnosophists of India, that Buddha, the founder of their system, was brought forth by a virgin from her side."—Cont. Jovian, i.

‡ "Catalogue of Buddhist Tripitaka," in the India Office, 1876, pp. 115, 116.

§ "Romantic History of Buddha," p. 275, a Chinese translation from the Sanskrit, made in the year 69 or 70 A.D. "We may therefore safely suppose," says Mr. Beal, "that the original work was in circulation in India for some time previous to that date."—Intr. vi.

|| In Spier's "Ancient India" there is a drawing from the Cave of Ajanta, which represents the old man with the infant Buddha in his arms (p. 248).

their sins, and arrive at perfect wisdom through the preaching of this child, I shall not be found among them." The princes of the tribe of Śakya brought rare and costly gifts and presented them to the child; but the brightness of his person outshone the lustre of the jewels, and a voice from heaven proclaimed:

"In comparison with the fulness of true religion
The brightness of gems is as nothing."

The neighbouring king of Maghadha is advised to send an army to destroy the child who is to become a universal monarch; but he answers, "Not so, if the child become a holy man and wield a righteous sceptre, then it is fitting for me to reverence and obey him, and we shall enjoy peace and safety under his rule. If he become a Buddha, and his love and compassion leads him to save and deliver all flesh, then we ought to listen to his teaching, and become his disciples." He astonished his teachers when he entered the schools of letters and of arms: they said, "Surely this is the instructor of gods and men, who condescends to seek for a master!" He simply said, "It is well; I am self-taught."* This is the only record of his youth until his twenty-ninth year, when he was converted.

It is difficult to assign any definite date to those legends. "All evidence tends to prove that they are earlier than the Christian era."† There is little doubt, however, that they arose after the death of Buddha; because he would have rejected all such appeals to the miraculous. Buddha never refers to them,‡ and when some enthusiasts sought a sign from him to convince the people, he answered, "The miracle my disciples should show is to hide their good deeds and confess their faults."§ The chief are sculptured on the rails of the tope at Sanchi, which is a sort of Buddhist picture-Bible carved in stone.||

These legends are of comparatively small value, for they add nothing to the glory of the man's life, which, after his "conversion," became a life of the loftiest moral perfection and the noblest self-devotion to the good of others. Born the son of a king, he was brought up in all the luxury of an Oriental court. From this epicurean life he was converted by three sights—

* Cf. Apoc. Epistle of Thomas vi. Pseudo-Matthew xxx. xxxi. The same legend reappears in the biography of Nanak, founder of the Sikh religion (1469 A.D.). "The Adi Granth," p. 602. Printed for India Office, 1877.

† Beal's "Rom. Hist." ix.

‡ Christ never refers to the events recorded in St. Matthew and St. Luke i. and ii.

§ So Mohammed's reply: "My Lord be praised! am I more than a man sent as an apostle? . . . Angels do not commonly walk the earth, or God would have sent an angel to preach His truth to you."

|| Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship," p. 182.

an old man tottering under the weight of his years, a young man tossing in the raging heat of fever, and a corpse lying exposed by the roadside. These sights made him reflect that though he were now young and vigorous, yet he, too, was liable to the sorrows of old age, disease, and death.

While he pondered in his heart over these things, he saw a holy mendicant with the placid expression of a disciplined spirit who had renounced all pleasures and had attained to perfect calm. He asked who the holy man might be, and was told: "Great Prince! This man constantly practises virtue and flees vice; he gives himself to charity, and restrains his appetites and desires; he is at peace with all men; and, so far as he can, he does good to all, and is full of sympathy for all."

These sights depressed his spirits, and he sought for means to escape from such sorrows, if, indeed, they were not irrevocably fixed upon all men alike. Herodotus mentions a Thracian tribe who mourned when a child was born and rejoiced when any one died. The same sad aspect of life oppressed the mind of the young prince. His sadness was no selfish desire of escape from his own troubles; it arose from intense sympathy with the sorrows of others. As he walked about the palace, men heard him repeat: "Nothing on earth is stable, nothing is real. Life is passing as a spark of fire or the sound of a lute. There must be a Supreme Intelligence wherein we can rest. If I attained it, I could then bring light to men. If I were free myself, I could deliver the world."

This thought of the salvation of mankind and the deliverance of the world became the dominant aim of his life. On the birth of his first-born son, the people flocked joyfully to the palace gates; but the sight almost moved him to tears: "All these people are without the means of salvation, without any hope of deliverance, constantly tossed on the sea of life and death, old age and disease; with no fear or care about their unhappy condition, with no one to guide or instruct them; ever wandering in the dark, and unable to escape. Thinking thus, his heart was moved with love, and he felt himself strengthened in his resolution to provide some sure ground for the salvation of the world." In the night watches he hears a voice calling him: "A man whose own body is bound with fetters, and who yet desires to release others from their bonds, is like a blind man who undertakes to lead the blind." In the daytime the songs of the singing-girls seemed to say: "Quit the world, prepare thy heart for supreme wisdom; . . . thy time is come, it behoveth thee to leave house and home." He again hears the divine voice—

"Whatever miseries of life or death are in the world,
The Great Physician is able to cure all."

It is in vain that his father tries to dissuade him; he replies, "Your majesty cannot prevail against my resolve; for what is it? Shall a man attempt to prevent another escaping from a burning house?" At length his resolution is taken: "I will go; the time is come to seek the highest law of life." *

Very touching is the account of the temptations of the young prince. When his child was born he said, "This is a new tie, yet it must be broken." At midnight he seeks the chamber where lay his wife; he pauses in the doorway—their first-born lay upon her breast. He fears to take the infant in his arms lest he should wake the mother. He tears himself away, vowing that he will return not as husband and father, but as teacher and saviour. He rides forth to the city gate; here Māra, the evil one, meets him, and now by threats, now by the offer of the "kingdoms of the world" for his empire, seeks to turn him from his resolution. "A thousand honours such as those you offer have no charm for me to-day. I seek enlightenment. Therefore begone, hinder me not."

Riding far enough from the city to baffle pursuit, he turns to take one farewell look; he then dismounts, strips himself of his princely robe, and putting on a mendicant's dress, takes an alms-bowl † to beg his daily bread, and determines henceforth to be known by no other name than the Recluse of the Sakyas, Sakyamuni.

Many were the temptations which now beset him; for "as a shadow follows the body, so did Māra follow the Blessed One, striving to throw every obstacle in his way towards the Buddhahood." The nausea of the mendicant's food, the recollections of the affection, the home, the kingdom he had renounced, tried him sorely. His father sent to entreat him to return to him,

* The "fulness of the time" is marked by the conjunction of a certain star with the moon.

† The legend of Buddha's alms-bowl migrated to Europe as the legend of the Sanc Greal. Fa-hian, pp. 162-164. "Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales," par Hiouen-Thsang, en A.D. 648. Stanislas Julien, i. 81. Fa-hian was told that when men became very bad, the alms-bowl should disappear, and then the law of Buddha would gradually perish. Hiouen-Thsang caught a glimpse of it in a cave: "Suddenly there appeared on the east wall a halo of light, large as an alms-bowl, but it vanished instantly. Again it appeared and vanished." Both these characteristics of the legend are unconsciously preserved by Mr. Tennyson in his "Legend of the Holy Grail":—

"What is it?

The phantom of a cup that comes and goes.

 If a man

Could touch or see it, he was healed at once

By faith of all his ills. But then the times

Grew to such evil, that the holy cup

Was caught away to heaven and disappeared."

to his wife and child; he answered, "I know my father's great love for me, but then I tremble to think of the miseries of old age, disease, and death, which shall soon destroy this body. I desire above all things to find a way of deliverance from these evils; and therefore I have left my home and kinsfolk to seek after the complete possession of supreme wisdom. A wise man regards his friends as fellow-travellers, each one going along the same road, yet soon to be separated as each goes to his own place. If you speak of a fit time and an unfit time to become a recluse, my answer is, that Death knows nothing of one time or another, but is busy gathering his victims at all times. I wish to escape from old age, disease, and death, and have no leisure to consider whether this be the right time or not." The beauty of his person and the wisdom of his mind induced a neighbouring king to offer him a share in his kingdom; "I seek not an earthly kingdom," he replied; "I seek to become enlightened."

To attain this enlightenment, he first studied under the Brahmans, but he soon found that they and the Vedas could not help him. He next joined some hermits in the jungle, and underwent such austerities that, while his body became "worn and haggard," his fame as an ascetic "spread abroad like the sound of a great bell hung in the canopy of the sky." But after six years' trial, he found that the road to enlightenment did not lie through asceticism. Therefore he abandoned it, and annunciated one of the fundamental truths of his system: "Moderation in all things." He had tried the two extremes of luxury and asceticism; true enlightenment was not to be found in either. Then he learned that, "like as the man who would discourse sweet music must tune the strings of his instrument to the medium point of tension, so he who would arrive at the condition of Buddha must exercise himself in the medium course of discipline."*

Once more he went begging through the villages. At length the day of enlightenment came, as he was seated one evening under a tree, which for many centuries afterwards became the most interesting object of the pilgrim's pilgrimage.† The temptation which preceded that supreme moment is most touching. A peasant woman led her little child by the hand to offer food to the holy man. The sight carried back his thoughts to

* Cf. the philosophical position of the Hebrew Preacher: "Be not wise overmuch; be not foolish overmuch; be not righteous overmuch; be not wicked overmuch" (Eccles. vii. 16, 17).

† Asoka's daughter brought to Ceylon in 245 B.C. a branch of this tree (*Ficus religiosa*). The branch grew, and is now "the oldest historical tree in the world." Its history is preserved in a series of continuous chronicles, which are brought together by Sir Emerson Tennent, "Ceylon," vol. ii. pp. 613 sq. Fergusson, "Tree and Serpent Worship," p. 56.

the home he had left. The love of wife and child, the wealth and power of place, came upon him with a force overwhelmingly attractive. It was a sore temptation.* He agonised in doubt. But as the sun set, the religious side of his nature won the victory; he came forth purified in the struggle; he abandoned all—wife, child, home, princely power—in order to win deliverance for mankind: "I vow from this moment to deliver the world from the thralldom of death and of the evil one. I will procure the salvation of all men, and lead them across to the other shore." The supernatural side of this struggle is described with all the wealth of Oriental imagery. Māra† with his daughters and angels alternately rage against and caress him; all nature is convulsed at the conflict "between the Saviour of the world and the Prince of evil;" the earth shakes as she only does when a man's virtue reaches perfection or is utterly lost. The Buddhist description bears a striking resemblance to the passage in "Paradise Regained" in which the "patient Son of God" was tempted in the wilderness, and sat "unappalled in calm and sinless peace."‡ Buddha sat "unmoved from his fixed purpose, firm as Mount Sumeru," until Māra, having exhausted all his powers, fell at his feet in terror; and the cry went through the worlds of heaven and hell, "Māra is overcome, the Prince is conqueror." Then Buddha's mind was enlightened, and he saw the way of salvation for all living creatures.

"From out the darkness and gloomy night of the world,
The gross darkness and ignorance that envelop mankind,
This Holy One, having attained the perfection of wisdom,
Shall cause to appear the brightness and glory of his own light."

The tree beneath which Buddha attained enlightenment and the Buddhahship has become to his followers a symbol as expressive of their faith as is the cross to the Christian. The victory won beneath that tree has brightened, and to this day brightens, the lives of more men and women than does any other victory in the history of the world; for out of the thousand million inhabitants which it is computed people this earth, 450,000,000 are Buddhists. On that day heaven and earth sang together for joy, flowers fell around the Holy One; "there ceased to be ill-feeling or hatred in the hearts of men; all wants of food and drink and clothing were supplied; the blind saw, the deaf

* The temptation scene is figured on the middle beam of the northern gateway at Sanchi. Frontispiece to "Tree and Serpent Worship."

† "Māra est le démon de l'amour, du péché et de la mort; c'est le tentateur et l'ennemi du Buddha."—*Burnouf, Introd.* 76. Māra, as the night-mare, still torments English people.

‡ Mr. Rhys Davids has worked out the parallel in "Buddhism," S.P.C.K. Ed.

heard, the dumb spake; the prisoners in the lower worlds were released; and all living creatures found rest and peace.*

III. *The Enlightenment.*—What was the enlightenment which made the young prince the Enlightened One, the Buddha, who should enlighten the world? It was *The Way* by which men could escape from the sorrows of old age, disease, and death. The Way was contained in the Four Sublime Truths, or Noble Truths, proclaimed in his first sermon, the Sutra of "The Foundation of Righteousness." These truths are—(1) Sorrow exists; (2) Sorrow increases and accumulates through desires and cravings after objects of sense; (3) Sorrow may be destroyed by entering on the "Four Paths;" (4) The Four Paths are perfect faith, perfect thought, perfect speech, perfect deed. † These paths lead to the rest and repose of Nirvāna.

Thus Buddha taught that it is through perfection of life that men attain enlightenment and knowledge. "Not study," he said, "not asceticism, but the purification of the mind from all unholy desires and passions,"—a position we may place side by side with the words of Christ: "If any man willeth to do God's will, he shall know the doctrine." The perfection of goodness, bringing with it the perfection of wisdom, Buddha taught as the end and aim of our existence. When man has attained this perfection, his soul is freed from all slavery to the objects of sense, and as there is therefore no longer any need for him to be reborn, he passes into the rest and repose of Nirvāna, which is the perfection of being.

This religion of perfection Buddha based upon the cornerstones of self-conquest and self-sacrifice. Self-conquest is developed by the observance of the Five Commandments: "Thou shalt do no murder: Thou shalt not commit adultery: Thou shalt not steal: Thou shalt not lie: † Thou shalt not become intoxicated." The man who keeps these commandments orders his conduct aright, and "remains like the broad earth, unvexed; like the pillar of the city gate, unmoved; like the tranquil lake, unruffled." § Self-sacrifice is to be shown by an unbounded charity, and a devotion to the good of others which rises to an enthusiasm for humanity.

* "Rom. Hist." p. 225.

† Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion (1469–1538 A.D.), taught that Nirvāna was to be reached by the four paths of—(1) Extinction of individuality, (2) Disregard of ceremonies, (3) Conversion of foes into friends, (4) The knowledge of good. "The Adi Granth, or the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs," by Trumpp; Trübner, 1877.

‡ The absolute necessity of truthfulness is constantly enforced. Buddha once said to Māra, "O Māra! I am born a Kshatriya, and therefore I scorn to lie." This oath of the Kshatriya is the origin of "the word of honour" in chivalry. "Rom. Hist." 222 n.

§ Dhap., xc.–xcvi.

The motive for this self-conquest and self-sacrifice was, that by their development to perfection of character they would enable men to escape from the sorrows and miseries of life. This motive appealed to the common sense of mankind, for Buddha taught that every thought, word, and deed bear their own consequences. Goodness is rewarded, badness is punished, in the way of natural consequence; and these consequences continue through countless births and re-births on earth, in heaven, in hell. We are now reaping, in this present stage of our existence, the natural harvest of the seeds of good or evil sown by us in previous stages; we shall in the future reap the harvest of the sowing in the present. Whatever a man hath sown he is now reaping; whatever a man is now sowing, that shall he also hereafter reap. We *are* that which we have made ourselves in the past; we *shall be* that which we are now making ourselves. A man is born blind because in a previous stage of existence he indulged in the lust of the eye; a man has quick hearing, because in a previous stage he loved to listen to the reading of the law. Each new birth is conditioned by the *Karma*—the aggregation of the merit and the demerit of previous births—the conduct of life.

A man once asked the Master, "From some cause or other mankind receive existence; but there are some persons who are exalted, others who are mean; some who die young, others who live to a great age; some who suffer from various diseases, some who have no sickness until they die; some who are of the lowest caste, some who are of the highest;—what is the cause of these differences?" To this Buddha replied: "All sentient beings have their own individual Karma. . . . Karma comes by inheritance from previous births. Karma is the cause of all good and evil. It is the difference in the Karma which causes the difference in the lot of men, so that some men are low and some exalted, some are miserable and some are happy. A good action well done, a bad action wickedly done, when they reach maturity, equally bear inevitable fruit."* The Master himself had obtained the Buddhahood by the same law, "by the meritorious Karma of previous births." Step by step had he won his way; born as a bird, as a stag, as an elephant, through each successive stage of human rank and condition by continued births had he at last reached the highest elevation of purity and self-sacrifice; and now he has come into the world the Saviour

* Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism," pp. 445, 446. The Jews believed in the pre-existence of souls (St. John ix. 2); see Lightfoot's "Exercit. Talmud" on this passage. Alger's "Critical History of a Future Life," New York, 1867, for the history of the subject. There is an interesting passage on pre-existence in Lessing's "Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts," which is pure Buddhism.

of mankind, to teach them the way by which they might all attain to the same perfection.

Of the first origin of things, of the first birth, Buddha knew nothing. "When he was asked whether the existence of the world is eternal or non-eternal, he made no reply," because he considered such inquiries of no profit. He starts from the material world and the conscious beings in it. Here he finds all things changing by the law of cause and effect; nothing continues in one stage. Then this reflection came into his mind: Birth exists, and is the cause of decay, disease, and death. Therefore, destroy birth, and the effects of birth are destroyed likewise; and this world, which is but a mass of sorrows culminating in decay and death, will be annihilated.

As of the beginning of existence, so of the end of existence Buddha knows nothing. He traces the progress of the human being as it develops towards perfection through a series of ever-ascending heavens, until the last and final heaven is attained. Gradually, by a series of steps, has all imperfection been purified, and man has become perfect, so far as the mind of man can conceive of perfection. And when made perfect, there is no further need for it to be re-born, because no more births could make it more humanly perfect than it is. Therefore it passes into the rest and repose of Nirvâna, that transcendental stage of being which overpasses the horizon of man's conception. What the nature of that state may be Buddha knows not—it is Nirvâna. "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man."* Beautifully is it described as "the eternal place of bliss, where there is no more sorrow, no more disease, nor old age, nor death." It is the "home of peace," "the other shore of the ocean of existence," the "shore of salvation," the "harbour of refuge," the "medicine of all evils." The rest and repose of Nirvâna may be obtained on earth by the man who attains the ideal holiness. Indeed, Mr. Rhys Davids proposes to translate Nirvâna by the word "holiness—holiness, that is, in the Buddhist sense, *perfect peace, goodness, and wisdom.*"† Some people, not in harmony with the mind of Buddha, have spoken of Nirvâna as though it meant annihilation. But there is no thought of annihilation in the mind of the Founder who said, "I devote myself wholly to moral culture, so as to arrive at the highest condition of moral rest, Nirvâna."‡ There can be no thought of the loss of personal being in the place whose four characteristics are—"Personality, Purity, Happiness, Eternity."§

* 1 Cor. ii. 9.

† "Buddhism," p. 112; Childers' Pali Dict., "Nibbanam."

‡ "Catena," p. 183.

§ Letter, Dr. Rost, p. i.

Indeed, the controversy between the Confucians and the Buddhists in China turns upon the belief in a future life as a motive for virtue, as may be seen from the biographical section of the history of the Sung dynasty: "The instructions of Confucius include only a single life; they do not reach to the future state, with its illimitable results. His only motive to virtue is the happiness of posterity. The only consequence of vice he names is present suffering. The reward of the good does not go beyond worldly honours. The aims of Buddha, on the other hand, are illimitable. His religion removes care from the heart, and saves men from all danger. Its one sentiment is mercy seeking to save. It speaks of hell to deter from sin; it points to heaven that men may desire its happiness. It exhibits the Nirvâna as the spirit's final refuge, and tells us of a body (dharmakâya) to be possessed under other conditions, long after the present body has passed away."*

Thus Buddha taught that the aim of life is perfection, and that rest and repose can only be found in the perfection of the moral and spiritual being. How closely this coincides with the teaching of Christ on this point five hundred years later, will appear from the words, "Be ye *perfect*, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect,"—τέλειοι, complete, all-embracing, godlike in your charity and love to others, like the Father, who sendeth His rain, and maketh His sun to shine both on the evil and the good. Again, "He that is *perfect* shall be as his master,"—κατηρητισμένος, fully instructed, well conditioned, knowing his duty and doing it.† So also St. Paul urges men to arrive at the "perfect man" (εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον), "to the measure of the stature of Christ's fulness."

It is quite true that Buddha did not give as the standard of ideal perfection "our Father in the heavens," that most touching name by which the early Aryan clan spoke of God, and which reappears in the language of their European descendants. Buddha, as a rationalist, knew nothing of a personal God, but only of His manifestation in the law of Karma.

There are some who have described Buddhism as atheistic, but the mind which refuses to predicate attributes of God which it cannot prove is different from the mind which boldly asserts "There is no God." It may be difficult to prove the

* "Travels of Fa-hian," introd. p. xxvi. "If we look in the Dhammapada," says Prof. Max Müller, "at every passage where Nirvâna is mentioned, there is not one that would require that its meaning should be annihilation; while most, if not all, would become perfectly unintelligible if we assigned to the word Nirvâna that meaning."—*Buddhaghosha*, p. 41.

† The Buddhistic spirit of this passage was pointed out to the writer by the veteran scholar, Mr. Bryant Hodgson.

existence of a personal God ; it is not less difficult to prove His non-existence. Buddha neither asserted nor denied. Buddha is accused of atheism because he rejected Indra, Brahma, and the whole material pantheon ; but the accusation comes with a bad grace from those who must know that the early Christians were called *atheoi*, because they refused to believe in Jupiter and the other divinities of Greece and Rome. Buddha had a very high conception of deity ; but so far did he push the refinement of deity or the divine existence, that he not only eliminated from it all human conditions and relationships, but he thought that it must embrace all existence. In other words, nothing really exists but *it*, and phenomenal existence is really phenomenal. Therefore, the leading idea of his religion, when regarded as a rule of faith for shaping our lives and raising them to the ideal of the divine, is that we must not only get rid of all the imperfections included in the idea of ill-conduct, but also the limitations included in the idea of individual existence. This is not pantheism, but, if anything, transcendentalism—a conception of deity which transcends human thought.

The idea of a perfect life on earth Buddha taught not merely by word of mouth, but also by the moral purity and the lofty purpose of his character, and by his devotion to the good of his fellow-men. Every Buddhist believes that it was Buddha's "exceeding great love" which moved him with compassion for suffering humanity, and brought him back from heaven to earth to teach mankind the way of salvation. His enemies blamed his disciples for applauding his saying, "Let all the sins that have been committed fall upon me, in order that the world may be delivered."* This spirit of self-sacrifice we constantly find in his disciples. For instance, King Rantiveda, who endured hunger and thirst that he might relieve others, says, "I desire not from the Lord that highest destiny which is accomplished in the eight perfections, neither do I ask to be exempted from future births. I seek to live within all corporeal beings, and endure their pains, so that they may be freed from suffering."† The traditions show this self-sacrifice pushed to the point of extravagance, in stories of Buddha having, in previous stages of existence, given his body to a famished tigress to enable her to succour her young. "As a mother," he said, "even at the risk of her own life, protects her son, her only son, so let there be good-will without measure among all beings. Let unmeasured good-will—unhindered love and friendliness—prevail in the whole world, above, below, around. If a man remain in this state of mind at

* Max Müller, "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 80. A similar noble sentiment was expressed by Moses (Ex. xxxii. 32), and by St. Paul (Rom. ix. 3).

† "Bhāgavata Purāna," ix. 21.

all times, then is brought to pass the saying that is written, "Even in this world has holiness been found." One of the highest acts of charity is to pray to a Buddha "from a desire to save all living creatures." "Our object should be by personal profit to profit others." "It is because men seek their own profit that sorrows come upon them." "Love is the greatest of all things, and frees the man whose heart is full of it from all bonds of ignorance and sin."* "When a man abstains from evil, and experiences in his heart a feeling of universal charity and love, and desires to arrive at perfection in order that he may benefit others, and from no selfish desire, then, like dry wood, the fire may be easily kindled." Indeed, Buddha is described as "that great man who, unaided, works out salvation for the world."†

IV. *The Teacher.*—Buddha, having attained this enlightenment, shrank at first from the task of proclaiming it to the world. Men, weighed down by sorrow, oppressed by false teaching, would not be able to understand this law of enlightenment; had he not better remain a solitary hermit? As he thought thus, the divine voice of his better nature spoke, "Oh, do not act thus; be not silent, but, for the sake of man sunk in sin, declare thy law! Let thy love constrain thee to do so, let thy compassionate heart move thee to declare thy law; for though the world be wicked, yet are there many prepared to receive this message of love and to be converted, many who would otherwise perish. Let the World-honoured One, therefore, resolve to preach the law for the good of others." Then by the power of his wisdom he beheld the various conditions of men, in ignorance and in knowledge, like the lotus flowers in a tank, some emerging from the mud but not yet above the water, others above the water but not yet expanded, others just opening, waiting for his word to complete their development. Then his resolution was formed, and he said, "I am willing now to open the gate of immortality. If any will listen, let them come gladly; let them hearken as I declare the tidings of this law."

The first persons to whom he preached the kingdom of righteousness, or "turned the wheel of the law," were the five hermits who had been with him in the time of his penance, and who now dwelt in the Deer Park near Benares. Afterwards he went to preach in the city. An acquaintance met him on the road, and inquired whither he was going. "I am going to Benares," he answered, "to establish a kingdom of righteousness,‡ by giving light to those who are shrouded in darkness, and by opening to all

* Cf. the Hebrew proverb, "Love covereth all sin" (x, 12), quoted in 1 Peter iv. 8.

† Burnouf, "Lotus de la Bonne Loi," p. 332.

‡ This is the translation proposed by Mr. Rhys Davids for the usual Buddhist phrase, "to turn the wheel of the law."—*Encyclopædia Britannica*.

men the gate of immortality." At Kapilavastu, he offered salvation to his father: "My father, when a man has found a treasure, it is his duty to offer the most precious of his jewels to his father first. Do not delay; let me share with you the treasure I have found." His wife had fasted and wept during his absence; he went to her, for he said, "She is exceeding sorrowful. Unless her sorrow be allowed to take its course, her heart will break. She may embrace me. Do not stop her." But when she saw him enter, no longer the husband she remembered, but a recluse with shaven head and face, and in the yellow * robe, she fell at his feet, and held them, watering them with her tears. Then, feeling how great was the distance between them, she rose and stood on one side. So they parted either from other, and in after years she became a Buddhist nun. His son came and asked for his inheritance. "The boy asks for an earthly inheritance which availeth nothing. I will give him a spiritual inheritance which fadeth not away. Let him be admitted among us."

Buddha preached to all men alike, but it was to the poor that his teaching came home with peculiar force; for he broke down the *caste* which degraded society; he taught them the way to escape from the sorrows of their daily life, and he held out to them a brighter future, dependent upon their goodness and their charity. He showed his love and compassion for them by becoming a poor man himself, although born son of a king. The people were astonished: "Our young prince is gone mad!" † The priests were indignant that one not of their order should teach the people; they were still more indignant when they heard him announce that no one was of a caste too low and despised but that he could attain to the moral perfection and the enlightenment of Buddha himself. Ananda, his favourite disciple, meets a poor Chandala woman beside a well of water, and asks her for a drink. She tells him she is a Chandala, ‡ an outcast; but he replied, "My sister, I ask not after thy caste and thy family, I only ask for a draught of water." She became a disciple. "Not by birth," said Buddha, "does one become a slave (*vasala*), not by birth does one become a Brahman; one becomes a slave by bad conduct, as one by good conduct becomes a Brahman." "Not by plaited hair or family shall one

* This colour was first chosen as one of contempt, being the colour of old cast-off rags of white cotton cloth; it soon became the sign of the highest honour (Dhap. 9).

† Klaproth, Journ. As., vii. 181, qd. by Köppen.

‡ The Chandalas were the outcasts of Indian society; they had no caste. When they entered a town or market-place, they struck a piece of wood to keep themselves separate. People hearing their sound, avoided touching or brushing against them.

become a Brahman ; for what avail thy plaited hair and garment of skins when within thee there is impurity, and the outside only thou makest clean. He who walks truthfully and righteously, he is the true Brahman." *

No one was too unlearned. When Patisma, who could only learn one gâtha, attained supreme wisdom, men exclaimed, " How hath this man this wisdom ? " Buddha replied, " Learning need not be much ; conduct is the chief thing. Patisma has allowed the words of the gâtha to penetrate his spirit. . . . To explain one sentence of the law, and to walk according to it, this is the way to find supreme wisdom." †

No one was too poor to win Buddha's praise. He tells the story of a poor old woman who wished to offer him a gift. She had only two small coins (mites), so she spent them in buying a little oil, which she took to a sacred place, and burned it in a lamp to his honour. The lights of all the rich folk were extinguished, but hers burned on continually. ‡ Poor people were able with a few flowers to fill his alms-bowl, although there were rich men who could not fill it with many baskets of flowers. §

During a famine a certain Pratyeka Buddha got up early one morning, and putting on his robe, took his alms-dish in his hand, and entered the city of Benares, where he begged from door to door. He obtained nothing, so he went home again, washed his alms-bowl, and sat down. Now there was in Benares a certain poor man who had watched the holy man, and seen that he received nothing ; so he went to him, and invited him to his house to share all that he had, which was just one measure of coarse cockle-seed. A servant girl, whose mistress had refused to relieve a dirty old man, ugly and graceless, begged her daily portion of meal, and gave it in charity to the man ; " for," said she, " in holy men one does not look for comeliness of person, but for purity of heart."

But not only did he preach to the poor and the low-caste, he preached to the rich and the high-caste also, and gathered disciples from all ranks of society. To all he laid down as the characteristic of the " true disciple, the disciple indeed "—" He ministers to the worthy, does harm to none, gives honour to whom honour is due, loves righteousness and righteous conversation, rejoices in meditating on the law, reflects in his life the divine wisdom, practises self-discipline in order to lead a pure and chaste life, always does good to those around him." For one class, indeed, he made special provision—the hermits. Brahman-

* Dhap. 393, 394. " Young philosophers assume a cloak and grow a beard, and say, ' I am a philosopher.' "—*Epictetus*, iv. 8. Cf. 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4.

† Dhap. xvi.

‡ Beal's Letter to Rost, p. 7.

§ " Travels of Fa-Hian," p. 38.

ism had developed by its teaching men who retired from the world under vows of chastity and poverty. Buddha had himself tried their system, and it had failed to give rest and repose to his spiritual being. He now offered to those ascetics the way by which they might escape from the sorrows of life and find spiritual rest. The way of salvation was the same for all men, but for those who desired to live a higher life he provided special "counsels of perfection." Hence there sprang the elaborate conventual system which so keenly exercised the speculation of the early Jesuit missionaries, and which is so powerful to this day in Buddhist countries. The monastic order was bound by vows of celibacy and poverty; but those vows did not bring in themselves merit, they were only to be regarded as a help to the men and women who bound themselves by them. All men and women were admitted without distinction of caste, and no one who was under age was received without the consent of their parents. They were not priests, for they neither offered sacrifice nor prayers. Originally they lived under trees, but they soon assembled in religious houses—the men in monasteries, the women in convents. Their time was spent in meditation, which is the effort of the "true self" to obtain freedom from the trammels of sense. "Cleansed from all personal defilement, the candidate," says Buddha, "comes out of the world, and is truly a homeless one—a disciple indeed." Henceforth he must give himself up to work and chastity, for "the man who has left home to become a Shaman, and yet gives way to idleness and sloth, or whose mind hankers after impure indulgence, is like the rotten tree against which the wind blows, which can hardly resist its force, but is soon blown down."* To this day the admission of a neophyte is one of the most imposing ceremonies of the Buddhist *culte*.†

The number of inmates in some of the monasteries at the present day is enormous. Huc and Gabet found 4000 at Kounboun. When Father Bury saw the Chinese bonze tonsured, using the rosary, praying in an unknown tongue, and kneeling before images, he said, "There is not a piece of dress, not a sacerdotal function, not a ceremony of the court of Rome, which the devil has not copied in this country;" and the young De Beauvoir says, "What struck me was the outward resemblance of the religious ceremonies of the temples to those of our own religion. A bonze, surrounded with clouds of incense, and dressed in a

* Dhap. xxxiv.

† The rules of the order are translated in Beal's "Catena," p. 240. The initiation is described by Rhys Davids in "Buddhism," p. 161. The 250 Monastic rules were translated into Chinese from the Sanskrit about 70 A.D., and are therefore anterior to Christian Monasticism ("Catena," p. 189).

chasuble of red silk, officiated with great pomp.* The rock-cut Buddhist temples of India, which date 200 years before our era, have a nave, side aisles, and an apse round which the aisle is carried, resembling in form the early Christian churches. The rock-cut monasteries are also earlier in date than the Christian; there are between 700 and 800 in India, dating from 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

The wife of Buddha and their son were among the first admissions into the conventual orders; others quickly followed. We read of a young man whom Buddha called: "Follow me, Yasa." The youth passed on; but by night he returned secretly, and was so won over by the loving character of the Master, that he became his disciple. He ordained fifty-four of Yasa's friends with the formula, "Follow me." One day a rich young man came to Buddha clothed in costly garments and riding in a sumptuous chariot; he wished to become a disciple. Buddha, looking on him, bid him return home and selling all that he had, bestow his wealth in charity, so as to fit himself to become a disciple.† Some joyous youths, looking in a wood for a dancing-girl, who had left them after a night's debauch, lighted on Buddha seated under a tree, and asked him if had seen the girl, he answered, "Listen to me, O youths! I will ask you a question. Whether is it better, think you, to find yourselves, or to find the woman whom ye seek?" They replied, "It would certainly be better to find ourselves." Then Buddha invited them to sit down, and he taught them the way of salvation, and they became his disciples. He placed the highest ideal of purity before his disciples:—"Say to yourself, 'I am placed in this sinful world; let me be as the spotless lily, unsoiled by the mud in which it grows.' The heart is the busy contriver of lust; compose the heart, and those evil thoughts will all be still."

To all men Buddha taught the laws which ought to govern the life of man. We will mention a few of these.

One day Buddha found his disciples in fierce anger because the Master had been reviled by a priest. Gently does he rebuke them: "Beloved! if others speak against me, or against the truth, be not displeased with them, or you will not be able to judge whether they speak truly or not."

There was no limit to the forgiveness of injuries. Among the parting words he spoke on the evening of his death are these: "If a man should do you such injury as to chop your body in pieces limb for limb, yet you ought to keep your heart in perfect control; no anger or resentment should affect you, nor a word of reproach escape your lips; for if you once give way to a bitter

* Voyage, Japan, p. 151.

† "Rom. Hist." 378.

thought, you have erred from the right way." "To a man who foolishly does me wrong, I will return my ungrudging love; the more evil comes from him to me, the more good shall return from me to him." He explains to a young nobleman named Chamah the four aspects under which patience exhibits itself in a son of Buddha: "When reviled, he revileth not again; when smitten, he bears the blow without resentment; when treated with anger and passion, he returns love and good-will; when threatened with death, he bears no malice." "Liberality, courtesy, kindness, and unselfishness are to society what the linch-pin is to the chariot."

He was singularly sympathetic, and could be touched by every tale of sorrow. The only child of a young mother died, and she carried the little cold body in her bosom, and going from house to house, entreated all she met to give her medicine to cure the child. Among others she met Buddha. "Lord and master," she said, "give me some medicine for my child." He bid her bring a handful of mustard from a house in which no child, parent, wife, husband, or slave, had died. She went to search; but she found that in every home death had entered, all said to her gently, "Lady, the living are few, the dead are many." Then at last, when she found no house free from death, the truth broke gently upon her. She laid down her baby-boy and returned to Buddha, who, when he saw her, said, "You thought that you alone had lost a son; the law of death is among all living creatures; there is nothing that abides." She became his disciple.*

He set no limit to the power of faith. One day as Buddha was preaching by the side of a deep and rapid river, a man appeared on the other bank and walked across upon the surface of the water. The villagers, astonished, asked him by what power he did so marvellous a feat, he answered, "I asked the people on the other side if I might cross without a boat, they said, 'Yes, you can cross without fear;' then I walked over because I believed. Simple faith and nothing more enabled me to do so." Buddha said, "It is well spoken! well spoken! Faith like yours alone can save the world; such faith alone can enable men to walk across dryshod to the other shore." "Faith with obedience is the path of wisdom." †

"As flowers, when waved to and fro by the wind, scatter their scent far and wide, so wide is the renown of the accumulated merits of him who once is born and lives as he ought."

* Encyclopædia Britannica, Art. "Buddhism."

† Dhap. iv. The Dhammapada dates about 100 B.C.; it was translated into Chinese about 149 A.D., by An-shi-ko, a Prince-Royal of the Parthians (An-si), who left his kingdom, became a Buddhist monk, and went as a missionary to China.

Buddha once sent Ananda to ask an old man of eighty years why he had pulled down his old house and built a larger one, when death was so near. The man gave his reason, and stated the purposes of his numerous chambers. Buddha said, "'I have children and wealth,' such is the constant thought of the fool. He is not even master of himself; what then are his children and his money? The fool who says he is wise is foolish indeed." On the old man returning to his dwelling he suddenly fell dead from a blow.*

He was very tender and loving towards children. A child one day came beside him as he sat at a feast, and covered himself over with his robe. The disciples wished to drive him away, but "the World-honoured One forbade them, and said, 'Let him stay, and let him hide himself in my robes.'"

V. *The Missionaries.*—The salvation of all men was a new thought in the world. It necessitated another thought equally new, viz., the duty of preaching the way of salvation to the world. The spirit of the true missionary inspired the soul of Buddha. As soon as he had sixty disciples, he said to them, "There is laid on us, who know the truth and who have been thereby made free, the duty of giving mankind the priceless blessing of salvation: go ye and visit the towns and villages throughout the land, preach the excellent law, and teach men to believe in the triple gem, Buddha, the law, and the church. Go ye, prepare the way for my coming; I will retire for a time into solitude." "Two by two" he sent them forth, and bid them take "only one robe, and one alms-bowl," for they were vowed to poverty. Poverty was their bride, Charity their sister. As an earlier Buddha, Wassabhu Tathagata, had said, "As the butterfly alights on the flower and destroys not its form or its sweetness, but sipping forthwith departs, so the mendicant follower of Buddha takes not nor hurts another's possessions."† When he was left alone Buddha reflected, "These disciples of mine are gone to convert the world. Delivered from sin and at peace, they can now deliver others." "I will not die until this holy religion becomes known to many people, and is grown great, and is universally published among men." He then went into the solitudes of Uravilva, and prepared himself by fasting and meditation for the conversion of the fire-worshipper Kasyapa and his brothers. This missionary plan he carried out every year. In the rainy season he gathered round him his disciples for instruction, and in the dry season he sent them forth to preach the way of salvation and to make disciples.

The history of these missionaries is full of interest. The spirit that animated them may be gathered from the story of one who

* Dhap. xiii.

† "Catena," p. 159.

asked leave to preach to his relations. "The people of that place," said Buddha, "are exceedingly violent. If they revile you, what will you do?"—"I will not revile again."—"If they strike you?"—"I will not strike in return."—"If they try to kill you?"—"Death is no evil in itself; I shall try neither to hasten nor to delay my departure." When threatened by an infuriated mob, one of the missionaries of later times confronted them with the words, "If the whole world were to come to terrify me, they could not cause me to be afraid." Then when he had persuaded the people to listen, he dismissed them with the simple words, "Do not hereafter give way to anger; do not destroy the crops, for all men love happiness. Show mercy to all living beings, and let men dwell in peace." * Missionary zeal carried on the work after Buddha's death, whose disciples went forth into all lands; and it received a great impulse after the Council of Asoka. The names of the missionaries mentioned by the chronicler are inscribed on the relics found at some of the stations.† The old chronicler closes his first chapter on missions with the words, "Who would demur when the salvation of the world is at stake!"

The success of Buddhist missionaries is shown by the fact that after more than two thousand years "Buddhism rules supreme in Central, Northern, Eastern, and Southern Asia, and it gradually absorbs whatever there is left of aboriginal heathenism in that vast and populous area." ‡

VI. *Buddha's Death*.—When Buddha was eighty years of age he felt death coming on. He lay down under some sal trees, and calling his favourite disciples round him, he conversed with them long and earnestly. "It was now the middle of the night," says the Sutra; "all was perfectly quiet and still." For the sake of his disciples he gave a brief summary of the law. We will quote a few passages: "Beloved, after my death keep my word with reverence, as the poor man the pearl of great price which he has found. . . . Keep the body temperate in all things. . . . By self-control and upright thought aim at emancipation. Conceal none of your faults, but confess them before the congregation. . . . Be content with such things as are allotted you. Keep your senses within bound, just as a shepherd with his crook prevents the sheep from straying into the neighbouring pastures. . . . The heart is lord of the senses, govern therefore your heart well, for it is like a venomous snake, a wild beast, a cruel robber, a great

* Max Müller, "Chips," vol. iv. p. 257.

† Koppen, "Die Religion des Buddha," p. 188.

‡ "Chips," vol. iv. p. 265.

fire. . . . Restrain therefore and keep in subjection your heart ; let it not get the mastery. Above all things, let modesty govern every thought and every word of your daily life. It is characteristic of truly great men to keep the rules of moral restraint without wavering, and to exercise patience without tiring. Strive after wisdom, for it is a lamp shining in darkness, a medicine for all diseases, a hatchet to cut down the tree of sorrow, a strong and trustworthy boat to cross the sea of old age, disease, and death. Continual perseverance is like a little fire that keeps on burning, but he who tires in the practice of religion is like a fire that goes out. Never forget self-examination and meditation ; for if you neglect them, all perseverance is at an end. In the practice of these you put on a helmet of defence, so that no sword can hurt you, and no enemy get the advantage over you. Think only of the words I have given you ; meditate on them on the mountain-pass and in the depths of the valley, in the congregation and in the solitary cell. I, as the good physician, knowing the disease which affects you, give this as a medicine fit for the case ; without this you die. Like the guide that knows the way, I direct you whither to go and what path to follow ; without this you perish."

As Socrates in the "Phædo"* asks his friends if they have any doubts respecting the future life, so Buddha asks his disciples if they have doubts concerning the Four Noble Truths which are the foundation of his teaching. They answer, that their only thought is "one of grief that the World-honoured One is about to depart and enter Nirvana, just when we have entered on the practice of the law,—as in the night a flash of lightning lights up the way for the weary traveller and is gone, and he left to wander in the dark." He said, "Lament not my departure. If I continued in the world it would do no good ; those who were to be saved are saved ; those who are not saved shall be saved by the seeds of truth I have sown. The word I have preached is everlasting and imperishable. The world is fast bound in fetters and oppressed with affliction ; I now give it deliverance, a physician who brings heavenly wisdom." His favourite disciple, Ananda, here turned aside to weep.† "I am not yet perfect, and my master is passing away." Buddha called him : "O Ananda ! do not weep, let not your heart be troubled. Sooner or later we must part from all we hold most dear."

Then to all his disciples : "When I have passed away, and am no longer with you in bodily presence, do not think that the Buddha has left you, and is not still in your midst. You have my words, my explanations of the deep things

* "Phædo," 84.

† Cf. "Phædo," 59, 117.

of truth, the laws I have laid down ; let them be your guide—Buddha has not left you. Beloved ! if you revere my memory, *love all the disciples as you love me.* Love my words. Beloved ! keep your minds on these. All other things change, my word changeth not. I will speak no more with you. I desire to depart. I desire Nirvana. These are my last words with you." As the sun rose, the old man calmly and unconsciously passed away.*

As at Buddha's birth the aged Asita laid his venerable head beneath the infant's feet, so at the funeral the "old and wrinkled" Kasyapa thrice perambulated the pyre,† and said, "May I once more behold the sacred feet, and bow my head before them." ‡

Legends collect around the funeral, which was by cremation, after the "old rule" of the wheel kings." None could move the sacred coffin, which rose by itself into the air ; none could light the funereal pyre, which became self-enkindled. Then, in order that the relics of the sacred body might be preserved, Sakra, pouring water from the golden pitcher, extinguished the flames of the royal sandalwood pyre.§ The relics, which were like a heap of pearls, shed around sweet perfume. Afterwards came gorgeous retinues of the princes carrying golden vessels for the relics, each emulous to raise precious chaityas over the remains.

The personal influence of Buddha while he lived, the enthusiasm for humanity with which he inspired his followers, the attractive beauty of character which he bequeathed "a rich legacy" to mankind, place him as the central figure of his religion. The result has been that he has been idealised until he is regarded as divine, and omniscient, and free from all sin. "There is no deity above him ; he stands out alone, unrivalled, unequalled, and unapproachable."|| Prayers are addressed to him, flowers and incense offered, and his relics are enshrined in stupas. Nevertheless, Gautama stands but as one in a long chain of

* "Sutra of Buddha's Dying Instructions," translated in Beal's Letter to Dr. Rost, p. 9 ; and Rhys Davids, *Encycl. Brit.*

† So at the funeral rites of Patrocles—

"Thrice in procession round the dead they drove
Their coursers sleek."—II. xxiii. 13.

‡ The last act towards a corpse among the Jews is for the friends to uncover the feet, and touching the two great toes, ask pardon for offences against them, and desire to be remembered in the other world. At the entombment of Pope Pius IX., the Cardinals, in passing the body on their way to their seats in the chapel of the choir, each stopped for a moment and kissed his foot.

§ So Apollo sends a miraculous rain to preserve the body of Cræsus. *Herod.*, i. 84.

|| "Analysis of Religious Belief," Lord Amberley, ii. 146.]

Buddhas who have preceded him, and who will follow. His teaching was higher and nobler than the teaching of those who came before him; the teaching of the Buddhas who will in the course of the ages follow will be greater and more divine than was his. Therefore he bade men look forward to and hail their advent.* The next Buddha will be Maitreya, the Buddha of charity.†

It is difficult to fix the exact date of Buddha's death; it may have been as early as 477,‡ or as late as 412 B.C.§ Upon his death, Kasyapa claimed to be leader of the assembly, because Buddha had said to him, "Thou shalt wear my hempen robes." Therefore Kasyapa, fearing lest the words of Buddha should be forgotten, summoned an assembly of five hundred disciples; and the young Ananda, Buddha's beloved disciple, recited aloud the Sutras. Missionaries carried the words abroad to all lands; the religion spread over India, and King Aśoka made it the state religion of his dominions about the year 250 B.C. He promulgated decrees which remain to this day inscribed on stone pillars and cut in the living rock, enjoining morality and toleration, and justice and charity, on his subjects; commanding the foundation of hospitals; || appointing a minister of religion, who should preserve the purity of the faith and protect the aborigines and subject nations, and a minister of education, who should promote the instruction of the women in the harems and elsewhere in the principles of the religion of Buddha. The son and daughter of Aśoka introduced it into Ceylon, where it still retains its purity. Missionaries carried it into Kashmir in the first century A.D., and into Burmah in the fifth century, and thence into Siam in the seventh century. In the golden age of India, the state religion was Buddhist. We catch glimpses of its influence in the travels of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hian in 400 A.D., of Sung-Yun in 518, and of Hiouen-Tsang in 629-648 A.D.¶ For a thousand years it maintained its supremacy. In the eighth or ninth century A.D., there seems to have been a reaction against it in favour of Brahmanism, and a persecution to have taken place, which was so thorough that there is now scarcely a Buddhist in India. In this it resembles the history of Christianity; the Aryan race from whose bosom it sprang cast it forth, and it became the religion of a race entirely different, the Turanian.

VII. Christians of all shades of opinion have spoken with

* Cf. "Phædo," 78; Alcibiades, ii.

† Maitreya, possessed of love, (root *Maitru*, love or charity.) Fa-hian, p. 20 n.

‡ Max Müller, "Chips," i. 311.

§ Rhys David's "Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon."

|| *Westminster Review*, New Series, civ., p. 435.

¶ "Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales," par Hiouen-Tsang, en A.D. 648, St. Julien. Paris, 1857.

reverence of Buddha. The Venetian Marco Polo said, "Indeed had he been a Christian, he would have been a great saint of our Lord Jesus Christ, so good and pure was the life he led;" and he tells us how pilgrims came to Adam's Peak in Ceylon "from very long distances with great devotion, just as Christians go to the shrine of Messer Saint James in Gallicia."* M. St. Hilaire says, "Je n'hésite pas à ajouter que, sauf le Christ tout seul, il n'est point, parmi les fondateurs de religion, de figure plus pure ni plus touchante que celle de Bouddha. Sa vie n'a point de tache. Son constant héroïsme égale sa conviction; et si la théorie qu'il préconise est fausse, les exemples personnels qu'il donne sont irréprochable. Il est le modèle achevé de toutes les vertus qu'il prêcha."† An Anglican clergyman, Mr. Baring-Gould, bears witness that "the ethic code of Buddha can hardly be ranked lower than that of Christianity; and it is immeasurably superior to every heathen system that the world has ever seen."‡

But, most remarkable of all, is the fact that Buddha is a canonised saint of the Christian Church. St. John of Damascus in the eighth century wrote a religious romance, of which the narrative is taken from the "Lalita Vistara," the story of Buddha's life. It became very popular in the Middle Ages, and the hero was canonised. He has his festal days in the Roman communion on 27th November, in the Eastern on 26th August, under the name of Josaphat, a corruption of Bodhisattva.§

In all times and in all places men have lived pure and holy lives, and have shown themselves Christians even "before Christ came in the flesh."|| Buddha, whose teaching approaches nearer than does that of any other founder of a religion to the teaching of Christ, has won, by the attractive beauty of his character, the unconscious homage of Christendom. He has been placed in the golden roll of Christian saints, side by side with St. Francis d'Assisi and other founders of religious orders, with St. Francis Xavier and other missionary heroes, and with Francis de Sales and other saintly men. Worthily does he stand among "the sons of God who were righteous in their lives."¶ "THEY WERE LOVELY AND PLEASANT IN THEIR LIVES, AND IN THEIR DEATH THEY WERE NOT DIVIDED."

* Yule's ed., ii. 258. "He only is a pilgrim who goeth towards or towards the house of St. James, . . . who journey unto the holy house of Gallicia."—*Dante, Vita Nuova.*

† "Le Bouddha et sa Religion," introd. v.

‡ "Development of Christianity," i. 357.

§ Max Müller, "Chips," iv. 174-189; Beal's "Fa-hian," p. 86, n.

|| Cf. St. Aug., "Retract.," i. 13.

¶ Plato, "Apology," 41.

ART. III.—AN INDIAN DISTRICT : ITS PEOPLE AND ADMINISTRATION.

IN the October number of this Review we attempted to sketch the influences which have made the Hindu population what it now is. We dwelt at some length on points which connected the subject with studies more popular with English readers, but our main object was to supply the necessary data for the consideration of those questions of practical administration the importance of which we urged and the neglect of which we had to deplore. We have now to describe the actual condition of the people and the working of our system of district administration.

The total area of the North-Western Provinces is 81,000 square miles, of which 42,000 are cultivated, 12,000 culturable but not cultivated, and 27,000 uncultivated, including valuable forest tracts and comparatively little absolutely valueless tracts.

The population in 1873 was nearly 31,000,000, the average density to the square mile being 378. Excluding the wild forest tracts on the north, south and south-west (where population hardly exceeds fifty to the square mile), the average density exceeds 500. That of the Benares district is nearly 800.

The Hindus number 26,500,000. Of the 4,000,000 of Mussulmans, one-half are confined to the Rohilkhand division in the north. There are over 3,000,000 of Brahmins, most of whom do not differ in occupation or culture from members of other high castes. The Rajputs (claiming to represent the warrior class) and the Baniyas (representing the merchant class) are next in number. Three hundred and four inferior classes are reckoned, but the subdivisions may be indefinitely multiplied. There are only 7648 native Christians, and these as a rule live in separate communities.

The agricultural population forms 86 per cent. of the whole. There are 90,000 villages—204 towns with populations exceeding 8000, and thirteen with populations exceeding 50,000. The population of Benares, the popular capital, is 174,000, and of Allahabad, the official capital, 142,000. The greater part of the rural population, whether labourers, small tenants, or small proprietors, are in most instances wretchedly poor. They are badly housed, badly fed, badly clothed, and have hardly any interest in life beyond the care of sustaining it. They marry when mere boys, and are prolific in proportion to their poverty. Thrift is unknown. A serious failure of crops throws them at once on the charity of Government or of individuals. On the other hand, it

must be acknowledged that the climate and their mode of life are such as to render their wants few. As long as the means of animal existence are plentiful they are at least cheerful and contented. All their requirements, except metals for vessels and ornaments (which are necessary to render existence tolerable even to the poorest woman), are supplied by their own province. Yet when times are good they substitute on festal occasions the finer cloths of Manchester for the coarse fabrics of the country. Those who are better off—the considerable tenants and the landlords—live in better houses, keep ponies or horses, and perhaps a little jingling carriage, wear Manchester goods exclusively, and eat finer grains, with more melted butter and more savoury-spices. But in culture and ideal of life they differ little from the poor. Their one ambition is to exercise authority or make a show of wealth. They rejoice in having numerous dependants and receiving the homage of their inferiors. If they are able to maintain an establishment of Brahmins—learned or not—for the due observance of religious rites, to give liberal alms to Brahmins and the poor, and celebrate with decent pomp the festivals social and religious which custom prescribes, their prestige is secured. The style of a baron differs from that of his poorer brethren only in the greater extent, not the greater elegance of his establishment. While the small and squalid courtyard of one entertains only sixteen squalid attendants, the large and squalid courtyard of the other entertains a hundred. Solid masonry may take the place of mud-built walls. Amid the labyrinth of ungainly and gaudy structures may here and there be found some pleasing architectural effects. But these are due not to the taste of the owner or his fathers, but to the accidental employment of an architect whose success was due perhaps rather to the mechanical imitation of older types than to original self-appreciative genius.

The great duties of life are to have families, to get suitable matches for their children, especially the daughters, to be dutiful to all their relatives, and support their friends through thick and thin; to perform daily the rites prescribed to their order, such as bathing at the proper times with the due ceremonies; avoidance of eating, drinking, and smoking with members of forbidden castes; avoidance of forbidden kinds of food or modes of eating; visits to temples and sacred places, and pilgrimage to distant shrines at least once in their life. •

We have already attempted to sketch their vague religious feeling. The ceremonial at the temples, as far as the action of the worshippers is concerned, is similar to that of the more superstitious forms of Roman Catholic worship. The forms of devotion to idols retain more of the fetish rites of the aborigines than of the nature-worship of the Aryans. The formulæ used by

members of the higher castes in their daily acts of personal worship breathe more of the old spirit, and often are expressions of a pure and spiritual pantheistic belief; but in most cases long use has robbed them of all high significance, and changed them to mere empty charms. The family and domestic rites celebrated by the head of each household of the superior castes retain the primitive features of ancestor-worship, which affects the minds of the people more strongly perhaps than any other element of their belief. The belief in demons, spirits, and charms, which exists in or co-exists with every religion the world has seen, forms a recognised part of popular Hinduism. Of the lower castes, many are hardly recognised as within the pale of Hinduism. Speaking generally, their religion may be said to consist in a vague belief in the efficacy of the ceremonies performed for them by Brahmins; an observance, more or less lax, of the rules as to bathing, food, and caste; special devotion to one or more definite deities, placable, if not benevolent, whom they vaguely regard as being or representing an omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent God; and that tendency to regard devotionally anything that powerfully impresses them, to which, as to a common origin, we refer the development of nature-worship and of ancestor-worship.

Amongst all classes notions of morality exist, but they have no necessary connection with their supernatural beliefs. Religious controversy has led many of the learned Brahmins to explain away the apparently immoral tendency of many of the incidents recorded in their scriptures; while the yearning to combine righteousness with devotion, which the purer spirits of all ages have felt, has led in our time to the reformed belief of the Brahma Samaj. But these movements have never taken hold of the mass of the people.

Family affection is strong. Nowhere is greater respect shown to the aged and afflicted. Charity is practised as a religious duty, but often in the most mischievous mode—the virtue being supposed to lie in giving—not in doing good by giving. Truth and honesty are at least held in respect as abstract virtues. The splendid works of public utility sometimes constructed at the expense of individuals do not prove that those who constructed them were public-spirited, but they do prove that liberality for the public good has come to be regarded as meritorious. The Hindus are capable of enthusiasm, but their sphere of sympathy is narrow. Good temper and politeness are innate in the humblest labourer. Europeans, who often call their own want of temper and taste honesty of speech, often say that natives are cringing. No doubt they sometimes do cringe, and cringe from mean motives, but their apparently extravagant expressions of respect and devotion are generally mere polite commonplaces, used on the assumption that

a European likes, as they do, a show of deference. The great faults of the Hindu character are the results of the history of the race. For ages their only weapon has been finesse. They believe the end justifies the means in all cases. They have none of that enthusiasm of humanity which has shaped the ethics of the West. Their theoretical standard of morals is less high than ours ; their wish to act up to it is less strong ; their moral energy in carrying out their wish is less intense. That this is due in part to the atmosphere in which they are brought up, as well as to defect of character, is shown by the fact that Europeans born and bred amongst natives exhibit in a less degree all their faults. Hindus have great patience and power of doing monotonous work, but they are seldom capable of sharp, vigorous, sustained effort in an unaccustomed direction. They are imitative, not inventive. The nature of their literature may seem to disprove this estimate of the genius of the people ; for Hindu thought has produced metaphysicians and poets, but never a historian or speculator in social science. But two considerations explain the apparent inconsistency. Literature and science were subordinated to religion, and indeed justified their existence only by subserving the practical uses of ritual. The unreal character of theological speculation spoils the appetite of scholars for the sober results of history ; while the absence of real sympathy with man as man, and the rooted habit of contemplating this life as a troubled moment in an eternity of struggle, prevented their feeling any interest in practical schemes for the amelioration of the condition of their kind. Christianity alone may truly boast that the direct tendency of its teachings is to foster man's love for man and make it fruitful in action.

Like every attempt to sketch in general terms the character of a race, this must be understood as subject to many exceptions. Hindus are sometimes plain-spoken, or choleric, or enthusiastic for the good of man, as Englishmen are sometimes politic, or polite, or mean-spirited.

One of the most striking features of native character is the love of state and ceremonial, which they carry into the smallest affairs of life. By this time they have probably arrived at a theory that English state and etiquette consists, under ordinary circumstances, in the entire absence of state and etiquette. They have ceased to feel affronted, and perhaps respect us for being superior to conditions which weigh so heavily on them, but our disregard of native feeling in the matter makes them doubt our wish to please, and renders relations less cordial than they might be.

The monotony of life is broken not only by domestic occurrences, but by religious festivals and fairs, in which the performance of religious duties is combined with business and pleasure.

Nothing can be brighter than the aspect, nothing more good-humoured than the atmosphere, of such scenes. From all the country round flock the villagers in their gayest attire to watch the shows, to join in the games (which differ little from those of an English fair), and to lay in a stock of the wares suitable for their simple requirements. The Hindu is seen at his best, as the Englishman is seen at his worst, in his amusements. Then, peculiar to particular seasons are certain minor diversions, seldom grave, and often coarse and indecent. The reading of the epics is the best feature of village life. Actors and mimics are highly appreciated. Though indecent images and emblems abound, and there is a want of what constitutes delicacy according to English notions, wilful immodesty or indecency is very rare. The women are, as a rule, chaste and affectionate to their husbands and children. Fondness of children and delicate sympathy with their ways is one of the most pleasing traits of Hindu character; but parents are generally foolishly indulgent. Women are, as a rule, kindly treated, but seldom trusted, and always kept in subjection. A Hindu puts his women in the seclusion of the zenana as a "note" of his increased respectability, just as an Englishman sets up a carriage. Men of all castes mix freely in public, but there is little domestic intercourse except among kinsmen.

The aspect of the vast plains of which the thickly populated parts of the North-West Provinces consist is parched and dreary in the hot weather, but in the cold season and the rains is often highly picturesque. Trees exquisite in form and foliage, fields full of bloom, graceful shrines, and often ruins which only need ivy to be romantic, everywhere meet the view. But the ordinary native seems blind to the beautiful. No prospect pleases him so much as the reeking bazar. To art he responds as little as to nature. There are many artists but few connoisseurs. Yet anything monstrous in kind or scale pleases him immensely.

When it is said that the land of the country is held by village communities, or by those who have usurped or acquired the rights of the village communities, it must be understood that the term "village" refers to the lands, and not to the site of the houses in which the community and its dependants dwell. Isolated dwellings are almost unknown. In nearly every village is a spot where, in closely clustering groups, dwell the various families of proprietors, of tenants, of labourers, of mechanics whose services are needed in the daily life of the village, of the various village servants—such as accountant, washerman, watchman, and messenger—of the Brahmin priests and religious guides, and of the Baniya, who is generally at once a money-lender and corn-dealer. We look in vain for the moss-covered walls, and quaint old gables which give

such human interest to the aspect of our English villages. The crumbling walls of mud and fragile roofs of tiles or straw seem almost as spontaneous a product of the soil as the rank luxuriance of vegetable life around ; and both seem fitting surroundings for the teeming swarms of human beings that are born, and toil, and pass away amid such scenes.

In every large town and village are shops well stocked with the wares in ordinary demand. The method of dealing on the part of both buyer and seller is to spend as much time as possible over the smallest possible transaction. The enemies of co-operation and trading on the large scale would find their ideal realised. There are whole streets of shops, each with a small stock exactly similar to that of the neighbouring shops. Yet the organisation of the great mercantile houses and the banking houses is so complete and economical, that English goods can often be had cheaper in Benares than in London.

There is as yet little indigenous manufacturing enterprise, and no rich manufacturing class. But English enterprise has set an example which is rapidly being followed. Hindus as workmen show great aptitude for every grade of manufacturing industry. If the evils which generally attend the development of manufactures be checked by Factory Acts and a scheme of education which would in practice be compulsory, national regeneration, which we have hitherto tried in vain to bring about from above, may commence from below. In a country where the normal rate of interest is 12 per cent., banking and money-lending are naturally the chief sources of wealth. The "great men," as natives call them, who unite these professions are prominent by their wealth and their power over the fortunes of nearly all classes. Living as they do in the city near which is the Civil Station of the district, they come into closer relation with the magistrates than the large landholders. They owe their prosperity to our rule, and have therefore every motive to make themselves agreeable. We do not complain that any influential class should be able to make its influence felt, but we consider it a great misfortune that almost the only influence recognised is that of wealth, often gained by the most unscrupulous means.

There is, it is true, no aristocracy in India save that of wealth and lauded property. Character, culture, even birth, these may secure respect, but do not inspire fear, which with natives is the most powerful motive to outward displays of reverence. Indian society can never be healthy till this feeling changes. We ought in every way to protest against it. At present, what there is of culture and of worth in native society is seldom associated with wealth and power. Our officers are seldom sufficiently well acquainted with Oriental literature to appreciate the culture, and

have not sufficient intimacy with native society to discover and encourage the worth. The will is seldom wanting, but the precarious tenure of office and the demands made on their time by purely official work at first defeat their efforts and at last destroy their enthusiasm. In every district the incumbents of certain offices—whether native or European—form a kind of official aristocracy, to which the native aristocracy of the district pay a traditional deference. On the arrival of a newly appointed officer, the residents of the district who have a prescriptive right to do so hasten to pay him their respects. The acknowledgment of this right to an “interview” with an official is a recognition of social status, flattering to the pride of most natives, and practically useful to them in their dealings with their fellows. Those whose position is equivocal will often resort to the meanest intrigue, and expose themselves to indignities which would be intolerable to men of good standing, in order to attain to the coveted distinction. It would seem reasonable to expect that at least the highest European officers would be placed in a proper position to exercise with due discretion and decent ceremony this important social prerogative of Government, and that a standard of honour should be established, and degrees of precedence roughly assigned. But in practice the habitual visitors of the district officials are men who find it worth their while to give liberal gratuities to the livery-men or other native underlings likely to facilitate their access; who have contrived to ingratiate themselves with officials by furthering their wishes in public or private matters, or whose wealth and power are matters of public notoriety. Comparatively few visit from any personal liking to the official, or unselfish devotion to the Government he serves. All have to bear frequent indignities, discomfort, or disappointment. For this we have to blame, not the overworked and moderately paid official, but the Government which does not recognise that the discharge of this most important duty involves expenditure of time and money. Amongst the many evils which result from the present system of frequent transfers of officials, not the least is the discouragement it gives to those who would wish to base their claim to intimacy with the representatives of Government on honest merit. When a new official arrives in a district, too many new matters engage his attention to admit of his making inquiries of his colleagues as to the character of the persons who seek interviews. A favourite term of native praise is “discriminator of merit.” To such a title no official can now lay claim. Just and unjust, all the visitors come to pay their respects. Just and unjust alike, they meet with civility or rudeness according to the mood or temper of the official. It cannot be wondered at, then, that many gentlemen whose position does not necessitate their keeping up the form of

intimacy with the district officers, but whose integrity and influence with native society would render their friendship a source of strength to Government, keep sullenly aloof, while the mass of those who cultivate their intimacy are men whose good wishes are neither a tribute to the merit of our rule nor a guarantee of its stability. Englishmen, being thus brought into contact chiefly with the more selfish and ungraceful elements of native society, come in time to disbelieve in the possibility of the existence of disinterested good-will, and acquire a habit of feeling towards natives which widens the breach.

We have already suggested to the reader the process by which the family organisation of the early Aryans developed first into tribal organisation, and ultimately into the system of village communities. We have suggested the process by which the rights of the village communities were usurped by individual members of the communities or by strangers. We have described, too, the mode in which communities absorbed strangers; and retained as tenants or as serfs members of the race they had dispossessed. The transfer of the rights of the communities to individuals, which commenced under the Mussulman regime, has been stimulated by the power our laws permit to each co-proprietor to separate his share from the rest, and alienate it at his pleasure, and by their recognition of a principle unknown to native usage, that rights to real property are liable to sale in execution of a decree of the civil courts or in satisfaction of revenue arrears. Though the process of disintegration continues with ever-increasing impetus, the existing phenomena of village life can only be understood by realising that notions derived from the old patriarchal, tribal, and brotherhood systems still underlie the notions derived from the new relations.

Where the rights of the village communities are still maintained, the office of headman has lost whatever prestige once attached to it. Small individual proprietors have hardly a higher social position than large tenants. But the proprietor of a whole village or of several villages is regarded with great respect, and exercises great power, not only over his dependants, but in the neighbourhood generally. Feuds between neighbouring proprietors as to boundaries or grazing rights are but too common, and give rise to sanguinary and often fatal riots. A man who succeeds by long ancestral right naturally exercises greater influence than one whose rights are of more recent origin. But where the original proprietors have been dispossessed by fraud or the operation of laws repugnant to native usage, and have been allowed to remain as tenants on the lands once theirs, they still continue to be regarded by themselves and the people generally as the *de jure* proprietors, while the proprietors recognised by law

are distinguished by terms such as "auction purchaser," showing the origin of their possession. In such cases the legal proprietors have hardly any influence, and seldom reside on the lands. Many large estates have been let on lease for long terms. The lessee seldom succeeds in acquiring greater influence than his legal power of coercion gives him. Lastly, a great part of the proprietary right of the country has been mortgaged to money-lenders or sold in satisfaction of revenue or civil court decrees, and bought by wealthy bankers residing in the large towns. The estates thus acquired are managed by stewards, men generally destitute of any sympathy with the tenants, and unscrupulous in their efforts to increase the profits of their employer and themselves. In some cases, it is true, such management is wise and liberal. In many it is not worse than that of the unthrifty proprietors who were dispossessed. But hereditary tenants will bear patiently from hereditary landlords treatment they will resent from new-comers. As a rule, there are no relations between the new money-lending proprietors and the old tenants except those established by law. The stewards resort to every device to attack the privileges of the tenants, and to substitute for them dependants of their own. The tenants, on the other hand, combine to resist even the legal claims of the landlord. When the temper on both sides is such as we describe, it is easy to foretell that resort will be had to fraud and violence; that owing to the consequent corruption of the neighbourhood and the inefficiency of our modes of judicial investigation, legal redress will be at the best uncertain, and that the process of wrangling and corruption will continue till one or other side is exhausted in the struggle. But the evil does not end here. The annals of district administration present many instances of estates in which the demoralisation produced by hostile relations of the kind continues long after the first disputes which caused it have been composed. That litigation is the parent of litigation and of crime is a law the truth of which, as regards India, we shall have frequent occasion to urge. It is easier to deplore from a sentimental as well as from a philanthropic point of view the extinction of the old landed proprietors than to suggest a remedy. Ancestral rights are sold only when all other means of satisfying the claim are exhausted. It can hardly be proposed that Government or individuals should forego their rights in order to secure a spendthrift from the consequences of his folly. An impoverished landlord is as likely as a speculative one to prove grasping and illiberal. The evil is in truth rather a symptom than a malady. The old proprietors lose their land because, under the only system that can give free play to ameliorating influences, they have not inherent vigour enough to secure their survival. The only possible successors to them are

the money-lenders, because, in the present conditions of Indian society, that profession attracts all the capital of the country. Under a less benevolent rule than ours the proprietors would suffer as much from the greed or caprice of the sovereign power or the enmity of neighbouring landlords as they now do by the unintended and unwelcome operation of our laws. The money-lender would be a class far more rapacious and less useful than it now is. For it must be remembered that the assistance they give to improvident owners and cultivators enables the former in most cases to meet the Government demand of revenue. The most ardent advocate of Government action to check the operation of tendencies inevitable in a society and conditions such as India now presents, will hardly contend that the advantage of having a fixed, regularly recurring demand, does not outweigh the disadvantages which it is admitted attend its exaction in some cases. The process must continue till incapable proprietors are weeded out. Unnecessary hardships may be avoided by giving the collectors of districts ample discretionary powers; but if these powers are to be wisely and effectively used, the reforms we shall hereafter urge for giving the collectors greater influence and better knowledge must be adopted. And to check the evils resulting from unavoidable transfers, the administration of justice must, at the cost of any violence to the prejudice of English lawyers, be rendered effective. For permanent amelioration we must trust to the spread of education and higher notions of duty amongst all classes, and especially the large landholders, who are now as a rule far more illiterate than many classes of their social inferiors, and to the creation of a wealthy and intelligent mercantile class by the development of the manufacturing resources of the country. And here we may anticipate what it is the main object of this article to urge, that at the base of all possible reform lies the duty of rendering our judicial system effective by bringing it more into harmony with the conditions of native life, and of ensuring that the principal officer who represents Government in each district shall be zealous, good tempered, and intelligent; that he shall be invested with ample powers, and unhampered by vexatious control; that his position shall be rendered honourable, comfortable, and practically permanent, in order that, with ample knowledge, energy, influence, and opportunity, he may not only superintend and control the working of the ordinary administration, but discharge efficiently those social functions for the discharge of which Government does not at present exact any guarantee.

There are many classes of tenants. Sometimes ex-proprietors cultivate at favourable rates. In the eastern districts, where the Permanent Settlement was introduced at the close of the last century, cultivators who are known or presumed to have held their

lands at that time enjoy by law fixity of tenure without liability to enhancement of rent. Such holdings are often of far greater value than the corresponding proprietary rights. Cultivators who have held twelve years and upwards have everywhere what is called a right of occupancy—*i.e.*, they are entitled to hold as long as they infringe none of the conditions of their tenure. But their rent may be enhanced in any of the three following cases:—(1.) If it be less than that paid by tenants of a similar class cultivating similar land in the neighbourhood. (2.) If the value of the produce be increased, or the land rendered more productive by causes other than the tenant's industry. (3.) If the area prove to be larger than that on which the rent was fixed. Tenants who have held their land for periods less than twelve years are tenants at will; but all cultivators are entitled to claim a lease from their landlords.

The provision conferring right of occupancy was intended to protect tenants of long standing from arbitrary eviction. It has no doubt proved effectual, but it has in many cases rendered the relations between landlord and tenant less friendly and easy than they would otherwise be. No wise and liberal proprietor would in any case rack-rent his land. Those who are short-sighted or harsh prevent the growth of such tenures in future by ejecting the occupants before the twelfth year. Thus a fruitful cause of litigation is introduced, and the baneful results we have already alluded to follow. But the cases of extreme hardship which occurred before the passing of the Act justify its introduction. The provisions as to enhancement have proved uncertain in their operation. A discreet landlord, by collusive suits against some tenants, or by a gradual process of enhancement, has often succeeded in raising the general rate. On the other hand, the tenants make common cause, and by giving false evidence have often succeeded in preventing the proprietor from enhancing an exceptionally low rate. The simultaneous issue of any considerable number of notices of enhancement generally results in the utter demoralisation of the village. The provisions as to distraint, recovery of arrears, eviction, &c., are simple and judicious; and on the whole it may be said that the substantive rent-law of the North-West Provinces is just, and would be salutary in its operation if only there were efficient means of ascertaining the facts in dispute.

Cultivators are of every caste, and of varying degrees of skill and industry. The higher castes, as a rule, pay less rent than the lower. Certain castes devote themselves to special kinds of cultivation, and are to be found in small and scattered groups in every district. As a rule, there is no great variety of castes among the cultivators in any one village. The labourers are in many cases but slowly emerging from the condition of serfdom in which we found them.

They are generally of low caste, and are frequently almost pure aborigines. Our readers can now, we hope, form an idea of what the village group in its present altered form consists. In some cases the landholders permit notorious thieves to reside on their estates, nominally as cultivators. They thus secure to their own village immunity from loss, while they share in the profits of successful raids on other villages. Certain tribes or castes notorious for their criminal propensities are to be found in large numbers in certain tracts—sometimes inhabiting whole villages—sometimes living in detached groups. Such castes are generally of aboriginal race, and often survivals of an aboriginal race that, before the arrival of the Hindus now dominant, possessed the whole country round. Sometimes they are a degraded offshoot of respectable Hindu castes. To such criminal tribes most professional criminals belong. They are peculiarly difficult to deal with when some of the members have ostensible means of earning an honest livelihood, as the actively criminal members are sheltered and abetted by their more reputable friends. Conscience on such matters there is none. The only effective public opinion is opinion of the caste, and that naturally does not condemn its traditional practices; while fear and cupidity deter the powerful members of respectable orders from giving all the assistance they might in their suppression. Different tribes adopt different forms of crime. One kidnaps children: another steals cattle: another devotes itself to burglary. Members of respectable orders, of course, frequently become habitual criminals, but the utility of caste usages is shown by the effect fear of expulsion from caste has in deterring from the commission of the more disreputable forms of crime.

In large towns the forms of crime and criminal organisation are the same as those which exist in Western countries. But there is one form which is, we believe, peculiar to the East, though somewhat similar forms were once known in England, and still flourish in the southern regions of Europe. In every wealthy city are bands of professional roughs and clubmen who are ready to commit any violence on behalf of a sufficiently generous employer. When they are not engaged as partisans they exercise terrorism on their own account. To a respectable native an indignity, however unmerited, offered by a person, it matters not how contemptible, attaches indelible disgrace. The "roughs" trade upon this feeling. They threaten a wealthy merchant with a public affront unless he pays a certain large sum. If he fail to do so, the threat is fulfilled. It may seem to an English reader that the remedy is easy. Let the merchant prosecute the offender for criminal intimidation, or, if the assault threatened be committed, let him prosecute him for assault. But the terror the "rough" organisation inspires is so great that the merchant dare not prosecute. If he do so, no one

will venture to give evidence on his behalf, and hundreds will be induced by the threats of the roughs to come forward on their behalf. The very men who in private fill the ear of the magistrate with complaints of the state of terror they live in, who name the offenders and give particulars of the offence, will, if called as witnesses in court, solemnly swear that they have never heard anything against them. To hold in check organisations of this kind calls for the exercise of the highest tact and energy. The means of suppression are almost always indirect. Fortunately the roughs are divided into hostile bands, and are sometimes induced to come forward against each other. When a decided blow is once struck at their prestige, prosecutors and witnesses readily come forward. Where specific charges cannot be preferred, a section of the Criminal Procedure Code empowering magistrates to commit to prison, in default of giving security, persons who are evil-doers by repute, is used against them with effect. We shall hereafter point out how often this section, interpreted and enforced in a way the framers of the code did not contemplate, maintains that state of peace and order which is often referred to as an evidence of the effective practical working of our existing modes of judicial inquiry. When the magisterial charge of the city passes rapidly from hand to hand, when the magistrate in charge is weak and incapable, or when his first object is the approval of the High Court, not the welfare of the people, the power of the roughs becomes paramount. In cities like Mirzapur or Cawnpore, the chief residents have paid them blackmail as regularly as an English merchant pays his fire insurance. It is worth noticing that in Firukhabad most of the "roughs" are members of the Sadh sect, one of the purest forms of dissent from the superstitious orthodoxy of Hinduism. In our wish to avoid the use of Indian technical terms, we have used the word "rough" as the nearest equivalent to the term generally applied to these men; but it would be a mistake to suppose that in habits and appearance they have anything in common with the "rough" of great English towns. They generally have an abundance of the good things of life, and their leaders enjoy a certain degree of social esteem. Natives as a community have no means of making their feelings of moral approval and disapproval felt, while as individuals they obey the selfish impulse to respect power and success.

Some other forms of special crime are worth notice. Dacoity is a survival of the old forms of social disorder which preceded our rule, and an instance within our own territories of the troubles which have lately harassed our western frontier. In the old days, when there was a constant struggle between competitors for every grade of social and political power, it was impossible to distinguish between fair fighting and mere crime. In an old native history of

the rise of the power of the Rajas of Benares, the chronicler gravely says that one of the founders of the family having decided to assume the government of the district, placed bands of dacoits on all the great roads. Men still living remember the time when the headman of one village led his brethren to the plunder of a neighbouring one. The Pindháris who laid waste whole provinces during the early years of the present century were simply dacoits on a large scale. The larger organisations have now been everywhere suppressed within our territories, but occasionally a few daring spirits assemble secretly from various distant villages and attack with show of force houses where valuable property is known to be. Blood is seldom shed, and the offenders, having divided the spoil, return to their old haunts. It generally happens that the indiscretion or perfidy of one of the confederates leads to the conviction of all.

Jealousy about women is as fruitful a source of crime in India as drunkenness is in England. Disputes about land lead to riots, which at the seasons of sowing and reaping form the chief business of the criminal courts. When powerful interests are involved, truth is almost unattainable, the object of each side being to exculpate their own leaders and inculpate every one on the other side who is likely to prove at any time formidable. The impartial bystander — that useful and browbeaten person who renders justice possible in our English courts, never appears in those of India. Native ideas of jurisprudence would solve the difficulty by declaring the person on whose behalf a riot is committed criminally responsible for the acts of his friends. There would be, perhaps, less suffering if this view were adopted by English legislators. It has been to some degree adopted, as the principal is bound to give special information of the imminence of a riot.

The religious usages of the Hindus forbid the remarriage of widows. We have said that Hindu women are as a rule chaste, but their virtue is due rather to affection and fear than to strong moral feeling. There is even a greater want of principle as an impulse to action among them than among men. The popular Hindu text-books on the conduct of life are full of maxims regarding the weakness and wiles of women. Whilst so little confidence is thus felt in the females, any public scandal regarding them brings the keenest and most lasting dishonour on all her family. Personal honour, according to Hindu conceptions, depends rather on the acts of others than on one's own acts; and the maintenance of this honour is to nearly every native the first object in life. "Honour" or "good fame" is a word ever on their tongue, and affecting all their ideas. The presence, then, of husbandless women in their households is a perpetual menace to their peace. A father neglects his duty and brings dishonour on himself if he fail to provide husbands

for his daughters when they are of marriageable age. This feeling leads to the practice of female infanticide among the Rajputs and other high castes, with whom it is customary to pay large sums to the parents of the husband and to make profuse expenditure at weddings. The life of a widow living with her kindred is one of constant hardship and restraint. Intrigues with them and with married women furnish the chief material for village gossip, and often end in deliberate murder either of the paramour or the woman's husband or kinsman. Though Hindu sentiment hardly condemns the taking of life in vindication of outraged honour, the sympathy felt is seldom strong enough to prevent the witnesses from giving truthful evidence. Indeed, as the act is generally committed in a frenzy of righteous anger, the murderer generally surrenders himself, confesses his offence, and glories in it. To check so fruitful a source of crime the Indian Penal Code makes adultery criminal. But as few husbands care to publish their shame, and magistrates impose light sentences in the few cases in which evidence sufficient for conviction is adduced, the effect of the penal provision is very slight. Among some castes relations with women are so lax that it is difficult to distinguish a wife from a mistress.

Hindus never forget and do not attempt to forgive an injury. A cherished "enmity" is almost as inevitable a factor in life as the maintenance of "honour." It is curious that the popular names for both are of Mussulman origin. The feud may commence in a quarrel between the children of two households, a trifling social slight, or a refusal to oblige in some small matter. The injured man intrigues to make the injurer suffer in return. Both sides expect the assistance of their friends. The ill-will may slumber for years, and become active only when an opportunity presents itself for doing a disservice; or it may be manifested at first only in slander and social unpleasantness; but often it leads to acts of criminal violence, or to the employment of a weapon of revenge which under our rule has taken the place of the open violence of former days. Most of the reports of offences made at police stations are falsely made to gratify a grudge. If statistical returns were but framed to show what percentage of the serious charges investigated in our courts prove on inquiry to have been falsely made, and to have been supported by a great mass of evidence deliberately and systematically concocted, we should be in a position to judge whether the alleged popularity of our courts is due to their usefulness as agencies for the vindication of right, or as convenient instruments for the infliction of a wrong. If they were recognised as efficient tribunals for the ascertainment of truth, no large proportion of false charges would be brought. But it is, we assert, notorious that a large proportion of the charges are false, and that, owing to the inefficiency of the mode of procedure, innocent men are con-

victed and guilty men acquitted in larger numbers than would be possible under a wiser system.' We assert that while our tribunals are effective against the coarser forms of professional crime, as regards which it is easy to distinguish interested from disinterested evidence, they are comparatively ineffective by their direct action against the commission of offences by which individuals rather than the public in general suffer. Lawless aggression is discouraged by the knowledge that tribunals exist which *may* punish the aggressor—that on the whole an innocent man has a better chance of escaping punishment than a guilty one, and that in cases of clear guilt punishment is absolutely certain. But this rough result of refined procedure is attained at the cost of extreme hardship, often of unjust punishment to innocent men, and is attended by the demoralisation of those who year by year in increasing numbers take part as prosecutors or witnesses or interested spectators in the game of corrupt litigation. We speak of the administration of criminal as well as civil justice. There is a widespread and well-founded opinion that fraud fares better in our courts than honesty—that perjury is essential to success, and may be committed with practical impunity. The man with a just claim supports it by false evidence. The man falsely accused defends himself with perjured testimony. We desire here only to draw attention to the evil, not to explain in detail its causes or propose a remedy. The ordinary native certainly believes that tribunals *ought* to administer justice. Seeing that they do not always do so, he no more dreams of complaining of their miscarriages or inquiring into the causes than he would as regards the hail-storm that sweeps away his crop. If he is unjustly sent to prison, he accepts his fate as an inexorable ordinance of nature. He adapts his procedure to the conditions with which he has to deal. Tribunals are found to be convenient modes of wreaking a private grudge. Accordingly, the art of preparing false charges has been brought to perfection. If it is proposed to charge A. with murder, the whole scene is rehearsed in action, each witness taking the part which it is arranged he is to depose to having taken, while other friends take the parts to be assigned to the accused, his friends, and the witnesses he is likely to call for his defence. If a *corpus delicti* be wanting, an aged relative sacrifices himself to oblige his family. Serious self-mutilation to support false charges is *very* common. If these extreme instances are not unusual, it may be inferred how common are the easier forms. Professional witnesses may always be hired for a trifling sum, but in many cases it is essential to produce men who were likely to be in a position to know the truth. In such cases a landlord coerces a tenant, a tenant his labourers, a money-lender his debtors, to give evidence on his behalf. Often a person not friendly to the accused will come forward merely to gratify his grudge.

There have been cases where nearly every adult member of a village has committed perjury with regard to the occupancy of a particular field, the only reason being that they were tenants of the landlord who claimed it. It may appear that the experience of the judge ought to enable him, by observing the demeanour of the witness and by skilful cross-examination, to discriminate true from false evidence. Unfortunately nearly every witness, honest or dishonest, is tutored before coming into court, and is more anxious to acquit himself well of his lesson than to tell what he really knows. Their intelligence, too, is so limited, and their power of accurate observation so small, that the most honest witness tells as halting and inconsistent a story as the most dishonest. A skilful "coach" will always instruct his witnesses to introduce details which experience suggests as indications of truth.

Suicides are common, especially suicides of women. We have already adverted to the want of deeply rooted principle in the Hindu character. A very slight and transitory motive is sufficient to impel their will. They have none of that stability which distinguishes the Anglo-Saxon. The forms which crime assumes among a given people indicate and illustrate in an exaggerated form the peculiarities of its character. We have, therefore, instead of attempting an abstract analysis of Hindu character, sought to show its main features in connection with an account of the crimes to which they lead. As in the Mutiny, soldiers who a few days before would have died at the bidding of their officers, murdered them and their families with every circumstance of deliberate cruelty; as the official or domestic who, through a lifetime of faithful service, has acquired a character for absolute integrity, yields at its close to some peculiarly alluring temptation, so Hindu women, who contentedly bear all the labour and suffering of their daily lot, will often forget all that ties them to their children and home, and—either to punish their husband or escape from their own fierce sorrow—commit suicide because they have been denied a new dress or refused permission to attend the fair. Such occurrences naturally bring dishonour on the family to which they belong, and are kept as secret as possible. The result is worth mentioning, as an illustration of the value of Indian statistics. When the native police officer holds an inquest on the remains, the relatives produce fabricated evidence to show that death resulted from snake-bite. The police officer, being satisfied that death was not the result of criminal acts done by others, naturally yields to the inducements offered by the family, and reports the cause of death to be snake-bite. From the police papers the death returns find their way into vital statistics, and being elaborated into "Statements of the numbers of deaths from snake-bites in British India," find their way at length into

English papers, and become the subject of sensational leading articles.

No account of the rural population would be complete without reference to their general indebtedness, and to the operation of our code of civil procedure in intensifying the evils of their condition. Happily we need not treat the subject at length, as it has been discussed in a late number of the "Nineteenth Century" by Mr. Pedder, a distinguished member of the Bombay Civil Service, in an article which we most earnestly commend to the attention of our readers. All that he says of Bombay is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of the North-West Provinces. For those who cannot refer to Mr. Pedder's paper we may briefly say, that the corruption and impotence of the lower tribunals enables the money-lenders to obtain decrees for false claims founded on forged or fraudulently executed documents, and that the rules regarding the execution of decrees enable the creditor to get the debtor year by year more hopelessly into his toils. We are not able to give statistics for the North-West Provinces as to the number of cultivators who are indebted—the proportion of their debts to their property—and the amount of their net income which goes to the money-lender. But the information given by Mr. Pedder as to Bombay is simply frightful, and may perhaps arouse to real sympathy and energetic action these uninquiring souls in England who deem "the administration of civil justice the chief foundation of England's claim to India's gratitude." We have spoken of honour and enmity as two elements in a native's life. We may add two others, hardly less general and even more pernicious—the debt to his money-lender, and his suit or suits in the civil courts. The people are sometimes described as litigious. We shall be nearer the truth if we say, in a more generalised form, that they are vindictive and singularly persistent in the assertion of personal claims. The importunate widow is one of the commonest types of Oriental life. To such a people the vexatious and inefficient procedure of our courts present an irresistible temptation. We do not escape from our responsibility by alleging, as we may with truth allege, that in the first instance it is not the operation of a judicial system that puts them in the power of the money-lenders, but their own want of thrift, and the existence of a vicious public sentiment among them, which compels each individual on certain occasions to expend on empty and unprofitable show sums often equivalent to the income of years. Nor is it a material defence to assert that the action of the courts would be salutary if the morality of the people were higher. We found the people degraded. It was our duty to introduce or adopt the institutions best adapted to meet their immediate needs and gradually elevate their moral tone. In our ignorance and apathy we thrust aside or overlooked

the rough agencies that were ready to our hand, and slowly drifted into a cumbrous and inefficient imitation of English models. This has now been at work so long, and has so much modified native ways of feeling, that it would be a repetition of our original mistake to overturn it. But we contend that every proposal of reform should be considered on its merits, and not declared inadmissible (as is too often done by those whose professional connection with the existing system at once warps their judgment and gives them an apparent claim to speak with authority), merely because it is inconsistent with English notions of jurisprudence. We shall discuss hereafter the points in which the principles of the present system are wrong; here we desire only to insist on the evil results of its working. They hardly require demonstration. Every one practically acquainted with native opinion in the rural parts of British India and in the independent States, acknowledges that fear and distrust of our civil courts are as deeply rooted as confidence in the benevolent intentions of the British Government and the general fairness of our rule. We cannot quote, as we should wish to do, a long series of opinions of officials, from Colonel Sleeman to Sir Henry Maine, but we cannot resist the temptation of quoting from an authority which no one can suspect of factiousness, or of that tendency to exaggerate grievances which too often carries away writers on Indian subjects. A statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India is printed every year by order of the House of Commons. That for 1872-73 was intended as general introduction to the new series, and was prepared by Mr. Clements R. Markham, one of the soberest officials at the India Office. At page 25 we are told that in the Panjab, owing to the powers allowed to the village elders, sales of land are unknown. "Another great blessing enjoyed by the proprietors has been that up to this time they have been exempted from the interference of the civil law courts administering technical law." At page 139 we find that "in the North-West Provinces litigation reached the highest figure of any year since the Mutiny. The total value of property in dispute was £2,147,528. "In truth, the number of civil suits has doubled in four years, and the reports observe that under our rule there is a progressive proneness to litigation." Every increase of litigation, we must add, lessens the power and efforts of the tribunals to do justice; every unjust decision increases the number of unjust suits, and every increase of unjust suits propagates further the wave of demoralisation. Unless the process be arrested soon, that sympathy with right and confidence in the good intentions of the judge, on which alone every system of judicature must rest, will be obliterated from the minds of the people.

The police force is organised on the English model. Its influ-

ence and operations extend to the remotest hamlets. The village watchmen and messengers—offices that have been bequeathed to the village life of to-day by that of two thousand years ago—have practically been absorbed into it. A graded system of officers culminates in the European district-superintendent and his assistants, who are generally of European extraction. As the police have even greater powers of inquiry and interference with personal liberty than in England, and as most of the inspectors and all the officers in charge of stations are natives, an attempt has been made to check and control them by an elaborate system of diaries and reports. In every grade are individuals of the highest integrity and capacity; but speaking generally, the official morality of the force is low. In a country where an official uniform at once clothes the lowest underling with vast, because little understood, authority, it is almost impossible to prevent him from deriving profit from its exercise. In this matter, as in others, the history of the Hindus explains their usages and their ideas. Government in the West exists for and by the people. In the East the people exists for the benefit and by the forbearance of Government. Taxes are not the price which the people pays for the services it requires from Government. They are the bribe they pay to be exempt from further pillage. The good king is he who of his grace accords to his people blessings of security and order. The official was looked at in the same light as the Government from which he derived his authority. He was to be appeased, not remunerated. To this day in formal interviews between a superior and an inferior the latter tenders a present in token of his subordination. Under the later Mussulman regime, in cases tried even by a magistrate duly appointed by the State, it was considered simply decent that both parties should make him presents, substantial in proportion to the magnitude of the interests at stake. The honest judge was he who decided in favour of the side he believed to be in the right, and did not exact as the price of a decision more than the customary amount. The dishonest one sold his decision to the highest bidder. This feeling still survives among the mass of the people. Although no official employed by Government is ignorant that he was appointed on the condition that he should accept no consideration other than the legal remuneration, this stipulation is generally regarded as merely nominal, and is habitually disregarded by many men whom most natives would consider honest. It is to be regretted that, in the exceptional cases in which the clauses of the Code rendering the receipt of illegal gratification penal are enforced, no distinction is made between cases in which the gratifications are mere customary presents according to Indian ideas, and those in which they are, according to both English and Indian ideas, bribes. Nearly every

police officer receives large sums intended to secure his general good offices and avert his special disfavour, and many occasionally receive bribes for special gross breaches of duty. Our readers will, we hope, hardly need to be told that the officer who refuses such bribes runs a greater risk of being accused of malpractice by the persons he thus disoblige, than the officer who accepts them would run of being accused by the persons whom his corruption injures. We need not repeat what we have so often said of the powerlessness of the courts in investigating such charges. Personal knowledge of the character and antecedents of the officer charged and of his accusers, and of the various local details which would throw light on the probabilities of the case, is seldom available, owing to the rapid transfers of all classes of officials. And even if it were available, it would probably be held inadmissible in a judicial inquiry, and, if employed, would perhaps lead the High Court to pronounce a grave censure on so scandalous an illegality. The result of course is, that the position of a police officer of the higher grades is one of great risk and little emolument to an honest man. It has attractions only to those who can trust to luck and finesse, and think the unlawful profits worth the risk. First appointments are not often wisely made. A man who has proved unscrupulous or incompetent in some other post is put into it as an alternative to dismissal from the public service; a man who has made himself useful in some way that is no evidence of his fitness for police duties is put into it as a reward. Within the force promotion is given rather for zeal and intelligence shown in some special service than for general good conduct. This is one of the many evil results of the want of permanency in appointments. The district chiefs are in a position to judge of individual acts, but not of general character. Mere certificates of good conduct, given by each of a series of chiefs, are worthless. The cleverest intriguer has the largest collection. The absence of any real "discriminator of merit," of course, discourages patient and honest effort, and the best men in the police get out of it at the first opportunity. The worst reap their harvest while they can.

We are inclined to hope that the knowledge is becoming day by day more general that presents to public officials are unnecessary and illegal, and that when the custom ceases to be universal, it will soon become extinct. The knowledge that bribes are dangerous and wrong is sufficiently diffused, but the inducement to give and to receive them is, in many cases, irresistible to men unrestrained by moral principle, public opinion, or efficient supervision. If the unsatisfactory relations between the police and the people are due in great part to the misconduct of many of the former, they arise too from the struggle still main-

tained between the indigenous institutions, which we described at some length in our former article, and our uncongenial system. We need hardly point out how the two causes act and react on each other. There are few classes of cases in which a magistrate is more disposed to severity than cases of attempts by a panchayet or influential landholder to deal with persons who have committed serious crimes without the intervention of the police. The police generally describe such cases as acts of wilful lawlessness, but it would often be more just and wise to regard them as evidences of distrust of the strange institution, and an ineffectual striving to prevent wrong in the old-fashioned ways. The weak hands refuse to relax their hold of the weapon that is being wrested from their grasp. It cannot be too well borne in mind by young magistrates that they are making history in a way in which history has never been made before, and that a people subjected to a novel experiment should be an object of patient and good-humoured as well as zealous study.

There is little detective ability among the police. For the reasons we have indicated, their influence with the people is generally less than that of even their English superiors. The establishment of a new police station in the neighbourhood of a village is considered as painful a dispensation of Providence as the development of malarious qualities in the soil, or the drying of the wells, or the spread of an efflorescence which often makes wide tracts barren, or the growth of a grass fatal to all vegetable life but its own. We do not mean to say that the people do not appreciate the value of police assistance in most cases of crime, and do not now almost universally avail themselves of it. We do not deny that where charges of crime are disposed of by other agencies than that of magisterial authority, the settlements are generally in the nature of criminal compromises, the tolerance of which would be fatal to the public good. But we assert that what the people value is the organised executive force exercised by the police, not their success in eliciting the facts. We assert that where either the accused or the accuser is a man of wealth, the impartiality of the police cannot be depended on, and that where the individual official is honest, the general want of confidence in police agency prevents his acquiring influence sufficient to induce even disinterested persons to come forward as witnesses in cases where the authority of the law is in conflict with that of a powerful resident. It is notorious that the pay of the police is but a small part of the pecuniary burden their maintenance imposes on the country, and that much of the work for which the police take credit is done by the persons interested in the case. Yet, owing to the tractable nature of the people, and the rough control exercised under the most unfavourable conditions by the

magistrates and superintendents, flagrant and habitual crime is effectively held in check.

The police are not the only officials who dwell amongst and come into contact with the people; but to render the functions of the others intelligible, we must first describe the organisation of the district. Many of the districts of the North-West Provinces consist of wild forest-covered tracts which are exempted from the operation of the ordinary laws. Those which lie along the banks of the Ganges and Jumna are amongst the richest and most populous of India. The average area is about 50 square miles, and the average population is about a million. The principal officers concerned in the civil administration of a district are:—(1.) The Civil and Sessions Judge; (2.) The Magistrate-Collector and his assistants; (3.) The Superintendent of Police; (4.) The Civil Surgeon; (5.) The District Engineer. There are other officers of special departments, such as irrigation, opium, customs, post and telegraphs, education, forest, but their rank and influence varies, and they are not found in every district. In districts where settlement operations are pending, there are settlement officers whose intimate relations with the rural population give them more real influence than any other class of officials exercise. Officers in charge of settlement are invariably members of the Covenanted Civil Service, "picked men of a picked service."

In the office of "magistrate-collector" is lodged in theory the motive force of the district administrative machine. Superior authority serves but to guide and control his action; inferior authority is subject to his will. We say "in theory," for in judicial matters his subordinates are practically independent, while in purely executive branches the nominal responsibility of the magistrate-collector is never enforced. But his office is still the centre to which other forces converge, and an account of district administration naturally commences with a description of his functions and that of his assistants. These are of two classes: (a.) Covenanted, *i.e.*, appointed to the "Covenanted" Civil Service—in the case of the senior (*i.e.*, Haileybury) members, by nomination in England, and in the case of the junior, by selection by competitive examinations held yearly in London; (b.) Uncovenanted, *i.e.*, appointed to the "Uncovenanted" Civil Service by nomination in India. In rare cases, the uncovenanted officers are pure Europeans, members perhaps of families who for nearly a century monopolised the best appointments in India. But nearly all are either Eurasians (*i.e.*, men of mixed European and native descent) or natives. While members of the Covenanted Service have commenced their duties in the highest grade as young men fresh from school or college, and imperfectly acquainted with the language and usages of the country, members of the Uncovenanted Service

have worked their way slowly from the most subordinate positions. They are invested with precisely the same judicial and magisterial powers as the covenanted assistants. The only difference is, that the pay of the higher ranks of uncovenanted officers hardly exceeds that of the lower ranks of uncovenanted. They are generally much older, and the chief part of the drudgery of district work falls to their share. Thus the employment of natives in administrative posts is not, as is sometimes assumed in England, a new scheme. The administration of the law is already to a great extent in their hands. They have occupied seats on the bench of the High Court, but no native has yet been invested with the executive control of a district.

The assistants, covenanted and uncovenanted, of the magistrate-collector, are subordinate to him in every department, but his control over those who are invested with full powers as judicial officers extends only to the assignment or withdrawal of certain departments of work. As a rule, each subordinate, covenanted or uncovenanted, is intrusted with the management of one portion of the district, or of certain definite classes of work. But leaves of absence and transfers lead to constant redistribution, and even within the district the chance of acquiring local knowledge and experience is very slight.

The powers of the magistrate and his assistants as judicial officers are generally similar, but as regards jurisdiction and punishment are far wider than those of English magistrates. As rent courts, they try all suits between landlord and tenant as such. As revenue courts, they try all suits between Government, as owner in chief of the land, and the various classes of proprietors with whom it has been settled. They decide disputes between the various classes of co-sharers in relation to the payment of the Government revenue. A register of the interests of *all* proprietors is maintained, and the record of mutations of ownership is one of the most arduous and important parts of a revenue officer's duty. In cases of disputed succession, of contested mortgage or sale, the person actually in possession, not the person entitled to possession, is registered as occupant of the proprietary rights. The defeated party has his remedy in the civil court; but as, in the conflict of evidence which is inevitable there, the judge is glad to snatch at any assumed fact as a basis for his decision, the triumph in the revenue often leads to a triumph in the Civil Court. The battle of registration is therefore hotly fought. The occupancy is generally proved by such facts as the receipt of rent from tenants, participation in the audit of village accounts, payment of Government revenue. This, of course, gives the tenants, the co-sharers, and the Government officials considerable power in establishing occupancy. When it is added that the inquiry is generally made

through the native sub-collectorate establishment, we shall only have to describe what that establishment is to enable our readers to see how great are the chances in favour of a violent and intriguing man.

As magistrates, the district officers are invested with wide discretionary powers for the prevention of breaches of the peace and the removal of nuisances. They are empowered, too, to require security for good behaviour from habitual thieves, receivers of stolen property, and other persons of notoriously bad livelihood. This authority is extensively exercised, and is, indeed, the means whereby crime which, under the operation of the ordinary judicial procedure would in most cases go unpunished, is effectually repressed. But we must remark that it is not the giving of security which protects society, but the imprisonment which is ordered in default of security. The evidence on which the security is required is often of the vaguest and loosest kind, and many "vigorous" magistrates have secured the peace of their district and earned the applause of Government by an indiscriminate *battue* of all persons whom the greed or enmity of the police or their neighbours brought under accusation. The innocent are even less likely to be able to furnish security than the guilty. Few professional criminals are isolated or unprotected by one or more men of apparently respectable position who reap profit from their crimes. The fear they inspire protects them as effectually as the inducements they can offer. But an innocent accused has no friends. Private friends he has, but their evidence would be regarded as worthless. Others feel no indignant pity for his misfortune, and fear the resentment of those interested in procuring his conviction. We have more than once attempted to refer the various phases of the worst side of native character to some common underlying principle. Let us once for all say that selfishness—perhaps it would be juster to say the impulse of self-preservation which centuries of oppression has begotten—is the great underlying principle. A man, says a native proverb, will sacrifice the world for his friends—his friends for his kinsmen—his kinsmen for his wife—and his wife for his own soul. The selfish *impulse* is perhaps as strong in the West as in the East, but it is overruled by certain sentiments of justice and of right developed in each individual by the common judgment of preceding generations as to the conduct which wins approval, and kept alive in him by sympathy with the judgments of all those among whom he lives, if not by reference to a divine standard. Now these sentiments as a motive to personal conduct have been nearly smothered in the ordinary Hindu. It is puerile to say that they have been overpowered by faith in ritual and caste observances. Man is the creature of the conditions under which he lives. The history of

the Hindu people has brought into play all their selfish instincts. If they meant to survive they must cease to be generous. As each community had to lose sight of all other interests in securing its own, so, by a natural transition, each individual of the community lost sight of the interests of other individuals. Thus the sentiment of duty to all fellow-men was dwarfed into the sentiment of solidarity of interests with certain fellow-men against all others. Caste usages were not *invented* to conserve this feeling, but *growing* out of it, did in fact conserve it. The old groups are being broken up: whatever have been the evils attendant on the introduction of English legal principles, they have at least introduced the conception of individual rights. At present the people are disposed rather to assert their own rights than to respect those of others; but if the machinery for the vindication of rights be freed from the defects which now clog its movements, we may hope that by-and-bye a healthy public conscience will, in India as in England, be the best guarantee for the efficient administration of justice, and that the question of legal procedure will be comparatively unimportant. But at present it meets us at every point. We have advisedly thrust it again and again on the attention of the reader. It is vital. Railways and irrigation may make the people more numerous or richer. Education may make them more intelligent. But till the demoralising agency that we have planted in their midst be removed, those healthy virtues can never be developed on which all sound national progress must rest.

Although in every district there is a superintendent of police subordinate to the police department of the province, the magistrates are responsible for the district police administration, and habitually check and control it through the superintendent. In serious criminal cases, magistrates often exert themselves more in conducting or directing the police inquiry than in the subsequent magisterial investigation. They have to combine the functions of prosecutor and judge; or perhaps it would be more correct to say they prosecute in a judicial spirit. This is one of the instances in which the English system is observed in its forms and neglected in its spirit. The practice was clearly not contemplated by the framers of the Code, but it is upheld by the continued action of Government. If anomalous, it is salutary. The interference of the magistrate is some security for the fairness of the police inquiry, and thus protects the accused. Natives have long been accustomed to see police, judicial, and executive functions vested in the same person. The magistrate-collector represents for them the State—the supreme administrator of justice. If the functions were distributed to separate persons, none would be wielded with such authority as now; thus the interests of justice would suffer. Again, the magistrate before whom each case is *tried* can naturally see what

parts require strengthening and what procedure would be advisable better than the superintendent, who every morning has to read reports of crime from the whole district. The ultimate control and responsibility must rest with the officer who has the better knowledge and greater influence.

As the non-official members of the municipal committees and town panchayets we have created are, as a rule, mere lay figures, the actual management devolves on the magistrates. They have thus to superintend the assessment and levy of the various forms of taxation (including the octroi, a tax which the people do not feel and officials fatten on), the execution of public works and repairs, and—a repulsive task, which cannot be left to any native subordinate—the supervision of the sanitary arrangements. It is no small evidence of the high sense of duty which animates young civilians, that though no tabulated return of cesspools personally examined has yet been required by secretariat inventiveness, the duty is rarely neglected. Though a school committee exists in every district, and district officers are expected to interest themselves in education, the real management devolves on the Education Department. We have not space to examine the system in detail. The funds available are inadequate to the wants of the country, and too large a proportion is devoted to what is called the higher education. The class affected by it is small, and is little likely to transmit such stunted culture as it receives to the mass of the people. In the better class of schools the pupils devote much time and effort to the attainment of a knowledge of English which for intellectual uses is worthless. In the village schools the teachers, the text-books, and the system of instruction are lamentably bad; and the section of the population they benefit is very small. The intelligence of a Hindu lad is much more acute than that of an English boy of the same age, while the power of analysis and imagination possessed by the race is evidenced by their achievements in literature. At present, memory is their strongest faculty; in clearness of perception and judgment, in originality of thought and inventiveness, they are defective. But the singular patience and plasticity of their temper render them, as boys, studious and docile. The proper scheme of education would obviously be one which applied their special gifts to the cure of their special defects. The selfishness of the Hindu character is fostered by the narrowness of his sphere of hopes and cares. Widen this and his sympathies will broaden. His best teachers, moral and intellectual, will be a library of entertaining books. And even in schools where nothing but the mechanical arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic is attempted, these may and ought to be provided. We believe that the natural love of learning pleasant things which sends so many English boys to books of travel and popular science when school

hours are over is not wanting in Hindu boys and Hindu men. But the ordinary school training supplies nothing to develop the latent faculties. At the best, the pupils in most cases acquire a smattering of English, an idealess knowledge of names, dates, and the position of places on a printed sheet called a map. The only real mental discipline they receive is the study of grammar and Euclid, and this represents but a small part of their so-called education. They leave school with judgments undeveloped and humanising tastes unformed. Comparatively few English-speaking natives read English with sufficient ease to enjoy English literature or the results of Western thought. Their very training discourages the indulgence of taste. Their attention is directed to the vehicle of thought, not the thought. English culture could be far more easily introduced by the encouragement of the vernaculars, and the preparation in them of translations of English works and of original works written in the European spirit. It may be said that the system we condemn is hardly more vicious than that which exists in many parts of England. Perhaps so. But we are bound to do for India all we can, not merely what ancestral prejudice confines us to doing for England. And we must remember that the main part of an Englishman's education is the life that surrounds him, while in India the chief use of education is to rescue the native from the evil influence of that life. Education is our best weapon in the combat we are waging. The reform of the judiciary is a negative measure, the development of material resources is an indirect measure, the spread of healthy knowledge is a direct and positive measure for the reformation of native society. Other causes may explain but cannot justify the smallness of the provision we make for education and the injudiciousness of the expenditure.

We now resume our survey of a district officer's duties. On one of them devolves the charge of the treasury, including the sale of stamps and opium. The treasury officer acts under the instructions of the accountant-general of the province, and the duties are chiefly those of mere routine, but the responsibility it involves may be understood when it is stated that all Government revenues are paid to it, and all demands on Government are paid from it. It is often made over to a young civilian fresh from England, ignorant alike of its special duties and of the character of his subordinates. But as mechanical checks are sufficient to prevent irregularities, few instances of defalcation occur. We mention this here to illustrate a material part of our argument. We contend that what keeps the bulk of native officials corrupt is the impunity with which corrupt practices may be indulged in. They will not run any serious risk of being found out. They cannot trust each other enough to enter into elaborate combinations. Therefore they will always work well under proper checks,

whether these checks be mechanical checks of account as in treasury matters, or the ample means of information as to general character, and even particular acts, which, under the system we shall propose, would be at the disposal of the officer under whose eye they worked in other matters.

The roads and public works of the district are now managed by the Provincial Public Works Department, but the district officers are supposed to advise and suggest. The advantage of professional agency is obvious, but the relations of the Public Works to the General Department of Government is so intricate, and proposals ascend to Government through such a long series of officers, that the local officers often prefer to carry out less useful schemes rather than face the delay certain to be incurred in procuring sanction to schemes possibly of urgent importance. This indeed is a vice that appears in every department of our administration. It is supposed that the evils resulting from want of local knowledge or clear intelligence on the part of district officials can be cured by depriving them of original and ultimate authority. Their executive proposals are subjected to the sanction, and their judicial decisions are subjected to the appellate control, of a long series of superior authorities. Right is more often obstructed than wrong redressed. The responsibility divided among so many is little felt by each. Prudent officials seek rather to avoid blame than to deserve praise. Punctuality in the submission of returns, formal correctness in the preparation of reports and judgments, displays of tact and energy on sensational occasions, these are the qualities which secure official success, and not the sympathising and enthusiastic discharge of the monotonous duties on which the real welfare of the people depends. The root of the evil is not the original depravity of the official temperament, but the atmosphere of rapid change in which they live. No man's official existence in any locality is long enough to allow him to see the fruit of his labour therein. Work cannot be judged by results. The only test of merit is the ability shown in particular cases which attract the notice of Government, and the achievement of results which may be tabulated or reported. The High Court never censures an officer for defect of energy or intelligence in discovering evidence in an important case, but it does censure him if the average duration of cases in his court be much above the average of the province. The secretariat does not censure an officer if his demeanour to the people of the district be unsympathising and disdainful, but it does censure him if his statistics of municipalities be late or informal. We admit that in every country and capacity official action is mechanical. But our Government in India claims to exercise through its officials functions claimed by no other Government. These can be efficiently discharged only

when a system of personal supervision, personal responsibility, personal permanency and power, be substituted for the mechanical system of check by secretariat and High Court.

We have described the general tendency of the present system. Happily in many instances—we may almost say in most—the tone of service sentiment is too high to allow it to lead to further evil than partial paralysis of useful energy and deplorable waste of force in useless friction. Yet charity must not lead us to understate the truth. Some of the highest officials owe their position to their tact in making things pleasant to their superiors, and reporting services they had not honestly performed. Instead of effective and experienced supervision, there is sometimes in high places a spirit of thwarting and formal criticism, and an impatience of attempts at reform of evils which they find it convenient to ignore. Even where enthusiasm for right exists, self-love and the prejudices contracted in the narrow groove which is often the surest road to power, lead to its misuse. Government by a secretariat and High Court is open to this among other objections, that many of the members of both bodies either never have had any knowledge of the people, or—in their little world of records and reports—have lost that warm personal sympathy which is the surest guide of action.

We have not yet exhausted the list of district duties. Fever, cholera, dysentery, and other diseases arising from neglect of sanitary conditions, are endemic in India. Government rightly professes a great interest in the subject, and, as usual, instead of strengthening the hands of the local authorities, who alone could effect an improvement, has created a new department to inspect and advise. The Sanitary Commissioner has been more successful in drawing attention to the evils than in suggesting a remedy. No code of instructions has been issued. Every young official is left to experiment at will. As often as not, ignorance of the principles leads to the creation of a nuisance more dangerous than that it was intended to remove, or an enthusiast, after a feverish attempt to introduce some elaborate system, surrenders his charge to a wiser or less zealous successor, leaving the people harassed, and hating the very name of sanitation. A sanitary crusade offers splendid opportunities of extortion to the natives employed to carry them into effect.

In districts where infanticide prevails, the periodical inspection of the suspected families devolves upon the district officers. They are expected to make vaccination popular, to conduct agricultural and industrial experiments, and to manage the excise. The duties which such wide disasters as floods and famines impose upon them are unhappily familiar to our readers. Lastly, when Government requires information, or when it becomes necessary to carry

out any new administrative measure, recourse is had to the collector. He represents Government to the people, and the people to Government. When it was decided to levy an income tax, the duties of assessment and collection, which in England would have justified the creation of a new service, were imposed as a matter of course on the already overburdened district officers.

All his assistants are directly subordinate to the magistrate-collector, but he owns a divided allegiance. As a judicial criminal officer he is subordinate to the High Court, a body which sits at Allahabad, never comes in contact with the people, and is composed in great part of members who knew nothing of India or Indian law until they were called on to control its administration. His immediate superior, however, is the Sessions Judge, an officer who is invariably a member of the Covenanted Civil Service, and has himself passed through the grades of assistant and magistrate before being promoted to the unwished-for dignity of the bench. He tries cases committed by the magistrates, and hears appeals from their decisions. Those who have little confidence in their own judicial power have a superstitious awe of the High Court, and the efforts of zealous and intelligent magistrates are often frustrated by the apathy and incompetence of the judge. But the High Court itself is the great hope of every wealthy criminal. The judges of the court no doubt do their duty with all the zeal of the subordinate authorities, and with far greater legal ability, but the repeated release of notorious criminals on grounds which intelligent officials believe to be technical or inadequate, has produced a general impression among the people that any one who can pay for a barrister and an appeal runs little risk in defying the law. A conscientious magistrate will seek by minute examination of the witnesses to satisfy himself as to the credibility of their evidence. A careless one will content himself with recording the glib story told by each. As the appellate court has only the record before it, the chances are that the inevitable discrepancies in the former will seem a kind of formal reason for quashing the sentence, while the consistency of the latter will justify the court in upholding an unjust conviction. The High Court's power of revision practically makes it a court of appeal from the decisions of every magistrate. The certainty of appeal, we may observe, has a tendency to diminish the feeling of responsibility in the lower courts. It is certain that if the same efforts were devoted to securing a fair trial in the first instance, that is now frittered away in an elaborate system of appeal, substantial justice would be more generally done. In England the question generally is, admitting the evidence to be true, does it establish the offence? In India the evidence, if true, is generally sufficient to establish guilt, and the question is, is it true? This

we submit can best be answered by the court that examines the witnesses. Appeals, where allowed, should result in re-trial.

As a revenue and general executive officer, the collector is controlled by the commissioner of the division (consisting of five or six districts). The commissioner is a covenanted civilian of great experience and presumed capacity. He is himself controlled by the chiefs of the various departments—by the Board of Revenue (a central authority), and by the Local Government (*i.e.*, the Lieutenant-Governor) through the secretariat. The nature and extent of the supreme control varies with the character of the Lieutenant-Governor and his secretaries. The latter are generally men of great energy and marked ability, but in many cases have little experience. The staff of native subordinates is, of course, very extensive. Every court and every department has its set of clerks. The keeping of the records and the execution of process requires large establishments. Every district is divided into half a dozen sub-collectorates, over which a native sub-collector presides. His first duty is to collect the revenue, but he is also vested with magisterial and revenue judicial powers, and is the general agent and referee of the collector in all matters requiring local action to which the district officers do not care to attend personally. He resides in the chief town of his sub-collectorate, and has a large staff of ministerial officers under his orders. Compared with the higher district officers he is permanent in his post. This gives him the influence and local knowledge necessary for the discharge of his duties, but at the same time gives him opportunities of abusing his power to his own profit which he too often avails himself of. The description we gave of the police applies generally to the court and sub-collectorate officers, but the higher are of a more respectable class, while the lower have fewer opportunities of oppression. The opportunities which the head record clerks and clerks of the court have of facilitating or obstructing the wishes of litigants, and the vague belief which exists of their power over the mind of the presiding officers, renders the illicit profits of their posts enormous. Their nominal salaries are respectable, but they would in most cases willingly pay as much for the privilege of serving. Their corruption is notorious, but no serious effort has ever been made to check it. An officer's credit depends so much on the ability of his clerk, that a clever scoundrel is generally preferred to a man of average brains and average honesty. Every native employed in the office has a number of young relatives who are allowed to assist him in his work. When a vacancy occurs, the claims of these candidate-apprentices are urged, and perpetual intrigues and jealousies result. Once employed, the servant of the State works himself upward by slow degrees, till at last he becomes a sub-collector, or perhaps one of the uncovenanted assis-

tants. Nearly all the educated talent of the country that does not obtain State employ devotes itself to the profession of law. There are two classes roughly corresponding to our barristers and attorneys. In both are many honourable and accomplished men; but there is no professional sentiment of honour except the feeling that everything is justifiable in the interest of a client. Much of the corruption of our courts is due to the instigation or the assistance given by these men. They have not the will, nor, if they had the will, have they the knowledge or acumen to assist the court as English barristers do in the elucidation of a case. The conscientious magistrate is not only, as we have said, police officer, prosecutor, and judge; the most arduous part of his work is to act as counsel for the prisoner without the prisoner's confidence, or any knowledge of the prisoner's case.

The magistrate-collector generally devotes less time to the control of his subordinates or personal discharge of duty than to correspondence with his superiors. Annual reports of the administration of every department and periodical returns have to be prepared. These are criticised in a perfunctory way by the secretariat, digested into provincial statements, printed in blue books, and enshrined among the mouldering records of the offices.

The officer who is Sessions Judge is always the chief Civil Judge of the district. As such, he controls and hears appeals from the elaborate series of civil courts which permeate the district. The presiding officers in these latter are natives who have all their lives practised law as a profession. If often wanting in common sense and honesty, they seldom fail in technical knowledge. It may seem incredible, but it is too true, that the officer who, at the close of a long service, that has severely taxed and in many cases all but exhausted his energies, is appointed to control these men, is one who, up to the time of his appointment, is wholly ignorant of the principles of civil law. The result, of course, is a ridiculous exhibition of incompetence. Most district officers look forward with dismay to the time when they will be "pitchforked" into a judgeship, and the best generally succeed in clinging to district duties till they can get the more congenial post of commissioner. We will not say that native judges are as a rule corrupt, but they are more at the mercy of their superiors than English officers, and are more likely to let considerations of personal advantage influence them in the discharge of duty. They know that only two tests of merit are generally applied—the percentage of successful appeals, the amount of work done and the speed with which it is got through. It is, therefore, their interest not to push inquiry as far as law permits, but to examine perfunctorily the witnesses brought by the parties, to frame the record and prepare their judgment in a way which will best support the decision at

which they arrive. But we must add, that, owing to the invariable conflict of evidence, the temptation to allow corrupt motives to influence their decision is, to men of their training, placed in their position, almost irresistible. It is an old joke among non-official Englishmen that English magistrates decide by tossing a rupee. A native too often decides by pocketing it.

Thanks to the long labours of the Indian Law Commission the entire law of procedure, the substantive penal law, and much of the substantive civil law exist in the form of codes. The process of codification continues. The principles of the penal code may be described as English principles revised by philosophic jurisprudence and modified to the needs of India. The substantive civil law maintains the native principles as regards succession, marriage, caste, and other departments where the usages have a religious sanction. The rest is wholly English. The fixed uniform and salutary system of substantive law thus introduced would have deserved and won the gratitude we so often claim, if only we had provided proper means for ascertaining the facts to which the law was to be applied. We need not repeat here the story of our failure. The character of the tribunals, the vices of the system of appeal, have been described, but we have still to point out why the English system of procedure works so badly in India. Even in England it does not work well. Its various features are tolerated only because the persons directly injured by their operation are at any given time few, and the interests of the only class that has the knowledge necessary to effect a reform would be, to say the least, disturbed if any comprehensive scheme of change were introduced. The hardship to individuals attracts no notice. The waste of energy and intelligence is a tribute to the memory of our ancestors which our national wealth enables us to pay without sensible loss. But in India the injury is felt in nearly every household ; the institution is regarded as alien, and its operation is a serious drain on the national resources. In England the demoralising tendency is counteracted by the generally healthy tone of society, while in India it renders the tone of society still more depraved. We shall be reminded perhaps that native newspapers, and natives who in this country are supposed to be representatives of their countrymen, speak almost enthusiastically of "the blessings of English law." This is true. But what honest thinkers value is the substantive law and protection from the arbitrary acts of the executive. A wealthy native who has not got a favourable judgment from a lower tribunal keenly appreciates the privilege of appealing to a higher. A powerful criminal trades on his indefinite chances of acquittal on appeal. We have said that almost all the intelligence of India devotes itself to the public service or the law. Naturally they are content with the system by which they live. It is to this class that

newspapers appeal. The mass of the people have no voice—perhaps they do not even realise their ills.

We have hitherto refrained from answering a question which, if we have at all succeeded in exciting his interest, must have suggested itself to the reader. Granted, it may be said, that the system of appeals aggravates the evil it was devised to cure, why should not the officer who tries the case in the first instance, if honest and capable (as he must often be), succeed in eliciting the truth? Will not the evil be gradually cured if (as seems to be the case) the standard of official integrity is rising? We fear not. The corruption of the people is more rapid than the reform of the judiciary. The character of the judge makes little difference while his hands are tied by the existing law of evidence. It is wholly English, and wholly unsuitable to India. Its principles are roughly: that evidence must be given on oath in open court, in the presence of the persons interested, and that it must not be hearsay evidence. It says much for the character of our nation that under such a system justice has been possible, and the existence of the system has undoubtedly done much to preserve the mauliness of which we boast. The same might be said of open voting; yet few men would now be bold enough to say that when it was inconsistent with free voting it ought to have been maintained. So it is as to evidence. When English rules admit of the production of true evidence they ought to be maintained; when it is found that they prevent the production of true evidence they ought to be disregarded. Now the administration of an oath or form of solemn affirmation to a native witness in court has come to be regarded as a mere challenge to tell lies at his peril. The peril he knows is hardly more than nominal, but it is just enough to give a relish to the venture. To examine a witness in open court is simply to keep him under the influences hostile to justice which have affected him out of court. To exclude hearsay evidence is to exclude the only class of evidence at all likely to be impartial. In India what is done in the closet is whispered on the housetops. General report is an almost infallible index of truth. Thus the magistrate in investigating an important case is conscious that every one regards the inquiry as a solemn sham, and that he is probably the only person in court who does not know what the facts really are. As a police officer, he generally is able to satisfy himself as to the truth, but cannot get evidence which would be admissible to prove it according to legal rules. The oath or affirmation does not purport to be, according to native ideas of religion, a religious act. At the most it is a means of solemnly reminding the witness that God is listening to what he says. This he knows before. If scrupulous in morals, the only question he asks himself is, "Will God be angry with me if I tell a lie?" And to that most natives

would answer—"That depends upon the purpose for which the lie is told and the circumstances under which it is told."

It must not be supposed that natives in no case tell the truth. There are many modes of eliciting it, and they are occasionally employed by young civilians whose zeal, or hope, or leisure, exceeds that of their seniors. An oath on the Ganges taken in due form is in most cases a sufficient pledge. The most rationalising Englishman may well be affected by the picturesque solemnity of the rite. Standing in the river, which to him is an ever-present and beneficent God, he is reminded by the officiating Brahmin, whom he reveres as a being half divine, that this earthly life is but a brief incident in a long existence—that soon he must leave wife and little ones and earthly gear, and pass to a state where nothing but virtue will remain to him. By his religious merit, by the sacred Ganges, he swears to tell the truth. The Ganges is witness of the oath, and will be the avenger of his outraged divinity.

An oath on any one dear to the deponent is peculiarly efficacious, as the consequences of perjury are believed to be visited on the head of the person sworn by. Such oaths are forbidden by law, but less formal proceedings are often sufficient. The man who glibly commits perjury in court will tell the whole truth before the village panchayet, or even before an informal gathering of friends. The man who commits perjury when examined in the presence of the person whose influence leads him to commit perjury will tell the truth if that person is absent. A magistrate who wishes to learn the real facts of a case can generally discover a key to them by accosting and entering into talk with the men he finds working in the fields.

As the last impediment to good administration in every department, we must mention the want of codified regulations and legal text-books. Every department is perpetually issuing circulars explaining, cancelling, modifying, superseding in part or in whole their previous circulars. The want of systematised form prevents their being duly observed, and the irregularities resulting lead to endless correspondence. A few young civilians could easily digest them into a code; subsequent changes should take the form of amendments to be inserted textually in the code, and revised editions could be published at intervals. But the secretariat is so busy in transferring officers and criticising annual reports that it has no time for mere practical questions like this. Similarly as to law books. While the office libraries groan with useless blue books, hardly any provision is made for the supply to officers even of the Acts they have to administer. The errors resulting from want of standard works to refer to often vitiate the results of long and laborious inquiry as to facts, while, by lessening the confidence of the people even in the technical knowledge of the officers, they

encourage appeals. The cost of good libraries would certainly be met by the retrenchments their existence would render possible in the establishments of appeal and control.

We have spoken so often of the evils arising from the transfer of officials, that it may be necessary to explain that the perpetual change is not due to wanton malice. Covenanted officers are allowed one year's furlough after every four years' service, and one month's privilege leave in every year. Promotions owing to deaths or retirements and transfers to fill the places of absent officers account for most of the moves; but often changes are made to gratify the wishes or the need of a favoured civilian, or to punish one who has fallen into disgrace. Some districts are eagerly sought for; others are shunned. Health, sport, disagreement with colleagues, are frequent inducements to transfers, and one transfer involves many. Thus no one has any prospect of permanence. There is no comfort in household arrangements, and little deep personal interest in district work. Like our Mogul predecessors, we are but encamped in the country. Were our officials less migratory, Indian life would have the refinements and the interests the absence of which now renders it distasteful to Englishmen. It would offer healthy homes and cheerful surroundings as well as rude plenty and rough sport; and English stations, like Roman villas, would be centres from which the generous arts of life would spread.

We have thus endeavoured to illustrate in detail the defects we discern in the existing district system, and by indicating the cause to suggest the remedy. We do not claim for officials irresponsible authority; we do not demand increased expenditure, nor any violent change of system. We would take advantage of existing tendencies, and, in providing a more efficient administration for the districts, solve problems that have been discussed so often as the future of the Civil Service and the employment of natives in high administrative posts. And when we speak of natives, we must not forget the claims of that Eurasian population which is now a great political danger, but if properly treated may be made a safeguard of our rule.

Uncovenanted agency is so much cheaper than covenanted, that every year the number of uncovenanted officers is becoming proportionately larger than that of covenanted. Let us assume, then, that the covenanted service will be maintained only to leaven the ranks, and in the senior grades to superintend the work of the regular district officers. The magistrate-collector would thus be to his subordinates what the commissioner is now supposed to be to him. But he would control, not by inspecting reports and returns, but by actual knowledge of the district and personal force of character. Practical permanency would be secured by

making salary and position depend on the grade, not the office. The Civil and Sessions Judge ought to be in a position to exercise the same personal control over his subordinates as the magistrate-collector would over his. Under this personal system commissioners may be dispensed with and the number of secretaries reduced. From the savings thus effected the number of district officers may be increased. No officer should be invested with judicial functions till he be well acquainted with the language and usages of the country, as well as with the laws he has to administer; and no covenanted officer should be made a judge or magistrate-collector till he has proved himself an efficient district subordinate. Persons grossly incompetent or negligent should at any cost be dismissed from the service; but under a judicious system of selection it ought to be possible to secure men sound in health, intellect, and temper.

The number of subordinate magistrates and judges ought at present to be increased. A brief Act should be passed enabling judicial officers in cases where rigid adherence to the present rules of evidence and procedure would cause a miscarriage of justice to take any steps (not in themselves criminal) for the ascertainment of the facts. He should be required to frame a record of the inquiries thus made, which record should be treated as evidence in the case. It would not of course be conclusive as to the facts reported as ascertained. Perjury should be made punishable summarily, and magistrates should be directed to institute prosecutions in all cases of offences against public justice coming under their notice.

The exceptional powers we propose would probably be seldom exercised, and would certainly never supersede the ordinary procedure. The efficiency of the tribunals and the character of the evidence submitted to them would react favourably on each other, and after some time a considerable reduction of the judicial staff and a return to the normal system would be possible. With the system of appeals we would not propose to interfere except by ordaining that no judgment should be reversed on a question of fact without a re-trial, and that the appellate judges should be conversant with the language and usages of the country. Several of the Judges and the Chief-Justice of the High Court would thus be disqualified.

Under the system we suggest the bulk of the subordinate magistrates and judges would be natives and Eurasians. The District Magistrate-Collectors, and the Sessions and Civil Judges would as a rule be covenanted Europeans, but among them would be some natives of India, either selected by competition in England, or nominated in India as a reward for good service, or as a recognition of family claims. Indian history shows how susceptible the Hindu is to personal influence, how

unselfish and unhesitating is his devotion to a leader whom he respects. Such district chiefs as we describe would therefore secure not merely the efficiency of the administration, but the affectionate loyalty of the people. For the sake of England, then, as well as of India, we have tried to interest English opinion in this matter. The Supreme Government is occupied with other cares. The people is dumb. The Services are silent. Help, if it is to come, must come from without.



ART. IV.—PEASANT LIFE IN FRANCE AND RUSSIA.

1. *Russia*. By D. MACKENZIE WALLACE. London. 1877.
2. *Round my House: Notes of Rural Life in France*. By P. G. HAMERTON. London. 1876.

WHEN we consider the superficial dissimilarity between France and Russia, the wide separation, ethnical and geographical, between the two nations, and the very different stages of civilisation which they have respectively attained, it is not a little curious to trace the many points of contact—social, economical, and even political—which they present to the careful observer. With regard to political institutions, there can be no doubt that to both races the *régime* known as “paternal despotism” is more or less congenial; at all events, less uncongenial than to any other European nation. Notwithstanding the success with which the republican principle has been within the last few years asserted in France—a success which has been enhanced and confirmed by the foolish policy of terrorism with which the so-called Conservatives endeavoured to meet it—any intelligent republican, however sanguine of the ultimate triumph of his doctrine, would probably admit that France as well as Russia is still a country in which free and representative institutions are peculiarly difficult to acclimatise. In both nations centralisation and bureaucracy are still predominant; both peoples are characterised by the absence of individual initiative in politics, and consequently by a comparative incapacity for local self-government. Of course, we do not mean to suggest that in any of these matters France and Russia are on the same level; on the contrary, the former is on almost all of them—to adopt a rough method of comparing progress—at least a century ahead; and it is interesting to note that, on the many occasions on which Russia has attempted to transplant the institutions of Western Europe to her own soil, she has almost invariably looked to France for a model and example. To take a single

instance, the new and elaborate system of judicial administration, which came into existence in 1864, is almost exclusively based on French procedure; the structure and interdependence of the primary and appellate courts bear a strong resemblance to those of the French pattern; and the provisions of the new code are for the most part borrowed, with such modifications as local necessity demanded, from those of the Code Civile.

Turning from politics to society, it is notorious that the connection between Russian civilisation and French culture has always been extremely close. The nobles of St. Petersburg have contemptuously neglected their own tongue, and substituted French as the language of polite society; their literary food, for the most part written in French, is an imitation of that with which Paris is supplied; and the patriotic attempts which have from time to time been made to establish a genuine national culture, and resuscitate or create a corresponding literature, have met with almost uniform ill success. From the time of Peter the Great, the opulent inhabitants of his city began to study the philosophy, the literature, and the fashions of Paris. Nothing was too esoteric, nothing too frivolous, for their attentive consideration. At one time their curiosity was aroused by the speculations of Rousseau; at another, their interest was absorbed by the latest eccentricity in attire which Versailles had determined to impose on Europe. Mr. Wallace has shown how this influence reached its culminating point in the reign of Catherine II., the constant correspondent of Voltaire. The movement has been more than once abruptly checked, particularly when, as in the reign of the first Alexander, it seemed probable that the dissemination of the theories of philosophers might engender disaffection to the autocratic power. But it has never been permanently repressed; and St. Petersburg, while it has never manifested any special affinity to the intellectual atmosphere of London or Berlin, still displays in many respects a striking reflection of Parisian sentiment and thought.

When, however, we transfer our attention from the capital to the country, from the court to the village community, a different class of phenomena presents itself. We continually find a close resemblance in manners and customs, opinions and superstitions, where borrowing or copying is, from the nature of the case, impossible. The coincidences to which we refer are the result not of conscious reproduction but of independent development, the evolution from similar causes of similar effects. We do not know whether we should incur the imputation of philological pedantry if we ventured to ascribe these peculiarities to the common ethnical origin of both Slavs and Kelts; but the fact is, that the more sociological inquiry extends its sphere, the

more surprising are the analogies discovered between the manners and customs of races which we have hitherto been accustomed to regard as absolutely unrelated. Sir Henry Maine, in his latest work, has pointed out many remarkable instances of similarity between the ancient customs of Ireland and those of India, between the laws of the Brehons and the laws of the Brahmans; and Sir Henry has himself been severely censured in some quarters for attributing to the Aryan family alone ideas and institutions which there is some reason for believing to have formed a necessary stage in the history of all the races of the world. However that may be, it is certain that the study of peasant-lore, aided by the comparison of some of the characteristics of peasant life in various countries, furnishes us with many interesting illustrations of that doctrine of "survivals" which plays so important a part in Mr. M'Lennan's admirable study of primitive marriage, and which yields a most valuable class of evidence to the comparative historian. We use the phrase, in the sense in which it was first employed by Mr. Tylor, to denote those cases in which an expression, an observance, or a ceremony has been retained in common use—such, for example, as the custom of throwing a shower of shoes after a newly wedded couple—although it has become entirely insignificant to those among whom it is current, who would often, indeed, be the last to suspect or believe the true explanation of its origin. Especially remarkable are the relics of Pagan beliefs and Pagan symbolism which, beneath a surface of Christianity often sufficiently transparent, are constantly to be detected. We are, indeed, at length beginning to be conscious that here in our very midst, in this nineteenth century of grace, Paganism is yet, for good or ill, a living force and an active power; "for all Christ's work, this Venus is not dead." But it would be a grave error to imagine that the Pagan spirit is confined to the students of the Renaissance or the passionate lovers of a Hellenism which is past beyond recall. As we shall shortly show, "the young compassionate gods" must still share a divided allegiance with the ancient objects of fear and adoration in many a Mir which never heard of Praxiteles, in many a commune to which Botticelli is a name unknown.

The faithful study and patient observation of peasant life must always be productive of discoveries of the highest interest to the sociologist and the antiquary. Such inquiry is perhaps, on the whole, less fruitful in England—we would not say in Great Britain—and more fruitful in France and Russia than in any other European country. One or two of the reasons for our own comparative poverty in this respect may be briefly indicated. Notwithstanding the assertions of certain pessimists, there can

be little doubt that our peasantry are, on the whole, better educated than the corresponding class on the Continent, those of some parts of Germany alone excepted. The standard reached, although it is steadily being raised, is of course at present far from high; but there is a sufficiently wide diffusion of the elementary branches of knowledge to eliminate and dispel the grosser forms of superstition. Folklore and legendary tradition are everywhere subjected to a rationalistic and utilitarian treatment which is obviously fatal to their prolonged existence. Our rural population is indeed, for the most part, of somewhat prosaic temperament; their life of sustained labour, the burden of a large family, the attractions, such as they are, of the public-house, leave them but little leisure for the pleasures or the terrors of the imagination. Their children expect no visit from *le petit Jésus* when *Noël* comes; in fact, an English peasant would probably, if it were explained to him, regard as impious the observance of a custom which his French *confrère* would consider it almost an impiety to omit; while, on the other hand, a slight acquaintance with the laws of gravity is distinctly unfavourable to a belief in the aerial excursions of broomstick-bestridding witches. Again, in a rich and thickly populated country like ours, with means of locomotion within the reach of all classes, the communication between town and country is exceptionally frequent. There are doubtless some parts of England, particularly those most remote from towns and railways, in which many curious instances of "survival" are still to be found; but, on the whole, the ordinary disposition of our peasantry, their migratory habits, their educational standard, in fact, the extent to which the whole land is permeated by civilising agencies, render this country almost the least promising field for such investigations.

In France, on the other hand, and still more in Russia,* the peasant is still practically, not indeed by law, but by custom and tradition, by want of education, and the absence of all external impulse, *adscriptus glebæ*. It should be observed, however, that his position, at all events since the Revolution in France and the Emancipation in Russia, is rather that of a proprietor than of an agricultural labourer. The Emancipation, however, so far from destroying the Mir, in some respects strengthened its power over its members; while the Revolution, although it abolished a burdensome system of "services," which can only be compared to the most oppressive forms of copyhold tenure, left behind a class of peasant proprietors which the law of intestate succession and the restrictions imposed on testamentary disposition by the Code Napoléon necessarily tend to rivet firmly to the soil.

* In Russia, indeed, the rules of the Mir often press so hardly on absentee coproprietors as to have almost the force of positive law.

Another reason for the difference we have pointed out, and the greater antiquarian interest of rural life in France and Russia, is to be found in the difference of religion. The influence of the English Church, and perhaps in a still greater degree of the various Nonconformist sects over their respective members, is distinctly active and energising. Our labouring classes are deeply affected by the spirit of Protestantism, of a religion which is rather internal than external, which encourages inquiry, stimulates thought, and appeals to the mind and heart. Until quite recently, our clergy took upon themselves, in the rural districts, almost the entire task of educating the people; and on the whole, notwithstanding some individual cases of indifference and eccentricity, they nobly fulfilled their self-imposed duty. The clergy of the Greek Church, on the other hand, are utterly indifferent to education, of the value of which they have indeed but seldom much personal experience; while the Catholic priests, who are also in many cases utterly illiterate, actively oppose the instruction of their flocks, regarding secular knowledge as the handmaid of infidelity. The Greek and Roman Churches agree in exacting the regular performance of certain ceremonial offices, attendance at the sacrament within prescribed intervals, faithful observation of the fasts, and conscientious payment of the priest's dues; but beyond this they seldom attempt to go, and leave the general morality of the people to take care of itself. In accordance with these requirements, the peasant's religion is not spiritual but symbolical; he is led to suppose that practice is of infinitesimal importance in comparison with faith, and that even the latter may be leniently dispensed with, if only he will maintain a decent appearance of belief.

We propose to briefly note a few of the characteristics of the peasant's life in three of its most interesting aspects—his relations to the priest, his relations to the doctor, his relations to the dead. In doing so, we shall mainly rely on the testimony of two most competent authorities, Mr. Wallace and Mr. Hamerton. Each of these gentlemen appears to possess all the qualifications of a trustworthy observer. It is clear that they were both well suited by previous training for the task which they attempted, and they set about its execution in a proper manner. Mr. Wallace lived for a considerable period in Russia, and Mr. Hamerton in France. They both attempted to enter into the *vie intime* of the peasants among whom they lived, and were to a great extent successful in acquiring their confidence. They had no prejudices to dispel, and no foregone conclusions to establish. Each of them brought a keen mind and a fresh eye to the work, and so noted much which would probably have escaped observation or been dismissed as commonplace or absurd by a permanent resi-

dent. Lastly, the popularity which their books have won sufficiently attests that Mr. Wallace and Mr. Hamerton are alike fortunate enough to possess the gift of narrating their impressions in a perspicuous, agreeable, and interesting manner.

We may at once dismiss the prevalent opinion that the priest, either in France or Russia, exercises enormous influence over the minds and opinions of the peasantry. The estimate commonly entertained of the power of the clergy is absurdly exaggerated. We have constantly been told within the last few months that the Pan-Slavonic movement in Russia has been brought about by clerical agitation; but it may safely be affirmed that the Russian clergy could never lead their flocks where they had not for other reasons previously determined to follow. They may impart a sanctity to a cause, or meet it with a formidable religious opposition; but it is almost impossible to conceive of circumstances in which they could, by their own exertions, produce a national impulse, or direct its current into an artificial channel. Superstitious as the *muzhák* is, he cares very little for his priest; and it may be worth our while to notice some of the causes which have developed this indifferent and, in some cases, actively hostile feeling.

It is to be observed that in one particular the Greek Church exactly reverses the policy of the Catholic in its clerical discipline. The latter rigidly enforces celibacy; the former—at least in Russia—invariably prohibits it to the parochial clergy. Every priest is married before he is ordained—one reason being because he cannot be married afterwards; and we are told that it is an important part of the bishop's pastoral duties to provide him with a wife, who is usually the daughter of the last incumbent of his cure. The priest has usually a large family, and he is always very poor. His income is mainly derived from the proceeds of his ministrations, and it is an almost inevitable consequence that he regards them from a somewhat sordid point of view. Hence he is looked upon by his parishioners as a sort of tax-gatherer, a *publicanus* of spiritual *vectigalia*. He rarely preaches to them—there is no fee for sermons—and, delightful as the omission may appear to those among us who know perpetual sermons to be a weariness of the flesh, at the same time we imagine that if our own country parsons never occupied their pulpits, their moral influence over their people would be nearly as slight as that of their Russian brethren. The reverence for oratorical power, and the contempt of those who are conspicuously deficient in that respect, is peculiarly characteristic of the lower classes, and influences their opinion of a man's general ability to an extent of which their social superiors are seldom aware. This resource is entirely neglected by the Greek Church, while the

parochial visitations of the clergy—of which the object is frequently not to offer but to obtain relief—are very much less welcome than among ourselves. We may illustrate this remark by a short extract from a conversation of Mr. Wallace's with a parish priest. The latter is the speaker :—

“Perhaps you have heard that the parish priests extort money from the peasants, refusing to perform the rites of baptism or burial until a considerable sum has been paid.* It is only too true; but who is to blame? The priest must live and bring up his family; and you cannot imagine the humiliations to which he has to submit in order to gain a scanty pittance. I know it by experience. When I make the periodical visitation, I can see that the peasants grudge every handful of rye and every egg that they give me. I can overhear their sneers as I go away, and I know they have many sayings, such as ‘The priest takes from the living and from the dead.’ Many of them fasten their doors, pretending to be away from home, and do not even take the precaution of keeping silent till I am out of hearing.” †

Still more weighty is the testimony of a semi-official report addressed by M. Melnikof to the Grand Duke Constantine. “The people,” we read, “do not respect the clergy, but persecute them with derision and reproaches, and feel them to be a burden. In nearly all the popular comic stories, the priest, his wife, or his labourer is held up to ridicule; and in all the proverbs and popular sayings, where the clergy are mentioned, it is always with derision. The people shun the clergy, and have recourse to them not from the inner impulse of conscience, but from necessity.” ‡

Neither can it be asserted that this unfriendly and suspicious attitude is altogether without excuse. The clergy are often driven to the most discreditable devices in order to earn a meagre income. Dissent, so far from being cruelly persecuted, as in England is commonly supposed, is nearly always tolerated and ignored, provided only the dissenters pay the priest's dues with orthodox punctuality. “The parish priest,” says Mr. Wallace, “pays attention to apostasy only when it diminishes his annual revenues, and this can be easily avoided by the apostates paying a small yearly sum.” § We also learn that false certifi-

* These sources of income are professionally known in France as *casuel*. The French priest, being a bachelor, often exhibits a generosity in which his married *confrère* cannot indulge. “But you have a good *casuel*,” some one remarked to a poor and worthy curé. “You have a populous parish, with plenty of funerals.” “Alas!” he answered, “it is true enough that there are plenty of funerals in my parish; but how can I charge burial fees to poor widows and orphans who have nothing left to live upon?” (“Round my House,” pp. 339, 340).

† Vol. i. pp. 85, 86.

‡ Ibid., pp. 87, 88.

§ Ibid., p. 245. Cf. also p. 89, and vol. ii. pp. 10, 11.

cates of participation in the Eucharist are commonly given, "for value received," to the careless and unorthodox. Altogether, we can scarcely feel much surprised that scant honour is paid to the ministers of a Church which is so flagrantly turned into a house of merchandise.

We must also here take into account the crude religious conceptions of the Russian peasant. We have said that his notions of the divine are rather *symbolical* than *spiritual*. Religion with him, as Mr. Wallace well puts it, is "a mass of mysterious rites, which have a secret magical power of averting evil in this world and securing felicity in the next." A *muzhik* who has broken every commandment in the Decalogue feels no qualms of conscience on his dying bed, provided that he has been baptised, that he has faithfully observed all days of fasting, and annually partaken of the Holy Sacrament. Thus we hear of a robber who waylays and murders a traveller, but refrains from eating a bit of meat he finds in his victim's cart because it happens to be a fast-day. Mr. Wallace tells other stories of ruffians who, while planning and perpetrating crimes of the grossest description, such as murder and sacrilege, took the precaution of enlisting the aid of their patron saint! The general character of this religion is well illustrated by the readiness with which it was adopted by many of the Finnish tribes, whose own worship was of a distinctly Pagan kind. When first they came into contact with the Russians, they did not feel the slightest objection to adding another deity or two to their calendar, and sometimes when their own spells proved inefficacious the happy thought occurred to them that a prayer to St. Nicholas might serve their turn. On the other hand, we hear of a Russian who, being seriously ill, sacrificed a foal to the Virgin! A principle of religious reciprocity and mutual accommodation was in short established.

Let us now for a moment consider, for purposes of comparison, the relations of the French peasants and their clergy. Mr. Hamerton describes the peasant as being intellectually dependent on two great authorities, the authority of Tradition and the authority of Rumour. If a peasant wishes to enunciate a proposition in which he implicitly believes, he will begin by using one of two formulæ, either *les anciens disent que*, &c., or *on dit maintenant que*, &c. Now the rumour—almost always ludicrously incorrect—is that of the market-place, and the tradition is that of their ancestors; and neither rumour nor tradition have much connection with the Church. It is only fair to say that the French priest, whose frugal life knows but few wants, and who is partially paid by the State, is not felt by the peasantry to be an oppressive burden. In consequence, the

latter seldom evince any active dislike to the clergy, whose many good qualities are often highly appreciated. The priest, in fact, often inspires an affectionate regard, but he does not guide the secular action or the political opinions of his flock. The following passage from Mr. Hamerton's work furnishes a remarkably close parallel to those observations of Mr. Wallace of which we have given the substance:—

“English people fancy that the minds of the French peasantry are entirely in the hands of the Roman Catholic clergy, but this is very far from being true; the peasant mind seems to be almost entirely self-poised, self-centred, and to exist according to some laws of its own being, which for us are so obscure as to be almost inscrutable. I have often talked with priests on this subject, and they tell me that they are utterly powerless against the rumours which are the news of the peasantry. An excellent instance of this is the succession of notions, unfavourable to the Pope and to the whole priesthood, which pervaded the French peasantry some years ago. Evidently the priests did not set these notions in circulation, and they were as unable to contend against them as if they had been part of the phenomena of the weather. During the Franco-German war, the priests were universally believed by the peasantry to be agents of the Prussian Government, and whenever any priest tried to collect a little money for parochial purposes, it was believed that he sent it to Prussia” (p. 213.)

When the late Emperor occupied Rome with French troops, the peasants had a theory that the Pope was aspiring to the French throne, and that the expedition was sent to check his aggressive projects. The peasant, we are elsewhere informed, is scarcely yet aware of the unification of Italy; he still regards the Pope as a temporal sovereign, commanding vast military resources, and always likely to invade France. With such ideas teeming in his head, it is scarcely likely that the peasant should pay much heed to the expressed wishes of the Pope's emissaries. “You may go,” says Mr. Hamerton, “into remote places among the hills, where priest and noble may be supposed to rule absolutely, and yet find the peasant voting in opposition to them.” He gives more than one striking instance of this remarkable fact. The independence of the peasantry is indeed sufficiently indicated by the circumstance that, while the nobility and clergy of the country are generally Legitimist and invariably anti-Republican in sentiment, the peasants, unless sufficient official pressure is brought to bear upon them, almost always elect Republican candidates, while, among the other claimants of their suffrages, they exhibit a decided preference for the Bonapartists. This fact probably in some measure accounts for

the *prima facie* strange preponderance of Bonapartist candidates among the supporters of the Duc de Broglie at the recent elections. The late Ministry was not specially Imperialistic in composition, but it seemed to consider that in most districts its only chance of obtaining success was by "running" politicians of that hue.

With regard to the ceremonial element of religion, it is nearly as prominent in France as in Russia. The men, it is true, are not quite so particular about the fasts; but the religious feelings of their wives, coinciding in this point with their economical habits, generally preserve them from any heinous laxity. We hear indeed of one peasant, seventy-two years of age and in weak health, for whom, towards the end of Lent, the cravings of the flesh became too strong. A pig had been killed for the Easter feast, and the old fellow ventured to cut a slice of bacon, fry and eat it, in anticipation of the coming festival. The penalty, however, was swift to follow, in the shape of a severe conjugal objurgation. "Not only," exclaimed his indignant spouse, "are you breaking Lent now, but you have broken it all along, for every day you have cooked in the ashes two eggs for your dinner, and it is astonishing to hear you complain of weakness after such shameless gormandising as that!"

The French peasant, too, is not behind the Russian in superstition. He places more faith in spells than in either priest or doctor. "What the peasants really do believe in," says Mr. Hamerton, "is not science of any kind, but magic and superstitious prayers. Their idea of prayer and of all religion is, in fact, very closely connected with magic. They have full faith in sorcery and in the power of combating evil by special prayers—special forms of words which make you safe if you know them accurately, when, without the knowledge of the form, you are helpless against the evil. This is so very particularly with regard to burns and dislocated limbs. It is believed, for instance, that such an old woman knows a special prayer which will cure a burn or make a set limb go on favourably; and when such a belief becomes current, the person who knows the prayer is in great request, but keeps the prayer itself a secret. The idea is that there are prayers for every kind of evil, which would be perfectly efficacious if one only knew them. It is plain that the notion is more nearly allied to magic than to Christianity" (p. 253). The Christian rites and sacraments themselves are practically regarded as so many spells. Until a child is baptized the peasant maintains the strictest reserve as to its existence, in fact regards it as a mere animal without human attributes. Among other curious customs, the women regularly read the Gospel to the bees on the Feast of the Purification,

carrying a lighted taper in their hands. There is a general belief that the cattle are in the habit of conversing on Christmas night at the time of midnight mass; but curiosity as to the subject of their conversation is highly indiscreet, and has been known to produce consequences nearly as painful as those which befell Peeping Tom of Coventry. The priests, far from combating these superstitions, usually encourage them, regarding them as a powerful instrument for their own purposes. They profess to have the power of counteracting sorcery, blessing sprigs of boxwood with that view. The annual "blessing of the fields" is one of the most striking of their ceremonial offices, and is graphically described by Mr. Hamerton. A railway, too, is not held to be properly opened, or likely to yield a fair dividend to the shareholders, unless the bishop comes with his priests, mounts the locomotive, and hallows the permanent way with his episcopal benediction.

We have dwelt so long on the relation of the peasant to the priest, that we have little space in which to speak of his attitude to the doctor. It may be most succinctly described as a stolid, too often a fatal, *fatalism*. The peasant has no belief in, or comprehension of, medical science; spells and magic perhaps may ease or cure the sufferer, but his time for paying the debt of mortality either has or has not arrived. If not, he will in due course recover; while, if he is to die, what profits it to spend francs or roubles in a useless struggle against nature's laws? As the supply of skilled advice is naturally proportioned to the demand, the traveller in Russia "must make up his mind to be always in good health, and in case of illness, to dispense with regular medical attendance." In some Russian villages a Feldsher is to be found—often an old soldier who has seen something of medical practice in the military hospitals, and who receives a small stipend from the State on condition of giving gratuitous advice to the peasants. The *muzhik* has no objection to taking medicine at the Czar's expense. "What he believes in," said a Feldsher to Mr. Wallace, "is something with a very bad taste and lots of it. That is his idea of a medicine; and he thinks that the more he takes the better chance he has of getting well." The Feldsher sometimes finds a popular rival in a Znacharka, an old woman who is looked upon as a sort of witch, and whose herbs and charms are supposed to be extremely effective. The Znacharka often possesses some real knowledge of the properties of the former, and abuses her experience for illicit purposes. When an epidemic breaks out in a Russian village, and the Feldsher is powerless to aid, the inhabitants still resort to rites and incantations, and endeavour by processions, with icons at their head, to avert the plague. But superstition

of this kind seems to be dying out, and the peasant will probably learn to respect the doctor before he learns to revere the priest.

The French peasantry are at least equally averse to consulting a medical practitioner. We hear of one woman who actually did go and obtain a prescription for her husband. She refused, however, to have it made up unless the doctor would guarantee his recovery, "because," she added, "if he is to die after all, it will be of no use to spend five francs in medicine." On the other hand, a previous quotation from Mr. Hamerton will have shown that the Znacharka has her counterpart in France. When a peasant will not apply to a doctor, he will go many a mile to fetch a beldame *qui sait une prière*. The rustic ideas of medical treatment would be ludicrous if their effects were not so deadly. Wine is regarded as an almost universal specific. It is administered liberally, says Mr. Hamerton, "in all cases of disease, even in the most violent fevers—with what effect may be imagined. His (the peasant's) way of treating a bad cold is to put a tallow candle into a quart of red wine, and boil till the tallow melts, after which tallow and wine are stirred up together and swallowed by the unhappy patient. For intermittent fever he beats up eggs with soot from the chimney. To cure the measles he gives hot wine with pepper and honey. Whenever any one is ill, no matter from what cause, hot wine is at once administered." He cites many other instances of the extraordinary ignorance of the peasants in these matters. In the case of a woman affected with paralysis, her friends obtained an embrocation and a draught from the nearest chemist. They then "rubbed her with the potion, and made her swallow the liniment, to her great internal inconvenience." Another man bought some prepared mustard plasters for his wife, and forced her to swallow them. In a third case, a woman suffering from some internal disorder took certain remedies which had been given to her mother for varicose veins, "so that they might not be lost." The doctors unanimously declare that it is no use to give advice to the peasantry, whose guiding principle seems to be *laissez-faire*—of which *laissez-aller* is the usual corollary—tempered by a good deal of wine and a little witchcraft.

Let us conclude by noticing a curious instance of pagan "survival" in some of the rural customs with regard to the dead. We learn from Mr. Hamerton that the French peasant never omits to place a coin in the dead man's hand, a custom which must doubtless be regarded as an unconscious reminiscence of Charon's *ναῦλος*, the fee for which the infernal boatman looked. Still more interesting are the traces we find of a yet more ancient theory—that of the life after death within the tomb. M. de Coulanges, in his valuable monograph on *La*

Cité Antique, has shewn how deeply the life of the ancient Aryan family in India, Greece, and Rome, was affected by this conception, and how solemn was the duty of offering the dead ancestor *le repas funèbre*. He thus describes its character :—

“L'être qui vivait sous la terre n'était pas assez dégagé de l'humanité pour n'avoir pas besoin de nourriture. Aussi à certains jours de l'année portait-on un repas à chaque tombeau. Ovide et Vergile nous ont donné la description de cette cérémonie dont l'usage s'était conservé intact jusqu'à leur époque, quoique les croyances se fussent déjà transformées. Ils nous montrent qu'on entourait le tombeau de vastes guirlandes d'herbes et de fleurs, qu'on y plaçait des gâteaux, des fruits, du sel, et qu'on y versait du lait, du vin, quelquefois le sang d'une victime. On se tromperait beaucoup si l'on croyait que ce repas funèbre n'était qu'une sorte de commémoration. La nourriture que la famille apportait, était réellement pour le mort, exclusivement pour lui. Ce qui le prouve, c'est que le lait et le vin étaient répandus sur la terre du tombeau ; qu'un trou était creusé pour faire parvenir les aliments solides jusqu'au mort ; que, si l'on immolait une victime, toutes les chairs en étaient brûlées pour qu'aucun vivant n'en eut sa part. . . . qu'enfin, en se retirant on avait grand soin de laisser un peu de lait et quelques gâteaux dans les vases, et qu'il y avait grande impiété à ce qu'un vivant touchât à cette petite provision destinée aux besoins du mort.”

M. de Coulanges proceeds to shew that public opinion compelled the recognition of the funeral feast, or *sraddha*, by the laws of Manu, notwithstanding its obvious inconsistency with the Brahminical religion :—

“Le Hindou devait procurer aux mânes le repas qu'on appelait *sraddha*. ‘Que le maître de maison fasse le *sraddha* avec du riz, du lait, des racines, des fruits, afin d'attirer sur lui la bienveillance des mânes.’ . . . ‘Lorsque le *sraddha* est fait suivant les rites, les ancêtres de celui qui offre le repas éprouvent une satisfaction inaltérable.’”*

The vitality of this custom is certainly one of the most extraordinary facts in sociology. We know that it still existed at Rome in the most sceptical period, in the latter days of the Republic and in the first century of the Empire, although Ovid and Martial complain of the mean and shabby tribute which was often offered to the eponymous progenitor. It appears to be able not only to survive scepticism, but to exist in ages and countries in which a religion is professed which would seem directly to exclude such worship. The people of Ceylon, for instance, have long been Buddhists, and the mystic system of Buddhism really acknowledges no deity at all. And yet we were

* See “Laws of Manu,” i. 95, iii. 82, 122, 127, 146, 189, 274.

informed the other day by a Singalee that vestiges of this custom are still to be found in his country. If the dead disturb the living, they are soothed by an offering of some dainty, generally of something of which they had been particularly fond in life. Our informant mentioned as within his own knowledge the case of a woman whose deceased husband appeared to her in a dream, with a melancholy expression in his eyes, and a pipe in his mouth. The next day she proceeded to spread tobacco on his tomb, and distribute a supply of the fragrant weed to the poor, firmly believing that her liberality would be equally appreciated by the living and the dead recipients.

Mr. Wallace, who, for all that appears in his work, had never heard of the *Parentalia*, testifies to the existence of a similar survival among the nominally Christian Finns of Northern Russia :—

“Their religious ceremonies have no hidden, mystical signification, and are for the most part rather magical rites for averting the influence of malicious spirits or freeing themselves from the unwelcome visits of their departed relatives. For this latter purpose many, even of those who are officially Christians, proceed at stated seasons to the graveyards, and place an abundant supply of cooked food on the graves of their relations who have recently died, requesting the departed to accept this meal, and not to return to their old homes, where their presence is no longer desired. The custom is believed to have a powerful influence in preventing the dead from wandering about at night and frightening the living. If it be true, as I am inclined to believe, that tombstones were originally used for keeping the dead in their graves, then it must be admitted that in the matter of ‘laying’ ghosts the Finns have shown themselves much more humane than other races” (vol. i. p. 234).

Lastly, in France we learn that the peasants are in the habit of putting flowers into a child’s coffin, the reason they assign being that it must have something to play with. It may well be doubted whether any other explanation than that of a Pagan survival can be given of our own touching and poetical custom of spreading flowers and garlands on the coffin and grave of the departed.

Our object in this paper has simply been to place before our readers a few facts which appear to be deserving of attention. For the present, we have neither space nor leisure to attempt an estimate of their precise significance. We will only venture to ask a single question. Enough has been said to shew that the common opinion that the clergy are extremely influential among the peasants is, at all events as far as concerns two of the most important countries in Europe, without substantial foundation.

Where, then, is their influence, and what is to be the future sphere of the authority of religion? Not, assuredly, the world of fashion. Not, if one-tenth of what we hear of the divorce of the religious from the intellectual life is even approximately true—not the world of intellect. Scarcely among the operatives and artisans, the working-classes in large towns. Not even, as it now appears, among the rural populations. Whom does the Church hope to rally to her side? In the great battle which, on the Continent, in Germany, in France, even in Italy, has now begun, and in which England must before long play her part, in that sharp struggle which the civil power, supported by the convictions of the laity, has to wage with the pretensions of the ecclesiastical hierarchy—a struggle which some anticipate with terror as the beginning of the end, and which others hail as the beginning of a new era in the history of civilisation and the emancipation of mankind—on what social forces does the Church rely for aid? what class is there to which, when, in the hour of stress, she appeals for help, she will not appeal in vain?



ART. V.—OUR PRESENT CONVICT SYSTEM.

1. *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science.* Longmans & Co. 1874. 1875. 1876.
2. *Report of the International Prison Congress of London.* Washington, Government Printing Office. 1873.
3. *Report of the Howard Association.* September 1877.
4. *Five Years' Penal Servitude.* By one who has endured it. R. Bentley & Son. 1877.

THERE are few questions, not of a strictly technical nature, of which the intelligent portion of the public thinks less and knows less than how and with what results we treat our criminals. Its consideration no doubt occupies one of the sections of the annual Social Science meetings; a few philanthropic persons, such as those who constitute the "Howard Association," have for many years unobtrusively made it their special business, and, as a matter of routine, its details and statistics are to be found in certain of the official reports which periodically appear.

We read also occasionally, in some of the minor periodicals, a popular description of the interior of the prisons, written for the most part by persons having no special knowledge of the subject beyond what they pick up during a hasty inspection, aided

by a brief explanation made to them by some of the officials. We find very little in such publications as are in the hands of the general reader that is at all satisfactory in regard to the principles which regulate the scale of punishment, the mode of its infliction, and its probable and actual effect on the habits and character of those subjected to it, or—what is even more important—on that large class of the population from which those persons are drawn, and who, from their ethical condition and their surroundings, are constantly liable to fall into the criminal ranks.

It is the object of this paper to draw the attention of our readers to some of the leading features of the existing system, to test them by considerations which seem to be too much overlooked, but the importance of which must be obvious whenever they are clearly stated, and to suggest the general direction, at least, in which reform ought to be attempted.

The apathy of the general public in regard to these things is not very surprising. They know that, in the direction of humanity in the punishment of crime, enormous strides have been made since the days when Blackstone, writing in the middle of the eighteenth century, said, "It is a melancholy thing that among the variety of actions which men are daily liable to commit, no less than 160 have been declared by Act of Parliament to be felonies without benefit of clergy, or, in other words, to be worthy of instant death;" and since John Howard, just a century ago, investigated the prisons of that period, when he found men of every shade of guilt, and even mere debtors, huddled together in loathsome dungeons, and when jail governors were allowed to exact fees from prisoners, in default of payment of which they were in the habit of detaining them in durance long after the legal termination of their sentence. They perhaps know that, while in the seven years ending in 1834, 8483 persons were condemned to death, in the seven years ending in 1871 only 140 received that sentence, and only 59 were actually executed. They know also that crime, especially of the graver sort, is not increasing in the ratio of the increase of population, and that, on the whole, life and property are daily becoming more secure. Above all, that mass of the débris of society which now fills our convict prisons to the number of something between 10,000 and 12,000 at any given time, not to speak of some 20,000 who are undergoing shorter sentences in local jails, is out of sight, and even the enormous sum which all this annually costs the community is passed over among the many other items of local and general taxation. We do not forget, in making these remarks on the indifference of the public, the extensive and most praiseworthy efforts now made for the *prevention* of crime. These are phenomena peculiarly indicative of the enlarged Christian humanity of the age, but they

have a sphere of action quite distinct from that of the policy which, in order to produce its intended results, ought to regulate the kind and degree of punishment to be inflicted on adult offenders. Nor do we forget the earnest attempts made for the reformation of prisoners after liberation by the Prisoners' Aid Societies.

In this paper we are contented to adopt what seems now to be the generally received view of the objects and ends of secondary punishment. It does not appear to us indeed perfectly satisfactory and unchallengeable, but there is a general *consensus* in its favour, and it is sufficiently near the truth for our present purpose. That view, briefly stated, we take to be—(1.) That the primary object is to deter individuals from the commission of crime by the fear of its consequences; that the State has the right to inflict pain on the principle of self-defence, but that in so doing it is no way the vicegerent of God, so as to be entitled to allocate so much suffering to so much sin; in other words, human punishment is not retributive. Consequently, with a few exceptions, perhaps more apparent than real, modern law takes no cognisance of sin as distinguished from the narrower category of crime. (2.) That another end, very important, but quite subordinate to the first, should they chance to conflict, is the reformation of the individual criminal. (3.) That a third object (probably not now so generally recognised as the others), applicable only to the worst class of offenders, is to remove them for as long a time as practicable, perhaps for ever, from society, as dangerous wild beasts whom it is necessary to render innocuous by seclusion, although the sentiments of the age will not permit of their being put to death. (4.) In the last place, and this is a sort of rider qualifying all the others, that although these penalties are not retributive, there must be, so far as compatible with a reasonable degree of efficiency for the above-named purposes, some kind of proportion between the moral guilt of the criminal and the severity of his punishment; that the popular conscience must not be grossly shocked, and that thus, in an approximate manner, the masses may be impressed with the justice of the law under which they live, while at the same time their untutored moral sense may receive more or less culture by learning the degree of righteous indignation with which the respectable and ruling majority contemplates particular actions. These various objects sometimes coincide, and sometimes they conflict.

We shall now describe, in as condensed a shape as possible, the leading peculiarities of the system of convict punishment now in force, and endeavour to sketch the characteristics, mental and moral, which distinguish the various classes of persons on whom the system is expected to operate. Everybody is aware that the

practice is to condemn those guilty of what are considered minor offences to imprisonment within the county or borough prisons for periods varying from a few days to two years, and that in the case of greater crimes, and also of many of the minor order after repeated convictions, the offenders receive a sentence of penal servitude, which, the colonies having clamorously refused to be made the depositaries of our convicts, has taken the place of the old system of transportation, and that the period of penal servitude is never less than five years, while in some cases it extends to twenty, and in a few nominally to the whole period of life.

During the first nine months, the convict is kept in solitary confinement. Except at chapel or at exercise, he never sees his fellow-prisoners, and on these occasions the slightest attempt at communication, even by a sign or look, is instantly checked and punished. The occasional visit of a chaplain, scripture reader, or schoolmaster, which is always very short, forms his only intercourse with his kind, for even the warder under whose charge he is is strictly forbidden to speak to him unless in the giving of necessary orders. He is employed in such work as can be performed in solitude, makes and repairs the clothes and shoes of the establishment, weaves, or makes mats, and the like. At this time, and afterwards, a quasi-military discipline prevails, and is enforced with the utmost rigour.

At the end of nine months the convict's prospect brightens. He is sent, if able-bodied, to one of the great public work prisons, Chatham, Portsmouth, or Portland; he there works, in a gang, at quarrying or dressing stones, navy-work, as in the great basins recently constructed at Chatham, brickmaking and bricklaying, &c. During labour, conversation is forbidden, but, as may be easily understood, the veriest martinet of a warder cannot prevent it in such circumstances, and there are various other occasions on which it is freely permitted by the rules. If the convict is in doubtful physical condition, he is sent to a station in which the labour is lighter, as Dartmoor or the Isle of Wight, where, besides a certain amount of outdoor work, large numbers are employed in tailoring, shoemaking, and other sedentary occupations, always in association, so that it is physically impossible to prevent them from conversing and forming intimacies with their fellows. If considered a permanent invalid, or very old, or likely to require medical treatment for a long period, he goes to Woking, where he is employed in light work, and where association and intercourse are practically unlimited.

The general principle of *classification* in respect to the *particular prison* to which a convict shall be sent is that which depends on his physical health and strength and presumed fitness for a special kind of work. The only classification *within* each prison is that founded

on the "class" to which each convict belongs. "Class," in this relation, indicates merely the *length of time* which he has served, assuming him to have been of average good behaviour and industry, so as not to have forfeited or postponed his promotion from class to class by idleness or insubordination, or by confinement to hospital. "Class," and, as a consequence, classification, has no reference whatever to length of sentence, number of convictions, general character, or previous habits and occupation, with this single exception, that an illiterate man, who has failed to acquire a rudimentary education in the prison schools, never attains to the first or highest class. Men steeped in crime from their childhood work side by side with, walk and converse with raw lads respectably educated, who have, more through weakness than depravity, been guilty of some single act of fraud; and simple-minded rustics, who have been several times guilty of theft of the most trivial kind, are mixed with skilful and daring ruffians, who would not hesitate to knock out the brains of a fellow-creature for a shilling, could they do so with impunity. The prison directors have of late years been trying to mitigate the evils of the associate system, by adopting the cellular arrangement in certain prisons where formerly many of the inmates slept in large associate wards; and they also, in determining the particular prison to which a convict is to be sent on the termination of his "separate" confinement, pay some regard to his presumable character. The degree, however, in which they are practically able to effect any benefit in this direction is infinitesimally small. Many governors, it is also fair to state, endeavour to select for the less mechanical and degrading occupations (which to some extent involves rather less of indiscriminate association) prisoners of the better educated and less depraved class. This, however, it is in their power to do only to a very trifling extent, and in quite exceptional instances.

During his prison career, the life of a convict, if he has been decently quiet and industrious (and let it be remembered that a "good prisoner" is far from synonymous with a good man, indeed very often means exactly the reverse), becomes every year more tolerable. From the dreary solitude of his first nine months he escapes to greater variety of scene and to the fellowship of men, many of whom are of his own stamp, and very frequently his ancient companions in crime. His opportunities of writing to, and receiving visits from, his friends increase in frequency as he advances from class to class; his diet improves, and he has some little power of choice in regard to it. These are the artificial alleviations of his condition; there are others necessarily inherent in it. His work, at first irksome and difficult, becomes easy through custom, and he gets habituated to all the regulations and details of discipline, and skilful in all the arts necessary to elude the

vigilance of warders, and to conduct his intercourse with them smoothly and amicably; while, through the general influence of time, his whole surroundings become less hateful to him, and their contrast to the conditions of ordinary existence less striking.

If a convict has earned all his "marks," that is to say, has been diligent and quiet so as not to forfeit any of them, he receives a remission of one-fourth of his sentence, after deducting the preliminary nine months, and is liberated under "licence" or ticket-of-leave, which compels him, during the unexpired period, to make known his place of abode to the police, and to report himself to them periodically. In this respect there is no distinction whatever between the casual offender who is not likely to commit a second crime, and who, were he again to fall, would certainly not be guilty of an offence which could be prevented by these provisions, and the burglar and pickpocket whose life occupation has been crime, and whose irresistible propensity is to commit acts which a vigilant police can more easily watch and detect. By a recent enactment, he may also in his original sentence be placed for several years under police surveillance after his liberation, should the court see good cause.

The leading peculiarities, it will be seen, to which we wish to direct attention are *four* in number—(1.) Indiscriminate treatment of all; (2.) indiscriminate association; (3.) gradual mitigation of most of the hardships of imprisonment as the sentence advances; (4.) the system of remission under licence, also indiscriminately applied.

We have dwelt especially on these features, because they are those which are relevant to the remarks we have to make in regard to the defects of the system and its possible amendment. In regard to the general carrying out of its details, we shall only remark, that the cleanliness, order, and discipline which distinguish the convict prisons testify very powerfully to the organising ability of those who are in charge of them; and that the efforts which are made by the directors to find useful work for the inmates, such as shall not only prove remunerative to the department, render the prisons to some extent self-supporting, and promote skill and habits of regularity and industry, but shall also compete as little as possible with the honest workman and artisan, are worthy of the highest praise. The energy and method displayed naturally fill the casual visitor with wonder and admiration, and it is not surprising that, when he goes home and writes a "readable" article for a popular magazine, he produces a *couleur de rose* picture of the whole system.

It is much more easy than may at first be supposed for one who has had an opportunity of studying the inmates of these prisons, if he is gifted with an average share of penetration into

character, and does not shrink too sensitively from much that is repellant, to divide them into several classes. There will be found, undoubtedly, individual cases which it is difficult to dispose of, and which will naturally assume a position midway between two genera, but for practical purposes it is possible to relegate ninety-nine from every hundred to their proper places.

The *first* class of convicts is comparatively a small one. They may be termed "casual" criminals. It consists entirely of persons convicted for the first time. By this we do not mean persons sentenced for the first time to penal servitude, but those who have never previously been found guilty of any offence whatever, most of whom, indeed, have never been suspected. They are now suffering the penalty of some crime, if against the person, committed through temper and under the influence of strong provocation; if against property, through overwhelming and sudden fear of ruin, and, in many cases of fraud, committed in such a manner as to indicate no deliberate design of ultimately depriving others of their rights, but with that vague and self-deceiving hope, unhappily so common, of refunding that which they have taken or dishonestly obtained, before discovery—a hope the existence of which is proved by the fact that failure to refund necessarily implies detection and exposure. Most of these persons are overwhelmed with shame and regret for the disgrace which they have brought on themselves and others, and, in not a few instances, with agonising remorse for their violation of the moral law. To these, the physical privations entailed by their sentence are trifling in comparison with the fact of having received a sentence at all; and to most of them, especially during the earlier stages of their imprisonment, and to some in an increasing ratio to its termination, the enforced companionship of the general mass of the prisoners is loathsome beyond expression. The younger, weaker, and less educated of them, however (for they are drawn from every social grade except the lowest), become gradually habituated to the society in which they have been placed, adopt more or less of its tone, whatever of higher principle they may have possessed or may have attained to during the preliminary solitude vanishes, and their finer sensibilities become blunted long before they return to the outer world. They would have left prison, at the termination even of their nine months of solitary confinement, with its tedium, its good advice, and its salutary reflection, quite as powerfully deterred from crime, and with far more of the seeds of reformation in their hearts,—and this all the more had the treatment been considerably prolonged.

The *second* class comprehends most of the remaining cases of first conviction. Their offences have, however, been of a graver character, and imply a certain fixed depravity of nature which

renders the term "casual" scarcely applicable to them. Such, among the educated, are the perpetrators of large embezzlements and forgeries, deliberately committed, without any indication of the hope of restitution, and the gigantic frauds in connection with bubble companies, and the like, by which the mercantile world has been recently so deeply disgraced, and the victims of which are too often among the most helpless members of society—crimes committed not *damni evitandi* but *lucri captandi causa*. This class includes, also, chiefly from the ranks of the uneducated, persons found guilty for the first time of some of those crimes of gross sensuality, evidence of a peculiarly degraded and brutal nature, which in these pages cannot even be named.

The *third* class is the most important and embraces considerably more than a half of our convicts. It consists mainly of persons guilty of the graver varieties of offences against property, committed sometimes with and sometimes without violence. Their crimes are not, as in the two first classes, isolated acts committed in the course of, a life otherwise apparently respectable, but, whether their perpetrators have been previously convicted or not, there is evidence that they are incidents in the course of a criminal career, or, at the least, of a life passed in the society of criminals. The milder specimens may be, for the most part, characterised as "frequent" criminals; another group may be named "habitual;" and the most dangerous are those who, in respect of their more thorough organisation and the development of the *trading* element in their occupations, may properly be termed "professional" criminals. Some of them may have been convicted only once; others have been in prison five, ten, or even twenty times, including minor sentences in boyhood. Some have sprung from the class of respectable artisans, or even from the educated classes; while others have begun life as street arabs, and have passed through the ordeal of a reformatory school. The familiar examples of this class are your professional pickpocket, swindler, garotter, burglar, maker of counterfeit coin, and resetter of stolen goods. Their degrees of education and intelligence, as well as the inveteracy of their criminal propensity, are of course very various, but there is a strong family resemblance, intellectual and moral, which may be traced throughout the great majority. You will find the most astounding ignorance of the most commonplace things united with a curious accuracy of knowledge in some isolated department, picked up by desultory reading in the prison libraries, and you will hear strange travesties and exaggerations of some of the prevailing scientific and philosophical speculations of the day, caricatures of the thoughts of J. S. Mill, Mr. Darwin, or Professor Tyndall from the mouths of men ignorant of the simplest rules of arithmetic. As might be expected, most of those who have

sufficient intelligence to form theoretical opinions at all are disposed to deny all moral obligation, except, perhaps, the virtue of generosity to a comrade in distress, and the duty of fidelity to a brother criminal. Even this is by no means so universally recognised as those who have heard the proverbial saying about "honour among thieves" may imagine. All men, they will tell you, are dishonest, not merely at heart, but in their daily lives. They point with gusto to the frauds of the Stock Exchange, and to the scamping of work and adulteration of food by so-called honest tradesmen and artisans, and are delighted when a man belonging to the upper classes finds his way into prison. All judges, magistrates, and other officials are open to be "squared" or bribed. As to the chaplain—he is a hypocrite. "Why, man, it is his business to talk religion to us; he gets his living by it—not that I blame him." It is almost impossible to convince them that an act of kindness on the part of any one who is their social superior is dictated by anything but some occult selfish motive. Their talk, when not discussing the iniquities of the respectables or the mysteries of the sceptical philosophy, is mainly of their own exploits, professional and forensic, of public-houses, races, and sensuality of every kind. It is not unfrequent to hear those whose liberation is near at hand concocting schemes of plunder, and of course it delights them to initiate a novice, especially if he shows due smartness, into the secrets of their craft. If there is any one mental characteristic which can be predicated of almost the whole class, it is one which cannot be better conveyed than by the term "childishness." It consists of a certain impulsiveness, proneness to violent and short-lived anger from the most trivial causes, constant boasting and self-exaltation, and a total incapacity to understand the relative value and importance of different objects. All this is accompanied by a *mendacity* which is astounding. It appears to be much more easy to many of them to give utterance to what is false than to the truth, even when there is no intelligible motive. The habit has its analogue in most savage races, and, as a transitory phenomenon, even in some well-brought-up children. In all these cases it is apt, as everybody knows, to develop itself into a kind of self-deception, especially when the invention bears some relation to a predominating sentiment or prejudice, a process illustrative of the growth of the myth in certain stages of civilisation. This childishness of nature will often crop out in persons of the criminal classes, whom at first you would credit, from their manner and appearance, and from a certain activity of intellect and cool craftiness of purpose, with the possession of some degree of judgment and common sense, and who, at least in the direction of their predatory instinct, have been far from manifesting any weakness of purpose and will.

In outward aspect they vary much. In many you see the "forehead villanous low," the scowling expression and ponderous under-jaw of brutal animalism. A few, and these are generally leading spirits, have remarkably clean, well-cut features, and, when not irritated, a certain suavity of address. Many have faces indicative of nothing but restless vanity, and the stealthy motions and furtive glances of others betray a monkey-like cunning. No practical ethnologist can fail to trace in the features of the great majority a large infusion of blood from the sister isle. The brogue has nearly vanished, and the wit, alas! has gone, but the lineaments and excitable temperament remain. Much of the slang also now prevalent has apparently an Irish origin. It is much less rich in its vocabulary than when Lord Lytton wrote his earlier works. They seldom *swear*, in the sense of using profanely the names of sacred things, but their conversation teems with words of foulest import.

All this of course represents only the typical aspect of the class of which we write, but it is a type to which almost all tend, and to which a large majority actually attain. There are, it must be admitted, some whom it is impossible to regard as anything but professional criminals, who have many redeeming points, traits of unselfishness and generosity and some manliness of nature, and a few in whom we can recognise the ruins of what, in other circumstances, might have formed the foundation of a noble character.

The picture has probably been often drawn; it is not a pleasant one; there is not much "sweetness and light" in it; but it is imperfectly known to those who have not penetrated into the dark places of the earth, and it is important for our present purpose that its characteristics be kept in view. Evolutionists may, if they like, translate our analysis into their own language; the practical result will be much the same.

It must be evident that to men whose natures are such as we have described, however irksome compulsory labour and the loss of liberty and sensual indulgence may be, *solitude* must be the most terrible of all inflictions. They are destitute of those mental resources which alone can make it tolerable, and it affords no outlet for that garrulity and vanity and gregarious instinct which are so highly developed in the criminal classes. It is equally evident that, in association, all of them who have not already reached the lowest moral platform must be subjected to the most powerful deteriorating influence.

The *fourth* and last class is that which consists of petty thieves and persons addicted to the commission of some kind of fraud on a very small scale, who have been frequently convicted. These are numerous, forming probably from a fourth to a fifth of the whole body of convicts. They can hardly be termed "professional," but

they are certainly "habitual" criminals. Their depredations have, almost without exception, been very trifling, or if, on some rare occasion, they have lighted on more valuable booty, it has been accidental, when in search of lesser game, and the affair has been clumsily managed and easily detected. Not only have they never actually committed serious crime, but they are, from want of intelligence, courage, and energy, incapable of doing so. They have, however, been so often convicted, that, according to the present law, or at least the present practice of the courts, they have at last been sent to penal servitude, and it is not wonderful that the Rhadamanthus of the quarter sessions, tired of their frequent appearance in the dock, is not sorry to rid the county of their presence, although their last offence has been nothing more heinous than the theft of an old umbrella, a shirt from a drying green, or a few stakes from a fence. Their habit of stealing, especially when under the influence of intoxicating drink, is inveterate; and of course after one period of penal servitude they are sure to incur another, and so on until they become infirm, and commit some trifling crime for the express purpose of being sent to an invalid convict prison, which they prefer to the work-house, and where they pass a peaceful life, knitting stockings or picking oakum to the end of their days. A considerable proportion of this class are from the rural districts.

Whatever may be the effect on the great mass of the population of the general fact that crime, if detected, will be followed by punishment of some kind or other—and there can be no doubt that such influence is powerfully operative, otherwise crime would much more abound—we must have grossly misrepresented the mental and moral condition of the various criminal classes if it is not obvious that, in its *deterrent* agency, the existing system of punishment might be made much more effectual, as regards its action, both on the minds of those actually convicted, and on the large class who stand constantly on the verge of crime. The average convict who has undergone penal servitude retains after its termination only a very hazy recollection of the monotonous solitude of its earlier period. The horrors which filled his imagination when he first escaped from it to the associate prison have faded from his mind, for such incomplete natures are rarely retentive of impressions for any length of time. The more often they undergo a like sentence, the less formidable it becomes; many of them talk of their "next lagging" coolly enough, as one of the natural incidents of life, to be avoided, no doubt, for it involves loss of liberty, beer, tobacco, and other sensual delights, and of the pleasing excitement of the game of crime, but no such terrible affair after all, and certainly, when alternating with a life of adventurous mischief, much to be preferred to voluntary and con-

tinuous industry. The picture which the convict carries with him into the world, and which is reproduced in the imaginations of those with whom he there associates, is not that of the earlier stage of his imprisonment, but of the last and least intolerable portion of it. If he belongs to the habitual class, he has no feeling of disgrace; he has lost no caste, for he had none to lose, and is welcomed by his old associates as a hero or a martyr. Is it credible that at the end of a shorter period of confinement, if passed in solitude, he would not issue from prison with a much deeper sense of the terrors of the law on his own mind, and would not, in conversation, impress a much more formidable idea on the minds of those who constitute his world than at present? As to his moral improvement, is it possible to believe that the ministrations of the most zealous and devout of chaplains can, in one case in ten thousand, have any influence on such beings as we have described sufficient to counteract their mutually polluting intercourse? The only approach to reformatory training, after the termination of the "separate" confinement, which has in its nature much of reality, is the enforcement of regular habits, and the necessity of acquiring and persevering in some kind of labour more or less skilled. These are very good things in themselves, and in most of the prisons are strictly and skilfully aimed at. Mere *discipline*, however, is apt to be overvalued from the convenience of its results in the preservation of external order, and from a false analogy drawn from its use in the army, where the main object is to produce an effective fighting machine. It is not, except in the lowest sense, *moral culture*, and when carried to excess, and unaccompanied by much more effectual teaching of a higher kind than is practicable in an associate prison, it tends, in untutored natures, to an utter confusion of moral ideas, and a mistaking of means for ends. As to industrial training, it is impossible to doubt the utility, for reformatory purposes, of teaching a trade to such persons as the inmates of our convict establishments, and of cultivating habits of regular work in a class some of whose permanent characteristics are inveterate idleness and restless love of change; but it is to be feared that, in many cases, clock-like regularity and enforced labour, especially when the latter is not followed by wages—the natural concomitant of work—produce, on liberation, only a more violent reaction and a craving for some short and exciting road to the possession of money. The remission of part of the sentence, and the small gratuity which prison industry secures, have to a certain extent a beneficial influence as a stimulus to exertion; without these provisions there would be more difficulty than now exists in compelling assiduous labour, and the amount of "malingering" in order to get into hospital (already very great) would be immensely increased. These arrangements, however, are hardly sufficient to establish in

the convict's mind a healthy association between labour and its natural reward. The work and the pay are not brought into sufficient proximity. The whole question of prison work is one beset with difficulties, for it is obvious that the more potent the industrial training is made for the reformation of habits, the less disagreeable it necessarily becomes, and consequently the less effectual as a deterrent. There must be a judicious balancing of these conflicting principles, and a more serious attempt to vary the treatment according to the various classes of criminals, as we shall immediately attempt to show more distinctly.

We have surely now said enough to suggest, reasoning *à priori* to actual experience, that the system now in operation, excellent as it is in some aspects, cannot be expected to be so successful as it might be made, and that it admits of much improvement. It subjects all to a Procrustean process, treating men of the most opposite characters and antecedents alike. It uses, for a short period at the beginning of the sentence, means likely enough to be successful, if persevered in, for the reformation of some, and as a deterrent in the case of a still greater number, and during the long years that follow, does its best both to obliterate the effect of the terrors it has inspired and to kill the seeds of a higher moral life which it may have planted, by the indiscriminate association which has the greatest charm for those who most require to be deterred, and which subjects those whose reformation is otherwise the most probable, to corrupting influences which render that result almost hopeless. In granting remission for industry, it lets loose upon society, in a more corrupted state than ever, men whom no surveillance of police can prevent from lapsing into crime, and places others, who have made the most righteous resolutions of well-doing, in a position which multiplies a hundredfold the difficulty of procuring an honest subsistence, and subjects them to the strongest temptation to return, in very desperation, to that of which they have sincerely repented. It proceeds on a general and most erroneous assumption that all are capable of being deterred, and that all are capable of being reformed, and it applies to all a course of treatment which varies in no single particular except in the period of its duration. It discharges the most obviously incorrigible and dangerous offenders into the bosom of society to commit fresh crime and to initiate others into its practice, the only persons immured for life being in general the perpetrators, no doubt, of heinous crime, but seldom belonging to the "habitual" or "professional" classes, whose liberty is really dangerous to the community.

We are anxious to avoid burdening our pages with numerical statements and statistics, but it has frequently been asserted in authoritative quarters that *à priori* reasoning is of no avail in this question, and that we must look solely to facts and results

empirically ascertained. We shall therefore direct attention to a few considerations which tend greatly to modify the significance of those statistics of crime which are supposed to prove the great efficacy of the present system of punishment. In the *first* place, we are told that, in spite of the rapid increase of population, crime of the most serious kinds is now decreasing, not only in the proportion it bears to population, but absolutely. We have no intention of disputing the accuracy of this statement. In 1861 the number of convictions was 13,879; in 1871 only 11,947. In 1856 the commitments for crime against the person were 1919; in 1873, 2175. For offences against property with violence, in 1856, 2258; in 1873, 1509. For offences against property without violence, 13,670 and 11,265 in those years respectively. The average annual number of sentences of penal servitude for the five years ending 1859 was 3042, and in 1871 only 1818. Of the general decrease there can therefore be no doubt, and the only question is, how far the existing penal servitude system deserves to be credited with the fortunate result. Let it be remembered what powerful agencies of other kinds have been at work during the last fifteen or twenty years. Ragged, industrial, and reformatory schools, training reformatory ships, homes for the children of criminals, rise of wages diminishing temptation, enormous increase in the numbers and skill of the police (which, though it ensures a greater number of detections, acts still more powerfully as a deterrent, for everybody knows that increased risk of discovery has an infinitely more powerful effort than severity of punishment), emigration to the Colonies and United States of great numbers of roughs, many of them Irish, and the general progress of knowledge and Christian civilisation, which unconsciously and indirectly influences even those who themselves are almost totally uneducated.

In the second place, numerical statements are made of another kind. We are told that only a certain percentage of convicts return to penal servitude. The statements of the proportion are so various that it is difficult to estimate their value. It does not appear very clearly what, if any, deduction is made from the number of persons liberated before the percentage of returns is calculated. To compare the number liberated in a given time with the number of persons admitted who are known to have previously undergone a similar sentence, is no fair test of the efficiency of any particular species of punishment. Before placing the one against the other, there must be deducted from the number discharged—(1.) All those who, when set at liberty, were aged and infirm, or in a state of health rendering it impossible for them to begin again a life of active crime, and all who die soon after liberation; (2.) all who emigrate within a short period; (3.)

all who again fall into crime, but from the fact that their offences are committed at a distance from their former haunts, are not known to the police, and their previous convictions are not brought to light, so that they escape with a sentence of ordinary imprisonment ; (4.) all who commit fresh crimes without detection, or in whose case the evidence is insufficient to justify conviction ; (5.) and lastly, the whole class of persons who, from their general habits and character, altogether irrespective of the effect of their first punishment, are not reasonably to be expected to commit a second crime. This last category includes of course a large portion of what we have termed the class of "casual" criminals. Most of these items of deduction are, it is evident, incapable of being ascertained. The real question is, not what percentage of the entire number of convicts actually discharged returns to these prisons, but what proportion returns of those in whose case return is *physically possible*, and (apart from the effect on their minds of the punishment already inflicted) *morally not improbable*. The only data on which such an estimate can be founded with any approach to accuracy are obviously inaccessible.

To admit, however, that in spite of these sources of error in the valuation of actual results, the system is productive of much good in its action as a deterrent, and of some little benefit in the way of reformation, is quite compatible with the contention that it still involves much which is vicious in principle, and which seriously diminishes its efficiency in regard to both of these ends.

We shall now in conclusion indicate, in as few words as possible, the general direction in which reform suggests itself as desirable and attainable.

There are two general principles the neglect of which appears to be at the root of the chief defects which we have endeavoured to point out.

I. That in determining the punishment of each offender, *his importance as a dangerous member of the community* must be kept in view ; that, apart from all consideration of abstract justice and humanity (though these will generally be found coincident), a criminal who is not, and probably never will become, injurious or dangerous to any important interest, is not to be made the subject of an expensive and cumbrous system of punishment. Costly and elaborate means are not to be used for comparatively trivial ends.

II. The other principle is of great moment, but will probably be looked upon as unworkable by some of those who are most conversant with the subject we have in hand. It is that, in determining the amount and kind of punishment to be inflicted, the case of each criminal must be carefully investigated and con-

sidered, so that he shall be looked upon as belonging to one of two classes. He is either *curable* or *incorrigible*. Far be it from us to assert that any human being, however depraved, is absolutely beyond the possibility of repentance and amendment; but we do assert that a very considerable proportion of the inmates of our prisons are *practically incorrigible* by any means which the State can employ in the form of penal discipline; and by "incorrigible" we mean not only that all such means must in their case fail to reform the inner character, but that they must fail even to deter them from relapsing into crime, by the selfish motive of fear. Such is, undoubtedly, the condition of a large number of those whom we have described as the *third* class,—the worst of our habitual and professional thieves and the like. It is also the condition of most of the *fourth* class, or petty habitual thieves, and it is not improbable* that some few of the *second* class may be found to be in a similar predicament. The line can be drawn only roughly and approximately; some cases will be dealt with as incorrigible which are really curable, and *vice versa*, but the vast majority of convicted persons will be classified as they ought, if it is distinctly understood that such classification is necessary, the benefit of *doubt* being, of course, always given to the culprit. This implies that it shall become part of the business of the court to inquire much more strictly than is at present done into the general character, habits, antecedents, motives, and temptations of the accused. It will be the duty of the prisoner's counsel, the police, and above all of public prosecutors, where such exist (and let us hope that England will soon follow the example of other civilised countries in this matter), to aid in the inquiry. It was stated by some of the speakers at the International Prison Congress which met in 1872 under the presidency of Lord Carnarvon, that all estimate of *character* in the case of prisoners is impossible. If this is the case, *cædit questio*. It may be, and probably is, almost impossible on the part of prison officials. Their own rules and the interest which prisoners have in deceiving them necessarily render such estimate extremely difficult, but few who have intelligently studied the work of our criminal courts, especially if they have been personally engaged in that work, will deny that, for practical ends, the desired result is sufficiently attainable at the time of the trial. The importance of this principle necessarily results from the undoubted fact that reformatory and deterrent discipline almost invariably conflict—that there are thousands of cases in which it is the obvious duty of the State to temper the severity of the latter by a certain degree of attention to the former, while, on the other hand, there are, to say the least, hundreds of cases in which reform is hopeless, and in which the deterrent treatment may be carried to its most effectual degree, unembar-

rassed by any considerations except those of justice and of such humanity as the sentiments of the age demand—and, finally, from the expedience of removing from the community altogether, or for the longest period which is practicable, all those who are hopelessly incorrigible, and at the same time dangerous to important interests, in place of restoring them to society from time to time to commit fresh crimes, and to become each the nucleus of a criminal confederacy.

The practical application of these two principles is tolerably evident, though in its details there may be much difficulty and much room for difference of opinion. The *first*, *viz.*, that the relative importance of each offender must be considered, comes into play in reference to a very large proportion of the *fourth* class of criminals, the habitual petty thieves who have been often convicted. These are, for the most part, *incorrigible* more hopelessly than many of the more formidable order. They are, so to speak, *less human*, have less reason and self-control, and their propensities assume the form of irresistible animal instincts even more than in any, except some of the most aggravated specimens, of the latter. Though they are incorrigible, however, they are not *dangerous*, nor can they ever become so in any appreciable degree. If they cannot be reclaimed by six or ten months in a county prison under proper discipline, becoming more severe on each occasion, neither will they receive the slightest benefit from five or ten years' penal servitude, especially when daily conversing with offenders of the higher kinds, who generally impress them with considerable veneration, and exercise much influence over them. It is said, however, that the *ultima ratio* of penal servitude is necessary in such cases as a deterrent. We would ask at what period of their career it is supposed to act upon them in this way? The prospect is too distant and indefinite to influence appreciably the mind of a beginner. They are a childish and impulsive race, and only look to immediate results. When more advanced, and after undergoing three or four short imprisonments, the habit of stealing is deeply rooted, self-control is almost gone; and, be it observed, they do not know exactly *at what stage* the major punishment will overtake them; it may be on occasion of their fourth, their sixth, or their seventh conviction; there is no absolute rule. When they have reached a still more mature development, they are very often no longer able-bodied, and are still more paralysed in will, and incapable of resisting the smallest temptation. Often indeed they are not averse to the quiet retreat of a convict prison as a refuge from themselves and from starvation. We doubt much if any reflecting magistrate or judge, in telling such persons, in stereotyped phrase, that, ordinary imprisonment having been tried several times, and having failed to deter or

reform them, he must now inflict a more severe sentence, has not a secret misgiving and a suspicion that he is applying a wrong remedy. There is a ridiculous incongruity between the means and the proposed end, even assuming occasional instances of success. Criminals of this type are, so to speak, not worth powder and shot. It will scarcely be contended that the social conscience feels any satisfaction from their fate on the score of abstract justice, or that the ignorant masses have their sense of the reality of moral distinctions or their belief in the equity of the law deepened by its contemplation. There is no good reason why the convict establishments should not be relieved of at least one-fifth of their inmates by the abandonment of the practice of inflicting penal servitude on such as clearly belong to the class in question; at the same time, it appears to us a matter worthy of consideration, whether the ordinary imprisonment inflicted on this class in the *earlier* stages of their career might not with advantage be made longer and more irksome than it generally is, so as to afford a chance of cure before the habit of pilfering has become irresistible.

In the punishment of "curables," it is evident that *association*, with its attendant evils, must be as far as possible minimised. Compatibly with the preservation of mental sanity, it is impossible to inflict the absolute solitude of the "separate" system of Millbank and Pentonville throughout a period of many years. The American experiments have proved this long ago, but in that case the solitude and enforced silence were much more absolute than in our present cellular system. Probably, however, few brains are able to bear more than three years even of our own form of this treatment. The solution of the difficulty will be found in a skilful classification of the various grades of curable convicts. Those belonging to what we have described as the *first* or *casual* class might be sent to a special prison where the general rule should be solitude, subject only to modifications absolutely required on medical grounds. Some of the *second* class, and such members of the *third* or habitual class as should, in respect of youth, small number of previous convictions, and other circumstances, be considered not altogether hopeless, might undergo a somewhat similar discipline in a second special prison or order of prisons. Let it be observed that in all this there would be no suspicion of class legislation. These different orders of prisons would be devoted, no doubt, to special classes of convicts, not special, however, in respect of their social position, but of their presumed capability of being reformed, and of the greater or less degree of corrupting influence which they should be held capable of exerting on each other on those exceptional occasions on which considerations of health, or some unavoidable labour, might necessitate a temporary

departure from the law of solitude. The apparent lenity of the shorter sentences which such treatment would involve would be amply counterbalanced by the loss of companionship, both as regards the prisoners themselves and in its deterrent action on those at large. In the minds of the reflecting portion of the public, there would be no violation of the sense of justice, but the reverse. Ample opportunity would be found for such reformatory discipline as might be found desirable, without the counteracting influences now so powerful, and there would not be much difficulty in finding profitable work of a kind which would be performed in solitude. Nearly all the indoor work now done in association would be quite possible in separate cells. Above all, the culprit would issue from prison with a full sense of the disagreeables of punishment, for there would be no relaxation towards the end of the sentence beyond what might be absolutely necessary on sanitary grounds.

For the *incurable* or incurable class different principles come into play, or, rather, the universal principles, applicable to all punishment have to be called forth in very different proportions. Reformation, being confessedly highly improbable or utterly hopeless, must yield to the deterrent element, and to the expediency of removing the dangerous member from society for as long a time as possible. Where all are presumably on so low a level, considerations of mutual corruption need not trouble us; and if a scheme can be devised by which the prisoner is to be cut off from all opportunity of further crime, the gradual amelioration of his lot, as his sentence progresses, will be of little moment, provided his fate be one which will sufficiently impress the imagination of his congeners who have not yet had a similar experience. On the other hand, we must avoid the appearance of returning to the Draconian policy of old times, and of such severity as might defeat its own end by inducing juries to demand an amount of evidence which would be unreasonable.

That some of the *second* and considerable numbers of the *third* class are beyond all question *incurable*, in the practical sense in which we have defined that term, nobody can for a moment doubt, nor can it be denied that they are most *important as dangerous persons*. Whatever professions they may make to prison officials, or to "Prisoners' Aid Societies," or others whom it is their interest to deceive, they are neither deterred nor reformed, but will, with almost the certainty of a physical law, return to a lawless life and the commission of serious crime as long as they are in the possession of sufficient vigour of body and will. Their punishment has, no doubt, deterred many others less hardened, though even this has been done less effectually than might have been accomplished under a more perfect system; but its result in

regard to themselves has been merely to interrupt their professional career for several successive periods of years, and probably to shorten their lives by compulsory labour of a kind for which they were unfitted by habit and by the physical results of a dis-solute life.

All this surely points to what we have indicated above—the policy of removing them altogether from the community. We cannot stamp out crime as we can stamp out a disease which is propagated only by contagion, but the nearer approach we make to that process, the better service we render to the nation. If we are correct in holding that there is a class of criminals which is at once highly dangerous and utterly incurable, and that it is possible, even approximately, to select them from the general mass, it seems difficult to conceive a more imbecile policy than that of periodically shutting them up for some seven or ten years, and, during the intervals of these periods, letting them loose on society to resume their course of plunder, to propagate their peculiar race, both physically and morally, and to cost the nation expense in the shape of police and judicial machinery (not to mention the loss caused by their depredations) almost equal to that which would be required for their permanent restraint.

It will be, no doubt, a startling suggestion to many, that we are to immure any considerable number of our criminals, however incurable and however dangerous, for life. Humanity will object on the one hand, and economy on the other. It seems to us, however, a proposal worthy of the gravest consideration, and, indeed, to be the only logical conclusion to be drawn from the facts. It is not altogether unreasonable to contend that the demands both of humanity and economy would be found to be ultimately satisfied more effectually by what is now suggested than by the present system. A life sentence would have sufficient terrors, although in its course very considerable relaxation of discipline should be gradually made; and, when all hope of return to the outer world should be cut off, the attitude of the prisoners' mind towards life here and hereafter would be profoundly changed, and some few might be predisposed to the reception of the more elevating influences in a way quite impossible in the case of temporary imprisonment, however prolonged, and there is no limit to the amount of internal arrangement which might be adopted for moral ends. We admit that the expense would at *first* be considerable. It must be remembered, however, that the sentences of the curable class would be somewhat shortened in respect of the greater severity of prolonged solitude, and that, as the latter would be to a large extent withdrawn from outdoor labour, there might be some advantage in retaining the incorrigibles for those great and useful public works which are now

carried on by convict labour with so much saving to the public purse. There would also be a considerable diminution of the whole number of persons sent to penal servitude if what we have suggested in regard to the class of petty thieves were followed out in practice. Above all, if the views which we have ventured to advocate are correct, an immense impetus will be given to that gradual diminution of crime, and to all the expenses incident both to its detection and its punishment, which even now, under our imperfect system, has been proved to be going on. Moreover, not only would there be this saving of expenditure on police, judicial machinery, and prisons, but it cannot be doubted that the immense sums at present lost directly by the depredations of the criminal classes would be sensibly decreased by the permanent removal of all the more hardened and skilful leaders. That loss is now estimated at no less than the sum of £190,000 annually in England and Wales! Of this booty, it is reasonable to believe that the greater part is taken by, or under the leadership of, persons who have been frequently convicted. The expediency of completely removing the hardened criminal is very distinctly urged by Colonel Du Cane in his address to the "Repression of Crime" section of the Social Science Association at their meeting in Liverpool in 1875, and surely few men are better entitled to be listened to on such questions than the official head of the convict prison department.

Let it also be remembered that professional and habitual criminals are by no means a long-lived race. No such glut of the convict prisons for incorrigibles would take place as the tables of an actuary adapted to the lives of persons in a normal condition would indicate.

We have refrained from discussing the vexed question of penal colonies, for to do so would oblige us greatly to exceed our limits, and because it seems to be tacitly assumed on all hands that the acquisition of such is now impossible. Were they attainable, however, they would naturally take the place of the existing hard-labour stations for the reception of incorrigibles undergoing life sentences, and the question would be relieved of some of its practical difficulties. Probably a probationary period of a few years at the home establishment, before being consigned to the colony, would be a prudent arrangement. It would accustom the convicts to discipline and work, and obviate the objection often urged to transportation, that its prospect operated as a temptation to crime. After another probationary service in the colony, greater relaxation of discipline, almost amounting to liberty, might in many cases be found practicable. A return to honest industry may be possible in a country where it would *pay* better to work than to steal, in the case of some persons absolutely incorrigible

when within reach of their old haunts in Birmingham, Liverpool, or the purlieu of Whitechapel. In any view, the convicts would be useful, were the colony well chosen, as the pioneers of civilisation in preparing a place for better men. In all cases of return to the mother-country, it would be essential that the most rigorous incarceration for life should be the result.

We are not ignorant of the fact that the transportation system worked badly in many respects, but it is surely unreasonable to doubt that a better organisation could be devised in these days. It is natural to expect that persons connected with the administration of the existing system shall, in perfect sincerity, be disposed to exalt its merits over those of the extinct machinery which it has superseded. They can point, with allowable pride, to a certain amount of success, and to the admirable external working order which they have effected. The chairman of the Convict Prison Directors, however, in the excellent address above alluded to, freely admits the many important advantages inherent in the practice of transportation in effecting the entire removal of the more dangerous criminals.

As to the alleged impossibility of reviving penal colonies, we have only to say, that it is surely a strange thing to assert that, to the limited extent required for our actually hopeless incorrigibles, such a possession is absolutely unattainable on this half-inhabited planet, by the most wealthy, the most intensely colonising, and the most adventurous of nations, were the necessity for it fully recognised.

We have only, in conclusion, to make one other remark. Assuming that we have been successful in demonstrating the evils of the present indiscriminate treatment on the one hand, and that, on the other, we are mistaken in contending that it is practicable to classify offenders according to character, ascertained or inferred from their history and the circumstances of their crimes, there still remains the alternative of drawing a hard and fast line founded on the two facts of *age* and the *number of convictions*. Let all who have been more than a certain number of times convicted of serious crimes, and have attained maturity, be considered "incorrigibles" and dealt with accordingly, and let those convicted for the *first time*, unless in cases of great atrocity, be considered as "casuals," while the class intermediate between these shall undergo some suitable discipline of an intermediate kind. The expedient would be clumsy and open to this objection, that the more astute and skilful *leaders* of crime often escape numerous convictions, while their more simple tools are detected; but it would be a slight improvement upon the existing system, and would be an admission of the existence of an important principle.

The excellent report of the "Howard Association" of last September contains many hints in the direction of much that we have now advocated, and the work entitled "Five Years Penal Servitude, by one who has endured it," a book which bears on its face honesty of statement and of purpose, and shows no small amount of penetration, contends in a less systematic form for many of the changes which we wish to see put in force, especially the complete separation of the "casual" class from the hardened offenders. It is a book which ought to be carefully studied by all thoughtful persons, and all connected with legislation on this subject or with the administration of the criminal law. It ends by a suggestion which we look upon as most important. The author proposes that another Royal Commission should be appointed to investigate the whole working of the present system.

"Let men," says he, "who, like myself, have seen the ins and outs and shortcomings be encouraged and invited to give evidence *in camera*, with proper guarantee and protection against their names being brought publicly forward to their detriment. Let them take the evidence of prisoners now serving their sentences, selecting them from all classes, such evidence to be given without the presence of the prison authorities, and I am confident that a mass of useful information would be obtained.

"They would find out sore points to be further investigated, and would be able to get views of the subject taken from quite a different standpoint to the stereotyped ideas of visiting magistrates, prison officials, chaplains, and police. Of course a great deal of such evidence would require to be taken *cum grano*, but out of the mass there would be no difficulty in separating the chaff from the grain."

A commission, of which Lord Kimberley is chairman, is now actually sitting, for the purpose of examining into the provisions and working of the Penal Servitude Acts. Whether they will take evidence of the kind suggested, we do not know. Possibly they may do so in the case of Fenians and other political offenders; possibly they may go further. We shall look with some anxiety for their report. Of this we are quite certain, that whatever may have been the efforts of prison directors or prison governors in the direction of some of the reforms which we have discussed, they will never be able to carry them out with genuine efficiency until the principles of these reforms are recognised and systematised by actual legislation. None of them can be carried out to the necessary extent, and some of them cannot be even attempted, by means of the bye-laws of a Board of Directors.

The author has very strong views on the subject of *flogging*. He suggests that it should be employed to a much greater extent than it is—in fact, that most of the more serious cases of habitual or professional crime should be subjected to it, and (*apropos* of what we also have said in respect to the evil effects of the *gradual*

mitigation of the rigour of punishment as the sentence approaches its end) that it should be inflicted, not as at present, at the *beginning* of the man's servitude, but several times at equal intervals. With much that he says on this matter we agree, especially with what we have just alluded to, and we are fully convinced that there is much mawkish sentiment in the minds of the public in regard to the supposed "hardening effect" of such punishments. The truth is, that a very large proportion of the worst class of criminals can be deterred only by the terror of *physical pain*. They are constantly exposed to the risk of flogging at present for mere prison offences, often committed under strong provocation, and we hear nothing of its hardening effect. They are animals, and must be treated as such. If they are themselves incorrigible, even by such coarse measures, the effect on those at large would be most salutary, and the hardening influence cannot be expected to extend to those who have never yet been subject to this degradation, but only fear it.

We have thus endeavoured to indicate in rough outline the general principles of those changes which would, we believe, if brought into operation, much facilitate the working out of this great social problem, and have directed attention to what seems to us the weak points of the existing system. If we have succeeded only in the latter of these attempts, and have pointed out defects to be remedied and difficulties which must be boldly faced, we shall not feel that we have altogether failed in our object, though our views in regard to the special changes to be effected should be denounced as crude and unpractical. If we have correctly diagnosed the disease, let others suggest the details of the remedy.

ART. VI.—LIFE OF THE PRINCE CONSORT.

The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort. By THEODORE MARTIN. Vol. III. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1877.

IN a former number * we reviewed the two first volumes of this interesting work, and on the appearance of the third volume we resume our task. The author finds himself unable to carry out his original intention of completing the work in three volumes, and we are bidden to look for a fourth, concluding the work. In truth, Mr. Martin has been run away with by his

* Westminster Review, New Series, No. CL, January 1877.

materials. He confesses this himself. "I can scarcely hope," he says, "to have escaped the risk of being charged with passing, upon occasion, from the sphere of the biographer to that of the historian. But, in truth, the Prince's life being, as it was, engrossed with the great events of a time which has already become historical, this was a risk which must perforce be run by his biographer, however much he might feel himself fettered by the proximity of the events, and by a proper regard for the feelings of such actors upon the political stage as may still survive, or the representatives of those who have passed away." * In truth, this volume is less a biography of the Prince Consort than a history of the present reign during the years 1854-1856, *i.e.*, the period of the Crimean War; Mr. Martin gives us far more of the Queen's views, opinions, and correspondence than those of the Prince; and the volume is rather an autobiography of the Queen during these two years of her reign, than "The Life of the Prince Consort." Its publication singly, and at the time when it was published, is significant.

We assent to the judgment on this matter of the writer of a pamphlet with the title "The Crown and the Cabinet." † This pamphlet, remarkable for the force of its argument, the clearness of its style, its irony, and its outspoken tone—so outspoken, indeed, as, if report be to be trusted, to lead to its exclusion from the library of the Reform Club—describes this volume in terms which we cannot hope to improve, and therefore venture to transcribe:—

"This instalment of the Prince Consort's life is a message from the Crown, not conveyed to us through responsible ministers, who would be able to withhold anything of which they disapproved, or to soften touches which they thought too severe or wanting in prudence, but a message sent straight to the nation over the heads of ministers, and only too well adapted to fire the resentments which those who are responsible for the policy of the country might have wished to allay" (p. 6).

We decline to follow Mr. Martin into either the history of the Crimean War or of the portion of the Queen's reign to which the volume relates, and, with one exception, confine ourselves to the personal life of the Prince Consort. The exception we refer to is as to the position and duties of the Sovereign of these realms, the head of this great Monarchical republic. Everybody remem-

* Introductory Letter to the Queen, p. 6.

† "The Crown and the Cabinet. Five Letters on the Biography of the Prince Consort." By Verax. Reprinted from "The Manchester Weekly Times." Manchester: Alex. Ireland & Co.

bers Lord Brougham's description of the Whig doctrine as to the Kingly office, written after he had seceded from the party, and with the object, as was at the time suspected, of ingratiating himself with the Queen, who had then lately ascended the throne. In his sketch of George III., after saying, "For the greater affairs of State, it is well known how substantially he insisted upon being the king *de facto* as well as *de jure*," the noble and learned writer goes on to say:—

"The first impression which such conduct makes is unfavourable to the monarch, and, at first sight, even gives rise to an opinion that it was unconstitutional. But further reflection makes this somewhat more than doubtful. The question is, Does the king of this country hold a real or only a nominal office? Is he merely a form, or is he a substantive power in our mixed and balanced constitution? Some maintain, nay, it is a prevailing opinion among certain authorities of no mean rank, that the sovereign, having chosen his ministers, assigns over to them the whole executive power. They treat him as a kind of trustee for a temporary use, to preserve, as it were, some contingent estate; or a provisional assignee, to hold the property of an insolvent for a day, and then divest himself of the estate by assigning it over. They regard the only power really vested in the Crown to be the choice of ministers, and even the exercise of this to be controlled by the Parliament. They reduce the king more completely to the condition of a State pageant or State cypher than one of Abbé Sieyès's constitutions did, when he proposed to have a grand functionary with no power except to give away offices; upon which Napoleon, then First Consul, to whom the proposition was tendered, asked if it well became him to be made a 'cochon à l'engrais, à la somme de trois millions par an.' The English animal, according to the Whig doctrine, much more nearly answers this somewhat coarse description, for the Abbé's plan was to give his royal beast a substantial voice in the distribution of all patronage; while our lion is only to have the sad prerogative of napping whomsoever the Parliament chooses, and eating his own mess in quiet.

"Now, with all the disposition in the world to desire that royal prerogative should be restricted, and the will of the nation govern public affairs, we cannot comprehend this theory of a monarchy. It assigns to the Crown either far too much revenue, or far too little power. To pay a million a year, or more, for a name seems extravagantly absurd. Surely the meaning of having a sovereign is that his voice should be heard, and his influence felt, in the administration of public affairs. The different orders of the State have a right to look to that high quarter, all in their turn, for support when their rights are invaded by one another's encroachments, or to claim the royal umpirage when their mutual conflicts cannot be settled by mutual concessions; and unless the whole notion of a fixed monarchy and a balance of three powers is a mere fiction and a dream, the royal portion of the

composition must be allowed to produce some effect upon the quality of the whole." *

Who were the authorities of no mean rank to whom Lord Brougham refers we know not; but we can test the truth of the proposition which he calls "the Whig doctrine" by the practice of the three Whig premiers of the present reign, Lords Melbourne, Russell, and Palmerston. As to the first, we have the testimony of the Duke of Wellington, given when leader of the Tory opposition in the Lords:—

"I am willing to admit that the noble viscount has rendered the greatest possible service to Her Majesty. I happen to know that it is Her Majesty's opinion that the noble viscount has rendered Her Majesty the greatest possible service, making her acquainted with the mode and policy of the Government of this country, initiating her into the laws and spirit of the Constitution, independently of the performance of his duty as the servant of Her Majesty's Crown—teaching her, in short, to preside over the destinies of this great country." †

As to Lord Melbourne's Whig successors in the premiership, their practice is shown throughout the three volumes of Mr. Martin's work, every chapter of which contains ample evidence to enable us to answer in the affirmative Lord Brougham's two questions—"Does the King of this country hold a real or only a nominal office?" "Is he merely a form, or is he a substantive power in our mixed and balanced Constitution?" An early page in this third volume supplies us with an illustration:—

"The Queen," writes Her Majesty to Lord Aberdeen, "is rather startled at seeing Lord Aberdeen's answer to Lord Roden on the subject of a day of humiliation, as he has never mentioned the subject to her, and it is one upon which she feels strongly. The only thing the Queen ever heard about it was from the Duke of Newcastle, who suggested the *possibility* of an *appropriate* prayer being introduced into the Liturgy, in which the Queen quite agreed; but he was strongly against a day of humiliation, in which the Queen also entirely agreed, as she thinks we have recourse to them far too often, and they thereby lose all effect. The Queen, therefore, hopes that this will be reconsidered carefully, and a prayer substituted for the 'Day of Humiliation.' Were the services selected for these days of a different kind from what they are, the Queen would feel less strongly about it; but they always select chapters from the Old Testament and Psalms which are so totally inapplicable, that all the effect such occasions ought to

* "Historical Sketches of Statesmen," tit. Geo. III.

† Speech in the House of Lords, August 24, 1841, quoted in Torren's "Memoirs of Viscount Melbourne," ii. p. 237.

have is entirely done away with. Moreover, to say (as we probably should) that the *great sinfulness of the nation* has brought about this war, when it is the selfishness and ambition and want of honesty of *one man* and his servants which has done it, while our conduct throughout has been actuated by unselfishness and honesty, would be too manifestly repulsive to the feelings of every one, and would be a mere bit of hypocrisy. Let there be a prayer expressive of our great thankfulness for the immense benefits we have enjoyed, and for the immense prosperity of the country, and entreating God's help and protection in the coming struggle. In this the Queen would join heart and soul. If there is to be a day set apart, let it be for prayer in this sense."

Precedent, however, was stronger than the royal wish, however sensible it might be, and it was decided that a day must be set apart, and thereupon the Queen returned to the charge.

"The Queen had meant to speak to Lord Aberdeen yesterday about this day of 'prayer and supplication,' as she particularly wishes it should be called, and not 'fast and humiliation,' as after a calamity. Surely it should not be a day of *mourning*. The Queen spoke very strongly about it to the Archbishop, and urged great care in the selection of the service. Would Lord Aberdeen inculcate the Queen's wishes into the Archbishop's mind, that there be no *Jewish imprecations* against our enemies, &c., but an earnest expression of thankfulness to the Almighty for the immense blessings we have enjoyed, as well as of entreaty for protection of our forces by land and sea, and to ourselves in the coming struggle ?

"If Lord Aberdeen will look at the service to be used at sea, he will find a beautiful prayer 'to be used before a fight at sea,' which the Queen thinks (as well as other portions of that fine service) would be very applicable to the occasion, as there is no mention of the sea."

"The wish," adds Mr. Martin, "here so strongly expressed as to the character of the services to be used on the day of solemn fast, humiliation, and prayer, was carried out" (iii. pp. 59, 60).

In reviewing the part in public affairs taken by the Queen and the Prince during the two years narrated in this volume, it should be borne in mind that the Queen was wholly governed by the Prince, and that the Prince, if not governed, was in the highest degree influenced and led by Stockmar. Just at this period that German adventurer had taken upon himself to send to the Prince the mischievous and unconstitutional paper which will be found towards the close of the second volume of the "Life," and which, in Mr. Martin's profound judgment, is "a vigorous Constitutional Essay."

We have on two previous occasions plainly and at length stated our views as to Stockmar's unconstitutional position, opinions,

and interference in English politics.* In these views we are glad to find that we are supported by the author of "The Crown and the Cabinet."†

Stockmar's Essay, so much admired by Mr Martin, is as abundant in vigour as it is lacking in constitutionalism. It will be remembered that the cardinal doctrines of this Essay are, "That since the first Reform Bill England has been constantly in danger of becoming a ministerial government." "That ministers cannot be trusted to defend the Royal prerogative," and, whenever they try to do so, "they show nothing but lukewarmness, timidity, and, above all, that maladroitness which comes from want of good-will." The old Tories, indeed, who governed the country from 1780 to 1830, did their duty in respect of the prerogative pretty well; but, says the Baron, "These Tories have died out, and the race which in the present day (1854) bears the name are simply degenerate bastards." Moderate Tories, "politicians of the Aberdeen school, are said to treat the existing Constitution merely as a bridge to a Republic." If bastard and moderate Tories were bad, the Whigs were far worse; they "stand in the same relation to the throne as the wolf does to the lamb: they must have a natural inclination to push to extremes the constitutional *fiction*, which, although undoubtedly of old standing, is fraught with danger; that it is unconstitutional to introduce and make use of the name and person of the irresponsible sovereign in the public debates in matters bearing on the Constitution." This "damnable position and doctrine," to use the words of the oath of the Queen's sovereignty, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, must be resisted unto death, and the contrary practice insisted on by the Crown, or else the people will "think that the King, in the view of the law, is nothing but a mandarin figure, which has to nod its head in assent, or shake it in denial, as the minister pleases." The Prince Consort in marrying the Queen became, perforce, "a political soldier," the end and object of whose warfare was to fight against the ministers for the maintenance and extension of the prerogative, "and no opportunity should be let slip of vindicating the legitimate position of the Crown." The sovereign of England, according to Stockmar, should be as Louis-Philippe was, "the permanent president of his ministerial council—the permanent premier"—that is, as this position is defined by the author of "The Crown and the Cabinet," he should "preside at

* *Vide* Westminster Review, N.S., No. 76, April 1813, Art. Irresponsible Ministers: Baron Stockmar. *Ibid.*, No. 101, January 1877, Art. The Life of the Prince Consort.

† *Vide* Letter 5, pp. 41-50.

every meeting of the Cabinet, he has a right to take part in the initiation and the making of the Government measures, to form an independent judgment in all matters, and to do his best to make his views prevail." In the case of a sovereign like the present Queen—a person of natural ability, high education, and a political experience of more than forty years—something might be said in favour of such a claim; but Stockmar's assertion is universal. How it would work we can see from the accounts given by Mr. Greville and Mr. M'Cullagh Torrens of the attempt at personal government by William IV. Whoever dissented from these views of Stockmar's he pronounced to be "crack-brained sciolists." If he be right, then we ourselves fall within that category; but if on this question we err, we err in good company. When, on the formation of the Coalition Ministry in 1783, Mr. Fox urged on Lord North that the King should not be suffered to be his own minister, Lord North—speaking after his many years' experience of George III.'s personal rule and its results—replied, "The King ought to be treated with all sort of respect and attention; but the appearance of power is all that a king of this country can have."* The judgment founded on experience of two English statesmen of the first rank surely outweighs the theorisings of a German physician.

Fortunate is it for this country that the author of such unsound and mischievous advice is no longer at hand to give his evil counsel to the Crown. There can be doubt that the Prince was much influenced by this "vigorous essay," and to the same inspiration, no doubt, is to be attributed the claim he set up to be "the permanent minister of the Queen."† To the same source must be attributed the scarcely concealed contempt for and distrust of the Parliament which appears throughout the Prince's correspondence with Stockmar. It is due to the Queen to say that Her Majesty takes a very different view of her position. In a remarkable letter to Napoleon III. the Queen pointed out the difference between the English and French Governments, and the superiority of her position to that of her correspondent.

"Your Majesty," writes the Queen, "has great advantage over me in the mode of conducting your policy and your negotiations. You are answerable to nobody. You can keep your own counsel; employ in your negotiations whatever person or form you choose; you can alter your course when you please, or give, by a word spoken by

* Earl Russell's "Memorials of Fox," vol. ii. p. 37.

† *Vide* the Prince's Letter to the Duke of Wellington of 10th April 1850. *Life*, vol. ii. pp. 260-62.

yourself at any time, that direction to public affairs which strikes you at the moment as most advantageous. I, on the other hand, am bound by certain rules and usages. I have no uncontrolled power of decision. I must adopt the advice of a council of responsible ministers, and these ministers have to meet and to agree on a course of action after having arrived at a *joint conviction* of its justice and utility. They have, at the same time, to take care that the steps which they wish to take are not only in accordance with the best interests of the country, but also such that they can be explained to and defended in Parliament, and that their fitness may be brought home to the conviction of the nation.

“There is, however, another side to this picture in which I consider that I have an advantage which your Majesty has not. Your policy runs the risk of remaining unsupported by the nation ; and the irresistible conviction that your people will not follow it to the end, may expose you to the dangerous alternative of either having to impose it upon them against their will, or of having suddenly to alter your course abroad, and even, perhaps, to encounter grave resistance. I, on the other hand, can allow my policy free scope to work out its own consequences, certain of the steady and consistent support of my own people, who, having had a share in determining my policy, feel themselves to be identified with it” (iii. pp. 397, 398).

We might say much more on this subject, but it is time for us to deal with so much of this volume as relates to the personal life, conduct, and opinions of its illustrious subject. The fault of the two preceding volumes of this work is not less conspicuous in the third—namely, its tone of constant and indiscriminate eulogy ; though, considering the circumstances under which the biographer writes, nothing else could be expected. We again adopt the words of the writer we have before quoted :—

“The conclusion, which shines with dazzling brightness on every page of his biography, is that the Prince was never in the wrong, while his critics and opponents were never in the right. He stands before us like some immortal hero, under the soft effulgence of his native heaven—an Ulysses, an Arthur, a Bayard, and an Admirable Crichton, rolled in one, the mixture being so happily compounded, that the several failings of the constituent personalities are expelled, and all their perfections made accordant. The world around him is described as all ‘mad’ or ‘insane,’ or given over to the most contemptible ambitions ; serpents, dragons, and things of odious name prowl round the sacred enclosure within which this divinity resides, and strive to annoy him by their malignant cries and noisome odours. But he is always grand and wise and calm ; or if his serenity is ever disturbed, it is by simply reflecting upon the ingratitude of those who have not the sense to comprehend him. Now, this representation may be true to the life and to the letter, but we can hardly be expected to take it for granted. The reputations of some great Englishmen depend on the result ; and not reputations only, but some constitutional questions

of considerable importance. Historical justice and the dictates of a watchful patriotism require us to dispute some of the conclusions which it is the main object of this book to hold forth as triumphantly established.”*

The perusal of this volume confirms and strengthens us in the belief, that the chief characteristic of the Prince's mind was, what we venture to call, “meddlesomeness.” He interfered with everybody and everything. The Cabinet were always being pelted with memoranda on every possible occasion and on every possible subject. The responsible ministers of the Crown were inundated with letters containing the Prince's views or suggestions as to the business of their departments, couched frequently in such terms as those in which a principal directs his subordinate. We are invited to believe that the successive ministers of all parties received these communications not only with pleasure, but with gratitude. We cannot believe it of such men as Lord Palmerston, with his great experience, or Lord Derby, with his high temper and strong will.

The result of this excessive activity was to make the Prince mistrusted and disliked. He seems to have felt that he was so ; and, amidst all the splendour of his position, if he was not actually unhappy, his state of mind was habitually melancholy and morbid. As to this we have the testimony of a competent and trustworthy witness. We quote from a recently published Memoir the following passage :—

“He (Dean Stanley), saw a great deal of Princess Hohenloe (the Queen's half-sister), whom he describes as charming. She told him that the Prince was not only certain that he should die early, but that he wished to do so ; and this wish arose principally from the very high ideal he had always before him, and his feelings of his own shortcomings, and of the difficulties that surrounded him. He would say, ‘Though I am quite happy here, I look forward to the time when God will call me, where I can serve Him better, and without the limitations that encompass me here.’ He believed he was going to more earnest and devoted work than he could carry on whilst in the body.

“He was always trying to prepare the Queen for his going first. The Princess says the Queen went out every morning to look at the cows and go round the farm, because he had been used to do so ; that her only comfort was the conviction that his spirit was close to her, which he had also assured her would be the case.” †

This volume continues the narrative of the events of 1854, which was begun at the close of the second. We were then, it

* “The Crown and the Cabinet,” pp. 14, 15.

† “Memoir of Charlotte Williams Wynn,” edited by her sister, p. 294.

will be remembered, drifting into the Crimean War. On 8th March, the Prince, "in accordance with his practice," stated his view of the position in one of those memoranda, to the composition of which he was so much addicted, and from which we make these extracts.

"Whether the Turkish Empire, as such, will be able to maintain its existence or not is not the question; and it would be useless to seek to determine this problem by anticipation. But it is quite certain, that if Europe maintains a united front against Russia, the solution must be in accordance with European interests, because it makes the realisation of the schemes of Russia impossible. On the other hand, it is said, 'A war against Russia is foolish, for she cannot be conquered.' Russia, no doubt, is not a country to be conquered in the sense in which Napoleon in 1812 imagined it might be; but it is not therefore invincible, as people there and in Germany say it is. For the vital force of a State does not rest in an unshattered army, and in the maintenance of a wide expanse of territory, but in the stability and abundance of its material resources, and in its political homogeneity and commanding position. Both may, in the case of Russia, be brought into extreme peril."

We commend the foregoing to those who in this day go in fear of Russia. We call attention to what follows, for the purpose of testing the Prince's political wisdom and foresight, which have been so much vaunted.

"Prussia, unhappy country! The king is the tool of Russian dictation, partly from fear of Russia, partly from an absurdly sentimental feeling for the Emperor as the representative of the Holy Alliance. . . . That every good German desires the consolidation, perhaps the aggrandisement of Prussia is intelligible; but physical expansion is and ought to be the result of moral strength and struggle, and people ought to see that the war with Russia would offer many chances to attain the desired object, in a way which Europe would regard as consonant with her own interests and those of civilisation" (iii. pp. 12, 15).

It was a singular idea of "a moral struggle" to urge Prussia to fight Russia on a question in which the statesmen of Prussia thought she had no interest, for the sake of consolidating or perhaps aggrandising herself.

From a letter to his uncle, the King of the Belgians, we learn the Prince's estimate of the English journals and the English people. Of the former he says, "To be plain-spoken, perhaps not over-scrupulous, is their vocation;" of the latter, "Another mistake which people abroad make, is to ascribe to England a policy based upon material interests and cold calculation. Her policy is one of pure feeling, and therefore often illogical. The Government is a popular Government, and the

masses upon whom it rests only feel, *they do not think*" (iii. p. 21).

We deviate in one instance from the line we have laid down for ourselves, in order to call attention to a fact of no little interest. It would seem that the Queen and the Prince found cause to regret their conduct in driving Lord Palmerston from the Foreign Office, and on the reconstruction of the Liberal Cabinet preventing the seals of that office being again entrusted to him. "In writing (20th December 1853) to Lord Clarendon," the Queen says, "Lord Palmerston's method of proceeding always had that advantage, that it threatened steps which it was hoped would not become necessary, whilst those hitherto taken started on the principle of not needlessly offending Russia by threats, obliging us at the same time to take the very steps which we refused to threaten" (iii. p. 25 *note*).

From a letter to his political mentor at Coburg, we gain some knowledge of the Prince's ideas on Parliamentary reform:—

"Lord John has introduced his Reform Bill, and although Parliament is now, as before, most anxious to get quit of the whole question, and all parties, the Whigs included, would fain get Lord John out of the way at once and for ever, yet the measure has met with so much genuine support throughout the country by reason of its fairness, moderation, liberality, and comprehensiveness, that Parliament will have to deal warily both with it and its originator. The Radicals decided yesterday at a private meeting on giving their adhesion to it. The Bill is moreover a really good one, especially the introduction of a principle of a representation of minorities, by way of compensation for the extension of the franchise" (iii. p. 29).

The representation of minorities is a crotchet sure to commend itself to the German mind. Our readers will observe that it is the insertion of this crotchet in the Bill which made it "specially good," the concession to democracy, *i.e.*, the extension of the suffrage must not be made without something by way of compensation to the possessors of power.

At this time the late King of Prussia addressed to the Queen a letter written for the purpose of bringing about a reconciliation with Russia, and so averting the horrors of war. The letter ended with this passage:—

"In conclusion, will your Majesty allow me to say one word for Prussia and myself? *I am resolved to maintain a position of complete neutrality; and to this I add, with proud elation, my people and myself are of one mind. They require absolute neutrality from me. They say, and I say, 'What have we to do with the Turk?'* Whether he stand or fall in no way concerns the industrious Rhinelanders and the husbandmen of the Riesengeberg and Bernstein. Grant that the Russian tax-gatherers are an odious race, and that of

late monstrous falsehoods have been told and outrages perpetrated in the Imperial name. It was the Turk, and not we who suffered, and the Turk has plenty of good friends; but the Emperor is a noble gentleman and has done us no harm. Your Majesty will allow that this North German sound practical sense is difficult to gainsay" (iii. p. 41).

What was the answer?

"To rebuke (says Mr. Martin), without violating the form of courtesy, the amiable but most mischievous weakness which pervades this letter, and to make an appeal to a sentiment higher than the short-sighted and selfish policy which it announced, was no easy task. But the firm hand and admirable tact which never failed the sovereign was equal to the task. Her Majesty's reply was in German, and the earnest conviction under which it was written is visible in the firm and fluent characters of the draught of it in the Prince's autograph, which lies before us without a word of erasure or interlineation as we translate.

"When your Majesty tells me (the Queen was made to say) that you are now determined to 'assume an attitude of complete neutrality,' and that in this mind you appeal to your people, who exclaim with sound practical sense: 'It is to the Turk that violence has been done; the Turk has plenty of good friends, and the Emperor has done us no harm,' I do not understand you. Had such language fallen from the King of Hanover or of Saxony I could have understood it; but up to the present hour I have regarded Prussia as one of the five great powers, which since the peace of 1815 have been the guarantees of treaties, the guardians of civilisation, the champions of right, and ultimate arbitrators of the nations; and I have for my part felt the holy duty to which they were thus divinely called, being at the same time perfectly alive to the obligations, serious as they are, and fraught with danger which it imposes. Renounce these obligations, my dear brother, and in doing so you renounce for Prussia the *status* which she has hitherto held, and if the example thus set should find imitators, European civilisation is abandoned to the winds; right will no longer find a champion, nor the oppressed an umpire to appeal to" . . . (iii. p. 44).

A letter to Stockmar informs us of a scene between Baron Bunsen (the Prussian Ambassador) and Lord Clarendon, in which the Baron declared that "Prussia would not be bullied," and telegraphed to the King that Lord Clarendon "answered him in very violent language, which (the Prince adds) was true." The Prince's warlike temper increased. "Even yet, he complained to Stockmar, Aberdeen cannot rise to the level of the situation; the war is, in his eyes, like a civil war, like a war between England and Scotland" (pp. 46, 47). The mentor having expressed his approbation of the Queen's letter to the King of Prussia, the Prince complacently replied,—“I am much pleased that you

like Victoria's letter. There is now no longer any excuse to be made on the ground of ignorance of the truth" (p. 55). The same letter lets us know more of the truth about the relations between Lords Russell and Palmerston.

"Here (April 1854) in our home affairs we have had another crisis produced by the difference between Palmerston and Lord John about Reform. This is now postponed, at least till next Christmas, for which date Palmerston declares he will continue his opposition to that Reform, which he has now for the third time allowed to be promised to Parliament by Lord John in his presence. Lord John is furious; but Palmerston continues to be the only popular man, and the only *national and liberal minister*. Aberdeen behaves in the same high-minded, courageous, and conciliatory spirit he has always shown, but he has no end of troubles" (p. 56).

From a letter to another correspondent we learn that, in the opinion of the Prince, "If there had been a *Germany and a German* sovereign at Berlin, it (the war) could never have happened." The state of things desired by the Prince now exists. Probably before these lines meet our reader's eyes they may have had an opportunity of seeing its influence in preventing, or otherwise, another war with Russia.

The same chapter from which our last extract was taken contains abundant proof of what Mr. Martin calls the "Prince's characteristic energy." Thus, on the 10th May, he presides over the Bicentenary Festival of the Sons of the Clergy; on the 13th he is present at the launch of the *Royal Albert* at Woolwich; on the same day—

"He went with Lord Hardinge and Sir John Burgoyne by train to Guildford, and thence on horseback to Aldershot Common, over which they rode for three hours, arriving at the conclusion that it would afford an admirable site for the permanent camp which the Prince had long set his heart on seeing established. A few days later (19th May) he started early in the morning with Lord Derby, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and Colonel Talbot, and spent several hours in examining some ground near Epsom Downs, which had been proposed as the site for the Wellington College. In the afternoon he presided at a meeting of the Fine Arts Commission, and in the evening went to hear the Cologne Choir. The war (says Mr. Martin) immensely increased the graver demands upon his attention. Not a detail in connection with either army or navy escaped him. He knew to a man the strength of both forces, where they were, how equipped, and for what they could be made available. The dispatches to and from abroad were more numerous than usual, and the pressure of his correspondence, always great, had grown heavier than ever. . . . Bunsen, the valued and intimate friend of many years . . . has to be seen, and the grave aspect of affairs at Berlin to be discussed with him. But pre-occupied although the Prince necessarily was with such

incidents as these, he found time to preside more than once during the month at the meetings of the Royal Commission, to hear Faraday lecture at the Royal Institution on 'Mental Education,' to inspect the works of the students of the School of Design at Gore House, and to be present at *soirees* given by Lord Ross to the Royal Society, and by Lord de Grey to the Society of British Architects, where he threw himself heart and soul into the study of the Inventions and Designs which formed the attraction of these meetings, as though science and art were the sole subject of his thoughts" (pp. 65-68).

Again we find him presiding at the Trinity House dinner, and vigorously stirring up the war feeling. No reasonable person can, we think, doubt that this universal diffusion of his attention made the Prince's supervision of the various departments and affairs he attempted to manage and control desultory and superficial. Except as an ornamental colonel of one or more regiments, the Prince was utterly without experience in military affairs. Yet we are told he "gave a special study to the question, How the advance against Sebastopol was to be conducted" (p. 86), and the result of his studies is, of course, embodied in one of the countless memoranda, which he poured forth on cabinets and ministers. "We are not in a position to say, however (Mr. Martin tells us), whether it ever went beyond the hands of the Duke of Newcastle, but those who are familiar with what was subsequently done to prepare for the landing in the Crimea will know how closely the steps taken correspond with the main suggestions of the Prince's sketch" (p. 92). The biographer evidently wishes his readers to believe that the Prince is entitled to the honour of planning and directing the invasion of the Crimea. The firm adherence of the King of Prussia to the position of neutrality he had taken up continued to vex the Prince. "Prussia's conduct," he writes to Stockmar, "is truly revolting, and the King is looked upon by all political men here with profound contempt." Looking at the connection of the royal families of England and Prussia, we marvel at the taste which permits the publication of such sentences as this. The King of Prussia having written the Prince complaining "of the unfortunate animosity of English diplomacy" against him, the Prince in the course of his reply writes:—

"I should not be dealing with you as a true friend were I not frankly to avow that this animosity does, in fact, exist—not merely, however, in English diplomacy, but also in the English nation, the French nation, and also, unless I am mistaken, a considerable section of the Germans. And your Majesty will scarcely say that it is wholly unjustifiable if you recall the events of the last few months. . . . I am quite aware that you do all this in order to secure for Prussia the blessings of peace; but you must not be surprised if the West shows

displeasure towards a Government whose policy is directed solely to protracting the state of war, to throwing obstacles in the way of peace, and flinging wide the entrance for the spirit of revolution, which proffers Russia the most important services, by keeping Germany divided, by crippling Austria, by fostering Russian commerce, and in this way prevents the European question, which has been raised by the misdeeds of Russia, from being settled in the *interest* of Europe, and by a *united Europe*" (p. 99).

One of the most interesting parts of this volume is the account of the Prince's visit (in August 1854), to the Emperor Louis-Napoleon, at Boulogne, when the foundations were laid of the intimate friendship which afterwards existed between the Royal and Imperial families. The Emperor—writes the Prince to the Queen—"thaws more and more. This evening after dinner I withdrew with him to his sitting-room for half-an-hour before rejoining his guests, in order that he might smoke his cigarette, in which occupation to his amazement I could not keep him company. He told me one of the deepest impressions made upon him was when he arrived in London shortly after King William's death, and saw you at the age of eighteen going to open Parliament for the first time."

Again:—

"During the six hours which I passed in the carriage with the Emperor alone, we discussed all the topics of home and foreign policy, material and personal, with the greatest frankness, and I can say nothing but good of what I heard. He explained his relations to Persigny in exchange for my communication as to ours to Palmerston, and I have made him understand our position with reference to his *coup d'état*. His wish is to see Spain and Portugal united. I have unfolded our reasons for a different view; we have discussed political economy, taxation and finance, reformatories, prisons, and transportation, constitutional Government, liberty and equality, &c., all *secundum artem*, &c. He was brought up in the German fashion at the Gymnasium in Augsburg, where he passed the greater part of his childhood—recollections which have remained dear to him—and a training which has developed a German turn of thought. As to all modern political history, so far as this is not Napoleonic, he is without information, so that he wants many of the materials for accurate judgment. He has made a thorough study of military matters, and is completely master of them" (pp. 104, 105).

In a sketch of the Emperor shortly afterwards written by the Prince—he repeats what he had previously written to the Queen, and adds—

"He was remarkably modest, however, in acknowledging these defects, and showed the greatest candour in not pretending to know what he did not. All that refers to the Napoleonic history, he seems to

have at his finger ends ; he also appears to have thought much and deeply on politics ; and yet more like an ' Amateur Politician,' mixing many very sound and many crude notions together. He admires English institutions, and regrets the absence of an aristocracy in France ; but might not be willing to allow such an aristocracy to control his own power, whilst he might wish to have the advantage of its control over the pure democracy. He asked me a good deal about the internal working of the English Government ; whether the Queen presided *a son conseil*, whether she saw all the dispatches, &c. I told him that the Queen presided in person at the Privy Council, which, however, passed without discussion only matters which had been pre-arranged ; that the Cabinet met and discussed alone, but that the Queen was informed by the Prime Minister of the object of their meeting and of the result of their deliberations. He said he did not allow his ministers to meet or discuss matters together—that they transacted their business solely with him ; he rarely told the one what he had settled with the other. He seemed astonished when I told him that every dispatch went through the Queen's hands and was read by her, as he only received extracts from them, and indeed appeared to have little time or inclination generally to read. When I observed to him that the Queen would not be content without seeing the whole of the diplomatic correspondence, he replied that he found a full compensation in having persons in his own confidence at the different posts of importance, who reported directly to him. I could not but express my sense of the danger of such an arrangement, to which no statesman—in England at least—would consent, and which enabled the Foreign Minister (if he choose to cheat his master) always to plead to foreign countries his ignorance of what might have been done, or to throw the entire blame in any difficulty that might occur upon these secret instructions. The Emperor acknowledged all this, but pleaded necessity."

The Emperor was not without experience of the disadvantages of his system of government. Just at that time M. Drouyn de Lhuys "caused annoyance at Vienna, by having sent there literally the very expressions in which the Emperor had instructed him, and which were intended only as a guide to him—I observed (adds the Prince), that this could not have happened in England, where every draft had to receive the sovereign's sanction in the shape in which it was to go" (pp. 109, 110).

It is plain from this sketch that at this time (August 1854), the distrust and dislike felt by both the Queen and the Prince towards Lord Palmerston remained undiminished.

"The Emperor asked me," continues the Prince, "what were the Queen's objections to Lord Palmerston ? He had always been *tres bon pour lui*. I replied, that I did not know what reason he could have for gratitude to Lord Palmerston ; the only thing I knew was that he hated the Orleans Family, and *que cela pourrait bien etre pour quelque chose* in what appeared *bon pour lui*." After some further details as to

his conversations with the Emperor, the Prince adds, that he further told him, "The Queen and myself had long been at variance with Lord Palmerston as to the main principle of his foreign policy, which was even an exaggeration of that laid down in Mr. Canning's celebrated speech in December 1826.* The Emperor not being acquainted with this important turning-point in our political history, I had to explain it to him and to show that the object of it was to form a counterpoise to the Holy Alliance of the Governments on the Continent, by supporting the popular parties in every country, with a view to establishing Constitutions after the model of our own. This was a doctrine very like that of the Jacobin propaganda, and had produced the greatest hatred of England all over the Continent (this the Emperor heartily assented to). It produced, I said, the further inconvenience to England, that an English party was formed in every country, which if worsted brought defeat and discredit on the English Government; but if successful, had to prove its independence of England by taking every measure that was hurtful to her. Lord Palmerston, detested by the Continental Governments, had been the object of every species of malignity, attack, and intrigue on their part. This was known in England to the public; roused the national indignation in his favour, and gave him great popularity. The power which this popularity gave him he used in order to coerce his colleagues and his sovereign into anything he chose to advocate. Any resistance was at once signalled as forming part of the grand European combinations against him" (iii. pp. 110-112).

A writer in a contemporary, whom common report says is Mr. Gladstone, observes that "the Prince resembled Lord Aberdeen in this, that, with an eminently just and liberal mind, he clung to traditions of Continental policy, or these traditions clung to him, which were by no means uniformly liberal."† The conversation which we have just quoted abundantly justifies our contemporary's assertion. It was this likeness of opinion which made the Prince esteem and confide in Lord Aberdeen more highly than any other of our statesmen with whom he came in contact. To the Emperor, whose "distrust and dislike of Lord Aberdeen were deeply rooted," the Prince "represented him as *d'une probité et d'un cœur d'or*" (iii. p. 113).

An explanation of Mr. Gladstone's Budget of 1854 led the Emperor and the Prince into—

"A general discussion on finance and commercial policy, the Emperor leaning to indirect taxation; I condemning indirect taxation, but acknowledging its necessity as a sacrifice to the weakness of human

* The memorable Speech on affording aid to Portugal, in which occurred the passage, "I looked to America to correct the inequalities of Europe, I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

† The Church Quarterly Review, Jan. 1878, p. 490.

nature, which cannot bear to see the money go direct from the pocket of the individual to the coffers of the State. I particularly condemned the ever-recurring attempts of the successive French Governments to control the price of bread. He declared this a necessity, as when bread was dear the people became ungovernable. The town of Paris had had to sacrifice sixteen millions of francs last year for that object, which he hoped to get back now after a plentiful harvest. I could not but express my doubts whether he would find it practicable to get back a shilling. As to the stability of the Government, nothing appeared to me so dangerous as to establish and acknowledge an immediate connection between it and the price of bread. He admitted this, but repeated that there was no help for it" (iii. p. 115).

According to the "Napoleonic ideas" of government, there seem to be abundance of errors and evils for which there is "no help."

"We talked," continues the Prince, "over the general principles of government, I maintaining that the destinies of nations were less controlled by armies and rulers than by the philosophers of the day. I attributed the whole difficulty of the government in France to the absurd doctrine of equality as an accompaniment to liberty, which was, in fact, its negation, and to Rousseau's 'Contrat Social,' which represented man as originally free, and surrendering only a portion of his liberty to the State, in return for which he obtained certain advantages. This doctrine made it a continued matter of calculation whether the advantages were adequate to the sacrifices, and in distress or difficulties of any kind the individual was prone to consider himself freed from his obligations to the State; whilst, in reality, man was originally in the most abject state of dependence, and obtained the condition for acquiring any liberty only through the existence of the State, its laws, and civilisation. Matters would not get better till some great mind arose and made a sounder philosophy popular. The Emperor seemed struck, and agreed with the truth of this, but objected that no writers would for an immense length of time find their way to the people of France. Good writing had no chance at all, for even the worst writings of the Socialists, who worked upon the lowest passions of the crowd, had, in fact, hardly penetrated the surface of society. He instanced as a proof his own election for the National Assembly at Metz, where the Socialist candidate, who had all the votes pledged to him, saw them given to himself, a stranger just arrived, merely on account of the name of Napoleon. This was the only thing left which still united the sentiments of the people. How little the people followed even the history of their own times was again illustrated to him on his way with the Empress to Biarritz, when, through a large portion of the South of France, the people cried, '*Vive Marie Louise!*' He had also heard on a former journey cries of '*Enfin voila le vieux revenu.*'"

This is a striking proof of the correctness of the common belief as to the gross and impenetrable ignorance of the rural

Communes of France. The attachment of the common people to the name of Napoleon was plain to every one who knew the cheap books and songs which twenty years ago formed the literature of the *ouvriers* and the peasantry. They will remember the subject of the greater part of them was the first Napoleon. One song was an especial favourite, the chorus being—

“Parlez nous de lui Grandmère, parlez nous de lui.”

We think, in his objections to the doctrine of equality, the Prince underrated the hold it has taken on the French popular mind. It has been truly said—

“Our glory is that the franchises gained by our forefathers have secured us an amount of *personal freedom* that is not to be surpassed under any form of Government ; and it is the zealous, patriotic, unselfish love of this freedom, impelling the whole community to rush to the legal rescue of the meanest pauper if his chartered personal liberties be infringed by those in power, that distinguishes us from all European countries ; and I would rather part with every sentiment of liberty we possess than this, because with it every other right is attainable. But the French people care little for a charter of *habeas corpus*, else, during their many revolutions, when power has descended into the streets, why has it not been secured?—and the liberty of the press, and the right of association and public meeting, have been violated by universal suffrage almost as much as by their emperors and kings. That which the French really prize, and the English trouble themselves little about, is the absence of privileged inequality in their social system. Any violation of this principle is resented with all the jealousy which we display in matters of individual freedom. It was this spirit which baffled the design of Napoleon and Louis XVIII. to found an aristocracy by the creation of entails.”*

We make the following extract from the Prince's account of his conversations with the Emperor, as it gives some information on the Italian question, which, so far as we know, was not generally known before the publication of this volume :—

“The Emperor said he had two political wishes—the one to see Lombardy free from the maladministration of Austria, the other to see Poland restored. He wanted to know my views on both these subjects. As to the first, I declared that nobody wished it more than myself, for Austria's own sake ; but there were two things we must remember : that Austria can never consent to the one—the establishment of the principle that separate nationalities gave a right to independence—which would be the death-warrant of the whole monarchy ; the other, her military frontier. She could not give up the line of the Mincio ; and the campaigns of 1807 and 1809 prove that, if the passes of the Tyrol were turned, there is no military position except in the

* “1793 and 1853.” By the late Richard Cobden, M.P.

rear of Vienna. The Emperor objected that this still left a large portion of Italy in the hands of Austria. I defied him to trace another tenable boundary on the map. He replied that if military frontiers were an essential point for the existence of States, France had also a claim for one. My answer was, that France had the best military frontier: her flanks covered by neutral Switzerland and neutral Belgium. He denied that neutrality was a real protection, as it was rarely maintained in time of war. As to Italy, he would be glad if even the Milanese only would be freed. I told him Austria herself had in 1848 offered to give it up in whatever form England pleased, provided she would obtain a peace for her in return. Lord Palmerston had refused to entertain anything of the kind, insisting upon Austria giving up the whole of her Italian kingdom. The Emperor had never heard of this before, but called it a capital blunder of policy" (iii. p. 120).

Lord Palmerston was wiser than his imperial critic. He foresaw that Austria could not maintain her rule in Italy; and had Austria in 1848 been guided by his advice, she would have escaped the disaster and humiliation of having the whole of her Italian provinces wrested from her. The Prince's estimate of the Emperor's character and prospects appear to us perfectly correct.

"Upon the whole, the impression which my stay at Boulogne left upon me is that naturally, the Emperor would, neither at home nor in foreign politics, take any violent steps, but that he appears in distress for means of governing, and obliged to look about for them from day to day. Having deprived the people of every active participation in the government, and reduced them to mere passive spectators, he is bound to keep up the 'spectacle;' and, as at fireworks, whenever a pause takes place between the different displays, the public immediately grows impatient, and forgets what it has just applauded, and that new preparations require time. Still, he appears to be the only man who has any hold on France, relying on the 'nom de Napoleon,' which is the last thing left to a Frenchman's faith. He said to the Duke of Newcastle, 'Former Governments tried to reign by the support of perhaps one million of the educated classes; I have tried to lay hold of the other twenty-nine.' He is decidedly benevolent and anxious for the good of his people, but has, like all rulers before him, a bad opinion of their political capacity." The Prince adds, "I could not but contrast the personal interest he took in police reports of suspected persons, and in his secret correspondence with private agents, with the indolence which prevents the attentive perusal of public documents, or even of the newspapers" (iii. pp. 120-122).

It was what the Prince termed "distress for means of governing" which led the Emperor into the Franco-Austrian war of 1859, the disastrous expedition to Mexico, and the still more disastrous war with Germany, which caused his fall and hastened his death. The result of these confidential communi-

cations between the imperial host and his royal guest was the formation of that opinion and esteem which three years later (August 1857) the Emperor expressed to the Queen: "Lorsqu'on a su apprecier les connaissances variees et le jugement elevé du Prince, on revient d'auprés de lui plus instruit et plus apte a faire le bien" (iii. p. 125.) When the Emperor reproached M. Walewski, then his ambassador in London, for not preparing him to appreciate the Prince, his weight in the councils of England, and the influence he exercised, the ambassador defended himself on the ground that diplomatists at the court of St. James's had few opportunities of becoming well acquainted with the Prince, whose extreme reserve, moreover, made any attempt to do so very difficult. It was this extreme reserve which caused the Prince to be, as the author of "The Crown and the Cabinet" says, "universally disliked."

Towards the close of 1854 the accounts from the Crimea became gloomy, and the Prince wrote Lord Aberdeen urging the ballot for the militia—*i.e.*, compulsory military service, which to him, as a German, seemed natural and proper, and which, if he had been an Englishman, he would have known to be impossible in this country. He urged also several other minor measures, and amongst them the obtaining "the power for the crown to enlist foreigners." Mr. Martin says, "The Cabinet was opposed to the proposal to raise a foreign legion, and to the completion of the militia by ballot. . . . Within a few weeks every one of the Prince's suggestions had to be adopted."

Should Mr. Martin so far honour us as to read these lines, we will thank him in a note to the next edition of this volume to refer us to any Act of Parliament of the present reign authorising the ballot for the militia, or in any form making military service compulsory. The proposal for raising a foreign legion was unfortunately adopted, and it embroiled us with the United States. The Cabinet would have been wiser had they maintained their opposition to the Prince's interference (iii. pp. 146, 147). That interference was repeated after the arrival of the news of the battle of Inkerman, when the Prince wrote to the War Minister and the Commander-in-Chief with suggestions which have a disagreeable likeness to commands (iii. pp. 152, 153).

The Prince is certainly entitled to the credit of one important reform in the War Department which was introduced during the Crimean War. The official returns sent home from the Crimea were barren of the most essential information as to the number of soldiers available and not available for action, the provision for their shelter, clothing, and food, the supply of horses, and the means of transport. The Government, therefore, did not

know on what force they had to depend, nor how their troops were to be maintained in an efficient state. The Prince, therefore (on December 21, 1854), wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, then at the head of the War Department, to this effect—

“The want of system and order in our army before Sebastopol, entailing, as it does, much confusion and positive suffering to our gallant troops, as well as painful uncertainty to their well-wishers at home, has, as you know, much distressed and occupied me. I know but of one remedy, where people are not born with the instinct of method, and are prevented by want of time or inclination from writing, and that is, an efficient and detailed form of returns to be filled up by them. These returns should be framed in such a manner that the mere act of filling them up shall compel attention to all the points which ought to be brought under the wholesome influence of method, and on which the home authorities imperatively require the amplest information” (iii. p. 177).

This letter was accompanied by a “complete scheme of tabulated returns,” which it seemed to the Prince would secure the information wanted. This scheme was in substance adopted, and put in force by Lord Panmure, who soon afterwards succeeded the Duke of Newcastle at the War Office, and proved to be, in Mr. Martin’s words, “one of the first and most efficient steps towards curing the abuses which, during the winter of 1854–55, caused so much loss and suffering to the English forces. The wonder is,” continues Mr. Martin, “that a reform of this nature should have been left to emanate from one who had no practical experience in war. May not this be read as one indication among many, that in designating the Prince for his successor at the Horse Guards, the Duke of Wellington had acted on a well-founded conviction of His Royal Highness’s special fitness for the office?” (iii. p. 179).

Whether the Prince, had he consented to succeed the Duke as Commander-in-Chief, would have justified the anticipations of his admirers, or whether he would have afforded another instance of “*consensu omnium capax imperii nisi imperasset*,” no one can say, but there can be no doubt that the Prince was the “wire-puller” of the War Office. His aim and object was to organise what Lord Beaconsfield called “bloated armaments” in England. To the German it seemed a necessity that there should be as large a standing army in England as Parliament and the people could be induced to bear. In January 1855, the Prince Consort set about drawing up a memorandum on the state of the army and the reforms it needed. This memorandum is highly applauded by military critics. We cannot afford to give this document at length; its spirit will be seen from the extracts for which we can find space.

“Whilst other countries, enjoying less liberty than our own, and compelled by their Continental position, have kept up large standing armies, and employed the forty years (of peace) in constant application to the organisation and exercise of those armies, we have directed our whole ingenuity to devices to reduce expenditure, and to avoid public attention being drawn to the affairs of the army” (iii. p. 185). After “hazarding the opinion that our army, as at present organised, can hardly be called an army at all,” and that at the signature of the Peace (of 1815) the army as such was broken up, the Prince continues—“All the generals were put on the shelf. All the machinery to which it owed its efficiency was done away with, and nothing kept but its admirable regimental system, readily acknowledged by all the military authorities who are acquainted with it as hardly to be surpassed. The cry for economy, and what Lord Castlereagh termed ‘an ignorant impatience of taxation,’ forced upon successive Governments reduction upon reduction, and such a distribution of the remaining troops as to form an apology for keeping any at all. In fact, the army has never been acknowledged by the nation as a national want, with recognised claims to its consideration” (iii. pp. 186, 187).

In the same spirit he wrote a year later to his uncle, King Leopold—

“What is bad in the army has been occasioned by the House of Commons. It has never been allowed us to have permanent generals in the service nor a general staff; and herein lies the fault. No army in the world could hold its own as, after all, ours has done, if military service as a profession is to culminate in the command of a battalion, and if ‘a particular officer for a particular job’ is to be appointed merely casually after twenty years of other occupations. With all the outcry about reform, I have not been able to make anybody comprehend this” (iii. p. 188, *note*).

We observe in Mr. Martin’s remarks on the conduct of Earl Russell at this time a tendency to disparage that venerable and illustrious statesman with reference to the part he took in the overthrow of the Aberdeen Ministry (*vide* iii. pp. 202–207). In this respect we suppose that the author reflects the opinions of the inspirer of the book. Yet two facts should be borne in mind. It was only at the Queen’s personal request that the ex-Whig Premier consented to take office under Lord Aberdeen. This is proved beyond doubt by the following passage in Lord Macaulay’s Journal:—

“December 20 (1852).—An eventful day. After breakfast, at the Athenæum, I met Senior, who told me he had been at my chambers to beg me to go to Lansdowne House;—that Lord Lansdowne wished to

see me before half-past twelve. I went, and found him and Lord John closeted together. Lord John read us a letter which he had received from the Queen; very good, like all her letters that I have seen. She told him that she saw hope of making a strong and durable Government, at once conservative and reforming; that she had asked Lord Aberdeen to form such a Government; that great exertions and sacrifices would be necessary, and that she relied on the patriotism of Lord John not to refuse his valuable aid. They asked me what I thought. I said that I could improve the Queen's letter neither in substance or in language, and that she had expressed my sentiments to a tittle. Then Lord John said that of course he should try to help Lord Aberdeen; but how? There were two ways. He might take the lead of the Commons with the Foreign Office, or he might refuse office, and give his support from the back benches. I adjured him not to think of this last course,* and I argued it with him for a quarter of an hour, with, I thought, a great flow of thoughts and words. I was encouraged by Lord Lansdowne, who nodded, smiled, and rubbed his hands at everything that I said. I reminded him that the Duke of Wellington had taken the Foreign Office after having been at the Treasury, and I quoted his own pretty speech on the Duke. 'You said, Lord John, that we could not all win battles of Waterloo; but that we might all imitate the old man's patriotism, sense of duty, and indifference to selfish interests and vanities when the public welfare was concerned; and now is the time for you to make a sacrifice. Your past services and your name gives us a right to expect it.' He went away evidently much impressed by what had been said, and promising to consult others. When he was gone, Lord Lansdowne told me that I had come just as opportunely as Blucher did at Waterloo."†

The other fact we will give in Lord Russell's own words. "Lord Aberdeen always told me that after being Prime Minister for a short time he meant to make way for me and give up the post. But somehow the moment never came for executing his intentions."‡ This third volume shows that it is very improbable the Prince would have allowed the Queen to give her sanction to the change.

Of course the Prince could not interfere with the Cabinet and the different departments in the manner and to the extent he did without rumours of his interference getting abroad; and as his influence was secretly exercised, he became an object of popular suspicion, and he was sometimes thought to be pursuing an opposite course to that he was actually taking. Hence arose

* Lord Macaulay no doubt thought such "an independent support" would be according to the well-known definition of an independent member, *i.e.*, "Not to be depended upon."

† Trevelyan's "Life of Macaulay," vol. ii, pp. 331, 332.

‡ "Recollections and Suggestions," by Earl Russell, p. 232.

the suspicion that he was working to frustrate the expedition to the Crimea, as to which we learn some curious particulars from a memorandum of the Prince's.

"The Duke of Newcastle (writes the Prince, 8th March 1855) told me yesterday evening that Mr. Roebuck had been with him, and had asked him whether he had any objection to being examined.* The Duke replied, that he had the strongest on public grounds, thinking it most dangerous and injurious to the public service; but this question seemed to have been disposed of between the Government and the House of Commons; on private grounds he was most anxious to be examined. Mr. Roebuck, after further conversation, told him that the conviction upon the minds of the Committee was daily gaining strength that they would be able to discover very little here; that the key to many mysteries could only be found at the head-quarters, and that in a high quarter there had been a determination that the expedition should not succeed, which had been suggested to the head-quarters. The Duke said, 'Now I must be careful how I talk further with you, as I see you are laying the ground for an impeachment, as you can only mean me by a *high quarter*.' 'Oh, no!' answered Mr. Roebuck, 'I mean a much higher personage than you; I mean Prince Albert.' The Duke was amazed, and did not know whether to be more astounded at the wickedness or the folly of such a belief. He told Mr. Roebuck he had a press full of letters from me in the very room where they met, and was almost tempted to show him some of them, as they gave conclusive evidence of my intense anxiety for the success of the expedition; and he continued, 'If, during the time of my official duties I have received any suggestions which were more valuable to me than others, they did not come from your friends the Napiers, but from Prince Albert.'

"Mr. Roebuck said he was very much astonished at what the Duke said, and that it had not been *his* belief only. . . . Mr. Roebuck lamented the appointment of Lord Raglan, who was unfit to command in the field, and whose services at home would have been most valuable, and attributed his appointment to my wish to get rid of him, in order to keep Lord Hardinge quite alone, with whom I could do what I pleased!! The Duke told him *he* had selected Lord Raglan, and conferred with Lord Hardinge upon it long before either the Queen or myself had been made acquainted with the fact, and suggested, How was it for me to bring about the ruin of the army through the very man who must have considered himself injured by me?

"The Duke asked me whether he could do or say anything that I might wish. I replied that I did not see what could be said or done. We could not make people either virtuous or wise, and must only regret the monstrous degree to which their aberration extended. I must rest mainly upon a good conscience, and the belief that during

* *I.e.*, before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the state of the army in the Crimea.

the fifteen years of my connection with this country I had not given a human soul the means of imputing to me the want of sincerity or patriotism. I myself had the conviction that the Queen and myself were perhaps the only two persons in the kingdom who had no other interest, thought, or desire than the good, the honour, and the power of the country; and this not unnaturally, as no *private* interests can be thought of which could interfere with these considerations.

“I thought it right to keep this record of what the Duke told me, as a proof that the *will* at least to injure me is never wanting in certain circles, and that the gullibility of the public has no bounds.” (iii. pp. 219-221).

The Prince's influence was secret, and therefore mysterious, and the public cannot be blamed for gullibility, because, being kept in the dark as to his proceedings, they were mistaken as to them. After the formation of Lord Palmerston's Government, the Prince, notwithstanding his dislike and distrust of the Premier, seems to have acquiesced in the universal feeling, which the “Times” of that day thus so well described: “The nation, guided by an unerring instinct, reposed its confidence in Lord Palmerston at a time when no one seemed left to confide in.” In the course of the numerous debates on the war, Mr. Gladstone urged peace on the terms offered at that time by Russia; the Court were very anxious that the remainder of the Peelites should not follow his example. The Prince strove to influence the other members of that section of politicians through their chief; accordingly he wrote to the “Travelled Thane” * this remarkable letter (3d June 1855):—

“MY DEAR LORD ABERDEEN,—I had sent Colonel Phipps to your house to know whether you were in town, and whether it would be convenient for you to come here a few minutes before dinner. He has not found you at home, and I am therefore compelled to write to you upon a subject which would have been much better treated in conversation than it can be in a hurried letter. I mean the line which your former friends and colleagues, with the exception of the Duke of Newcastle, have taken about the war question. It has caused the Queen and myself great anxiety, both on account of the position of public affairs and on their own account. As to the first, any such declaration as Mr. Gladstone has made upon Mr. Disraeli's motion must not only weaken us abroad in public estimation, and give a wrong opinion as to the determination of the nation to support the Queen in the war in which she has been involved, but render all chance of obtaining an honourable peace without great fresh sacrifices of blood and treasure impossible, by giving new hopes and spirit to the enemy.

“As to the second, a proceeding which must appear to many as unpatriotic in any Englishman, but difficult to explain, even by the

* “The Travelled Thane—Athenian Aberdeen.”—*Byron*.

most consummate oratory on the part of statesmen, who have, up to a very recent period, shared the responsibility of all the measures of the war, and that have led to the war, must seriously damage them in public estimation. The more so as having been publicly suspected and falsely accused by their opponents of having, by their secret hostility to the war, led to all the omissions, mistakes, and disasters which have attended the last campaign, they now seem to exert themselves to prove the truth of these accusations, and (as Americans would say) to 'realise the whole capital of the unpopularity' attaching to the authors of our misfortunes, whom the public has for so long a time been vainly endeavouring to discover.

"However much on private and personal grounds I grieve for this, I must do so still more on the Queen's behalf, who cannot afford, in these times of trial and difficulty, to see the best men in the country damaging themselves in its opinion to an extent that seriously impairs their usefulness for the service of the State.

"The whole position reminds me exceedingly of the one taken at the time of the Papal Aggression, when also, whether wisely or not, the Queen, backed by the national feeling, was at issue with a foreign potentate; you all took part with the Pope against the Queen's Government for the sake of peace. And you will remember that when Lord John Russell's Government broke down in 1851, the Queen had to go through a fruitless ministerial crisis, which caused many of the anomalies from which we are suffering even now, and this chiefly on account of the peculiar position in which your party had placed itself.

"I write all this now, because the adjourned debate is to be re-opened to-morrow, and I could not reconcile it to myself not to put you in possession of all I feel upon this subject, which I know you will receive in the same spirit in which it is given.—Ever yours truly, ALBERT" (iii. pp. 289-291).

It is impossible to look at this letter in the same light as if it were merely a letter from one statesman to another urging him to advise (as does the letter) common friends, out of a selfish regard to their own reputations, to abstain from advising Parliament according to the best of their judgment. It is a plain expression of a royal wish, and royal wishes are very apt to be taken as commands. The adjourned debate began on the 4th June, but the Prince did not see Lord Aberdeen until the 6th. Whether Lord Aberdeen conveyed the royal wish to his political friends does not appear; if he did so, it was not complied with, for, as Mr. Martin tells us, "Mr. Sidney Herbert and Sir James Graham both spoke in the debate, and strongly advocated a cessation of the war on the terms offered by Russia."

We turned with interest to this portion of the volume to see what Mr. Martin would say as to the Prince's Trinity House speech (1855), which caused so much sensation at the time. The

burden of it, every one will remember, was "Constitutional government is under a heavy trial," and the whole speech was a comparison between constitutional and despotic governments, very much to the disadvantage of the former. In truth, the Prince, in making this speech, consciously or unconsciously acted on one of Single-Speech Hamilton's maxims, "When you produce an instance to illustrate, let the instance itself be invidious as well as illustratory."* We find little said about the discussion caused by this speech, and Mr. Martin, as his defence of it, adopts an article which appeared in the "Spectator," of that day, written in the usual eclectic style of that journal. The fallacy of the speech lay in the assumption that constitutional government was then for the first time undergoing the trial of war. Constitutional government had been exposed, with short intervals, from 1793 to 1815 to a far heavier trial than that to which it was exposed in 1855, and came out of it, not only unharmed, but triumphant. There was no occasion, therefore, for this solemn warning from the chair of the Trinity House. The Prince was, of course, quite satisfied both with his speech and its reception. He sent a copy of it to his "venerable mentor at Coburg," with a letter, saying it had "attracted much attention, and produced that decided impression which truth alone is able to produce." Stockmar, of course, replied "that the speech was full of matter and well-timed," but even he could not avoid this criticism: "Let me add, that I miss in the speech a saving clause which *should* by anticipation meet the charge that the Prince, because of the disadvantages of the constitutional system, is at heart inclined to award the preference to the despotic form of government." The Prince replied, "I am delighted that you like my speech. The reproach that I omitted a saving clause is quite just. There it was upon the paper, but it did not flow (why I know not) from the lips." We will venture to supply a reason; the saving clause was not the subject on which the speaker was most anxious to impress his views on his hearers (iii. pp. 296-301).

Most men would have been satisfied with the supervision of the expedition to the Crimea; but the restless Prince, though complaining of "being quite exhausted by the heat and by winding up the affairs of the season," engaged in a work of supererogation; for an entry in his diary for July 4th records that, in concert with the sub-dean of Westminster, Lord John Thynne, he had drawn up a plan for the removal of Westminster School into the country, *pulling down all the old buildings* connected

* "Parliamentary Logic," p. 2.

with it, and throwing open the ground adjoining the Abbey as a park to the public" (iii. p. 304). Fortunately this piece of vandalism found no favour or support, even if it was known to others than its concoctors. London is not so rich in old buildings that it could afford to lose those of Westminster School with all its historic and personal associations.

We pass over the accounts, interesting as they are, of the interchange of visits between the sovereigns of England and France, as they contain little that is personal and peculiar to the Prince. We extract, however, from one of his letters to the Duchess of Kent his brief account of the royal visit to Paris:—

"I shall say little about Paris, as I want to keep your curiosity alive for all that will have to be told you by word of mouth. You can then ask, too, about the points most interesting to yourself. The whole journey has been 'a perfect success,' and has been unmistakably watched over and favoured by Heaven, and there is not the smallest circumstance I can think of which I would have wished otherwise. Victoria bore the great fatigue remarkably well, and won the hearts of all by her endeavours to make herself agreeable to the people. I am bound to praise the children* greatly. They behaved extremely well, and pleased everybody. The task was no easy one for them, but they discharged it without embarrassment and with natural simplicity. I have found the black shawl, and purpose laying it at your feet at Abergeldie, but not in the mud, as Sir Walter Raleigh did his cloak."

To another correspondent he writes on the same subject:—

"We have been received everywhere with incredible enthusiasm, and cannot say enough of the kindness of the Emperor and Empress. We anticipate the best results from this visit, foremost among which must be the persistent prosecution of the war, which to you will scarcely appear in so advantageous a light" (iii. pp. 356, 357).

The Duke of Newcastle, then (September 1855) in the Crimea, wrote to Lord Clarendon a letter in which he had "no good word to say of any of the armies, except that of the Sardinians under General La Marmora." This letter, by request of its writer, was forwarded to the Queen. The Prince, on her Majesty's behalf, returned it to Lord Clarendon, with a letter containing these characteristic remarks:—

"The contrast which the Duke establishes between the Sardinian army and ours is most unfair. . . . It has not done a day's work in the trenches, and but for the 16th (or the Tischernajer) would not have heard a shot fired. . . . However, all accounts agree in representing the Sardinians as very fine troops. They have the inestimable advan-

* The Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal.

tage that they are commanded, like ours, by gentlemen; but have the great advantage over us that these gentlemen put the soldier above the gentleman, whilst from our constitutional history and national habits the soldier is disliked—the officer almost seeks to excuse himself for being an officer by assuming as unsoldierlike a garment and manner as he possibly can. The Sardinians would speak of a soldier-like gentleman (the impression La Marmora made upon the Duke), whilst we speak of a gentleman-like officer, like General Estcourt, Lord Burghersh, &c., &c. All our civilian interference, now the increasing fashion, necessarily must tend to increase this evil, which may finally cause the ruin of our army" (iii. pp. 366, 367).

We turn to a subject from which political feelings are absent. September 1855 witnessed the betrothal of the Princess Royal to the Prince Frederick-William of Prussia. The Prince hastened to inform Stockmar of the event, on which the old man had long since set his heart:—

"Now for the *bonne bouche*. The event you are interested in reached an active stage this morning after breakfast. The young man laid his proposal before us, with the permission of his parents and of the King. We accepted it for ourselves, but requested him to hold it in suspense as regards the other party till after her confirmation. Till then all the simple unconstraint of girlhood is to continue undisturbed. In the spring the young man wishes to make his offer to herself, and possibly to come to us along with his parents and his engaged sister. The seventeenth birthday is to have elapsed before the actual marriage is thought of, and this therefore will not come off till the following spring.

"The secret is to be kept *tant bien que mal*. The parents and the King being informed of the true state of the case forthwith—namely, that we, the parents and the young man, are under a pledge, so far as such pledge is possible, and that the young lady herself is to be asked after her confirmation. In the meantime there will be much to discuss; and I would entreat of you to come to us soon, that we may talk over matters face to face, and hear what you have to advise. The young gentleman is to leave us again on the 28th. In this matter he placed himself at our disposal, and I suggested fourteen days as not too long and not too short for a visit of the kind. I have been much pleased with him. His chief prominent qualities are great straightforwardness, frankness, and honesty. He appears to be free from prejudices, and pre-eminently well-intentioned; he speaks of himself as personally greatly attracted by Vicky. That she will have no objection to make I regard as probable."

From another letter to Stockmar we learn that the serene elevation of royalty does not exempt its possessors from the feelings and weaknesses common to mothers on such occasions:—"Victoria is greatly excited, still all goes smoothly and prudently. The Prince is really in love, and the little lady does her best to please him." "*Ou devine ceux qui vous aiment,*"

wrote the Emperor of the French to the Prince a few weeks before this time, and the saying soon received an illustration. The secret was not kept; and on the 29th September the betrothal took place.

“The Princess manifested towards Fritz and ourselves,” writes the Prince to Stockmar, “the most childlike simplicity and candour and the best feeling. The young people are ardently in love with one another, and the purity, innocence, and unselfishness of the young man have been on his part equally touching. . . . Abundance of tears were shed. While deep, visible revolutions in the emotional natures of the two young people and of the mother were taking place, by which they were personally agitated, my feeling was rather one of cheerful satisfaction and gratitude to God for bringing across our path so much that was noble and good, where it may—nay, must—conduce to the happiness for life of those whom He has endowed with those qualities, and who are in themselves so dear to me.”

This letter enclosed one to Stockmar from the Princess herself, “in which (to quote the Prince’s words), the child finds vent for her own feelings.” The love affairs of his daughter did not divert the Prince’s mind from the Crimea. “At Sébastopol. (he adds) our generals appear to be suffering under a remarkable lack of brains. There are good builders there, at any rate, for our people are unable to make a breach anywhere” (iii. pp. 370–373).

The secrecy of the Prince’s influence and the indefinite character of his position caused any proceedings attributed to him to be regarded with suspicion and distrust. The news of the engagement got abroad. Prussia was at that time not popular with the war party in England on account of her firmly maintained neutrality. The “Times,” then the organ of that party, came out with an article designated by the Prince to Stockmar as “at once truly *scandalous* in itself and *degrading* to the country.” It certainly showed no statesmanlike foresight, for it spoke of Prussia “as a paltry German dynasty, which could not survive the downfall of Russian influence,” and asked the English people to contemplate the probability of their Princess becoming anti-English in feeling, and being sent back to them at no distant date as an exile and a fugitive.” Mr. Martin says, and we are disposed to agree with him, “that under cover of this attack on Prussia, a blow was really intended to be struck at the Prince Consort, the insinuation being, “that in sanctioning this alliance, the Prince was giving proof of his sympathies with the despotic dynasties of the Continent, and of Russia in particular.” With the Prince’s Trinity House speech, with the “saving clause” unfortunately omitted, fresh in their memories, and in the then state of the relations between Prussia and

Russia, these suspicions on the part of the press and the public were not unjustifiable.

The lamentable incompetence of Sir James Simpson rendered it necessary to appoint another commander-in-chief of the army in the Crimea. The Prince conceived the plan of subdividing "the army into two *corps d'armée*, each under the command of a senior officer of high position, and subject to the general control of the Commander-in-Chief." The balance of opinion, as the Prince knew (writes Mr. Martin), "was in favour of the appointment of Sir William Codrington as General Simpson's successor, but he was junior to three generals, each of whom might aspire to the office. Something must be done to conciliate their feelings, and the Prince thought that they might be reconciled to his being placed over their heads if two of their number were appointed to the command of the proposed *corps d'armée*." The Cabinet, when the matter was brought before them, arrived at the same determination. "I have only to say," wrote Lord Palmerston to the Prince, "that I and all the other members of the Cabinet feel greatly obliged to your Royal Highness for having suggested an arrangement which had not occurred to any of us, but which, when proposed and explained, at once obtained the assent of all those whose duty it was to take it into consideration."

The history of this transaction, as told by Mr. Martin, should be compared with the account given at the time. It emanated from Ministerial sources, and the belief in its correctness was widespread. It tallies also with what we know of the Prince's ideas and opinions, and we think it may be read between the lines of Mr. Martin's narrative. One of the two generals whom it was necessary to pass over, in order to fulfil the Prince's wish of promoting Sir William Codrington to be commander-in-chief, was Sir Colin Campbell. Sir Colin Campbell had not yet won for himself the title of the "Saviour of British rule in India," but he was already a distinguished soldier. Sir William Codrington was colonel of one of the regiments of the Household Brigade, and nothing more, but he was "a gentleman." Sir Colin, it is well known, was of very humble origin. From the Prince's comparison of the Sardinian with the English army, and his instructions to the Duke of Cambridge on his promotion to be Commander-in-Chief as to the appointment of officers, "get gentlemen with a gentleman's education from the public schools" (iii. p. 514), we know that he thought to be a gentleman was a far more necessary qualification for a Commander-in-Chief than military skill or experience. The Guardsman was therefore selected, and the soldier his senior passed over. It was said at the time that the pretence put forward for the slight to Sir Colin

was that he was ignorant of French, the falseness of which he exposed by holding at one of Lady Palmerston's assemblies a long conversation in that language with the French ambassador. It was also said that Sir Colin felt severely the slight put on him, and expressed his feelings to the Commander-in-Chief (Lord Hardinge), and that it was only at the earnest personal entreaty of the Queen that he went out again to the Crimea. This is confirmed by a statement in the "Life," founded on a letter from the Queen to Lord Hardinge, that the Queen saw Sir Colin, and having stated how much she wished that his valuable services should not be lost in the Crimea, he replied, that he would return immediately, "for that if the Queen wished it, he was ready to serve under a corporal" (iii. p. 381 note). To the Crimea Sir Colin returned, and, to quote the words of his biography in the "Times," "The Crimean war left him standing at his proper level, above the carpet-knights or court favourites who had subsided into their proper obscurity." If the history of this appointment we have given be correct, and we have no doubt that it is, the undistinguished part played by England at the close of the Crimean War is owing to the Prince's unfortunate selection of the British Commander-in-Chief.

Amidst all his public business the Prince could find time to superintend the education of his eldest daughter. "I am giving Vicky," he writes to Stockmar, "every evening an hour for conversation, in which our chief topic is history; she knows a great deal. I also give her subjects which she works out for me. Her intellect is quick, and thoroughly sound in its operations" (iii. p. 385).* To the same *alter ego* he sends a copy of his address on occasion of his laying the first stone of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, with a remark which shows that he never was really at home amongst us, and in his heart despised the English people. "I hope for your approval, which I care for much more than for that of our unsophisticated public." Stockmar replied in the same spirit. "The speech at Birmingham pleased me much. It seems to me to touch on every essential point. The 'Times' has dispatched it sneeringly; never mind" (iii. p. 392). In one of his letters to Stockmar, the Prince writes, "The things of all sorts that are laid on *our shoulders*, i.e., on mine, are not to be told. People feel that a certain power exists which has not thrust itself ostentatiously forward, and therefore they fancy it must be doing harm, even although the results of what it does must all be admitted to be good. The logic of their inference is not very sound." This is not a logical statement of the position. The people felt that a certain

* See also the Prince's letter to Prince Frederick-William at p. 388.

power existed and was at work, but as to how it was working they were kept completely in the dark. "Qui ambulat in tenebris nescit quo vadit." They were not to be blamed if they mistook the direction taken by this secret power, and sometimes attributed evil results to it when they should have attributed good or none at all.

In this same letter the Prince gives an instance of this misunderstanding of his proceedings. "The peers have carried their motion against the prerogative of the Crown [exercised in the creation of a life peer], and the idea that I intended to bring Lords Playfair, Babbage, and Murchison into the Upper House has served as one of the principal inducements to that result" (iii. p. 456). If this notion, whether founded or unfounded, was the inducement to the Lords to resist the creation of life peerages, and not the avowed and all-sufficient reason of its being wholly unwarranted by law or precedent, it must have been no doubt a vexation to the Prince, but then such vexations were the inevitable result of the position which he had chosen to make for himself as the Queen's permanent and secret, and therefore irresponsible, Minister.* To the same sympathising mind the Prince confides his opinion. "Here (March 1856) the House of Commons and the press vie with each other in follies of every description, and all real power of resistance seems for the moment to have vanished." Stockmar's influence continued unimpaired, if it did not even increase. "Our justification," writes the Prince to him on 3d September 1856, "for inviting and beseeching you again and again to come to us is strengthened by everything you say in your letter, for it is only too true that no clear, comprehensive, practical understanding can be arrived at through letters, which, on the contrary, perplex, confuse, and do harm; that we have before us great, important, and grave matters to discuss, requiring the most deliberate and tactical treatment, which can only be based upon the most direct and explicit knowledge of facts" (iii. p. 503). That Stockmar meant to do well, and advise his illustrious clients to the best of his judgment, we believe. But his theory of the English Government, of which, though he wrote and spoke so confidently, he was thoroughly ignorant, was the personal rule of the sovereign and the repression of parliamentary power. No courtier of the second French Empire could write or speak more bitterly of the "virus of

* The editor of the authorised edition of the "Speeches and Addresses of the Prince Consort" says that the "Prince had all the responsibilities of office without having a distinct office to fill." It would be more correct to say that the Prince assumed all the duties of office without the responsibility to Parliament and the public which is inseparable from the position of a constitutional Minister.

parliamentaryism" than did Stockmar. What Macaulay says of Temple holds equally good as to him. "He had never sat in the English Parliament, and therefore regarded it with none of the predilection which men naturally feel for a body to which they belong, and for a theatre on which their own talents have been advantageously displayed." "Like Temple, he would have placed the Crown and the Parliament nearly in the same relative position in which they had stood in the reign of Elizabeth;" and his letter of advice to the Prince, to which we referred* at the commencement of this paper, is in the very spirit of Clarendon's counsel to Charles II. He told the King, as he himself says, "that he could not be too indulgent in the defence of the privileges of Parliament, and that he hoped he would never violate any of them; but he desired him to be equally solicitous to prevent the excesses in Parliament, and not to suffer them to extend their jurisdiction to cases they have nothing to do with, and that to restrain them within their proper bounds and limits is as necessary as it is to preserve them from being invaded." *

Now that we know the Sovereign, during the greater part of her reign, was in the hands of two secret advisers, each having high prerogative views, it must strike every one as being equally remarkable and fortunate that throughout the reign there has been no collision between the Crown and the Houses.

The volume closes with the end of the year 1856. We must defer till the completion of the work, when we shall have the Prince's whole career before us, any attempt to give an estimate of him as a statesman.

In parting, for a time only we hope, with Mr. Martin, we will venture to give him a word of caution. If the story of the remaining five years of the Prince's life is to be told in the same manner as the story of the two years which this volume tells; if the history of the Indian Mutiny, the war of 1859, the rise of Italian independence, and the outbreak of the slave-owners' revolt in America; is to be treated at the same length as that of the Crimean War is in the volume before us,—it will take not one, but two, or possibly more, volumes to complete the work; and it will run the risk of becoming one of those biographies in which, as has been well said, "the memory of the just is destined to perish."

* *Vide* Lord Macaulay's *Essay on Sir W. Temple*, p. 446, Edinb. 1874.

ART. VII.—RUSSIAN AGGRESSION AND THE DUTY OF
EUROPE.

1. *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy.* By RICHARD COBDEN, M.P. Edited by JOHN BRIGHT and JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS. London. 1878.
2. *Russia, Turkey, and England.* By RICHARD COBDEN. Reprinted from "The Political Writings of Richard Cobden." London, Paris, and New York. 1876.
3. *What Next and Next?* By RICHARD COBDEN, Esq., M.P. London. 1856.
4. *Count Pozzo di Borgo's Despatch of November 28, 1828.*
5. *The "Mukhbir."* London and Paris. 1867-68.
6. *The Thirty-Six Articles of the Bulgarian Apostles and Delegates.* 1876.
7. *Note of an English Republican on the Muscovite Crusade.* By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. London. 1876.
8. *The Anti-Turkish Crusade: A Review of a Recent Agitation; with Reflections on the Eastern Question.* By GEORGE JULIAN HARNEY. Boston, U.S.A. 1876.
9. *Despatches of Lieutenant Mansfield and Lord A. Loftus on the Treatment of the Greek Uniates by the Russian Government.* 1871-76.
10. *Russia.* By M. E. GRANT DUFF, M.P., in "The Nineteenth Century." London. 1876.
11. *An Address on the Eastern Question.* By ALGERNON BORTHWICK. London. 1878.
12. *The Twenty-Nine Articles of the Peace Preliminaries of San Stefano.*

THE name of Richard Cobden is justly held in high honour as that of a zealous champion of progress, who successfully worked on questions of political economy and internal reform. His title of fame will, in this respect, remain a lasting one. More open to doubt is the soundness of some of his views on foreign affairs. As to the special attempt to set him up, retrospectively, as a guide in matters relating to Russian encroachment, it would be difficult to conceive a less commendable procedure—one more calculated to do harm to his renown as a statesman and as a friend of freedom. Least of all is that earliest pamphlet of his to be recommended which first brought him into notoriety, and but for which, as he said some twelve years later, he "must have been a thrifty, painstaking calico-printer to this day." The pamphlet, originally published in 1836, and re-

published in 1876, was virtually an apology of Muscovite statecraft. Its contents, strangely jarring upon the Liberal creed, could not but gladden the heart of one of the most relentless tyrants, and fill with sorrow all well-wishers of the downtrodden nations whom the Czar kept manacled in his vast prison-house.

A Liberal in home affairs, Cobden went so far in his pro-Russian advocacy as to assert that in destroying the independence of Poland, Czardom had "a better title than that of the sword," and that philanthropic authors and speakers had palmied the "clamour of fine sentiments" upon the "much-abused public mind!" Equally surprising was his inconsistency as a free-trader when the political schemes of Russian autocracy were at issue. He neither took heed of the extension of the almost prohibitive commercial system of Russia over the Polish provinces, nor of the actual, and the even greater prospective, loss, which the establishment of the Czar's dominion over Turkey would similarly entail upon England.* When he came to speak of the danger of the huge Northern despotism to European security, he indulged in language which can scarcely be called serious. Acknowledging that the Muscovite Empire "comprises one-half of Europe and one-third of Asia" (which latter proportion has rather increased since 1836), and that, "ruling over eighty different nations or tribes, the Autocrat of all the Russias claims the allegiance of people of every variety of race, tongue, and religion," Mr. Cobden gaily asserted that even four counties of England—namely, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire—could at any moment "combat with success the whole Russian Empire!" On another occasion he jocosely said Russia could be crumpled up like a piece of brown paper!

But whilst thus making light of a public danger which thinking statesmen of all parties and creeds had felt for a long time past, the apologist of the Court of St. Petersburg hastened to add that, "Were Russia to seize upon the capital of Turkey, the consequences would not, at least, be less favourable to humanity and civilisation than those which succeeded to her conquests on the Gulf of Finland a century ago." Truly an enormous statement! Well may we ask whether Richard Cobden, when, at the age of thirty-two, he penned that sentence, was so unacquainted with history as not to know that Russian conquests in the direction of the North and the West were taken from countries far

* The exports of this country to Russia amounted of late years to about £12,000,000; the imports from thence to about £21,000,000. The exports to the Ottoman Empire (comprising its vassal states, Roumania and Egypt) amounted to upwards of £12,000,000; the imports from thence to about £17,000,000. The population of Russia is 86,000,000; that of the Ottoman Empire about 30,000,000, or less.

higher civilised, and far freer, than semi-Tatar Muscovy; and that, moreover, the result of her encroachments was to create a reactionary incubus upon the popular development of Central and Northern Europe. In order to show, however, with what carelessness a man usually mindful of figures and facts could write when he treated of Eastern and Russian affairs, we need only point out that, in the same deplorable pamphlet which was reissued lately, he places Wallachia and Moldavia "on the right (*sic*) bank of the Danube." *

For justice' sake it must be owned that Richard Cobden, in later years, now and then uttered a word of warning against, and indignant detestation of, Muscovite tyranny. In December 1849, after the overthrow of Hungarian independence and freedom by a Cossack invasion, he said at Leeds:—"Where do we look for the black gathering cloud of war? Where do we see it rising? Why, *from the despotism of the North*, where one man wields the destinies of 40,000,000 serfs." Again, we personally remember that in a speech at the "London Tavern," when Kossuth was presented with a testimonial from the working-men of England, Mr. Cobden took occasion to deliver himself in similar strains against the power which had crushed Hungarian rights. We do not find that speech in the edition before us. Upon the whole, however, he, on all decisive occasions, acted, with regard to Russia, in a manner entirely at variance with the feelings of the nation at large, and more especially of the Liberal and Radical parties here and abroad. Yet his teachings, combined with those of the Peace Society, and with the half-hearted conduct of the party of Lord Aberdeen, were looked upon by the Emperor Nicholas as the outcome of the opinion of the great mass of the English people.

Fortunately, this calculation was an erroneous one. Had that stern tyrant not been defeated, there would be no emancipated serfs to-day in Russia. Hungary, still more pressed upon by Cossacks and Bashkirs, would not have been able under Deak's efforts to recover her self-government. Garibaldi could not have struck out successfully against Bourbon rule, which had always been propped up by Russian influence, and which even Alexander II. in 1860 still sought to shelter by trying to bring about a European intervention. Germany, whose dynasties had, with the short interval of the Revolution of 1848-49, yielded to the counsels and intrigues from St. Petersburg, could not have achieved whatever she possesses now of national unity and common parliamentary institutions. In short, had Russia, in 1853-56, been triumphant, Europe at large would have become rather more Cossack than more free.

The defeat of the Czar in the Crimean War wrought the

salutary change. A fresh defeat in the war just concluded would have had equally beneficent results. It would have given free scope to the aspirations for the introduction of parliamentary government in Russia. On his accession, Alexander II. had already some difficulty in smothering the corresponding demands for a *duma*. After his several reverses at Plevna, the desire for representative institutions showed themselves once more in so uncomfortable a manner—even by the presentation of a memorandum at headquarters—that he was actually unable during several months to leave Gorni Studen for Moscow and St. Petersburg. Osman Pasha, the heroic defender of a country which, before the outbreak of the war, had introduced parliamentary government, had first to be vanquished ere the Russian despot could dare to go back to his own country. Thus the death-groans of thousands of Turkish wounded and prisoners, who were left to rot and to starve at Plevna, whilst the Czar caroused with his staff in the captured town, gave a fresh life-lease to unreformed despotic rule in Russia. And all history proves that, when the favourable moment is once passed, a nation which might have limited a monarch's autocratic power usually pays for the lost opportunity by a long period of continued degradation.

We owe it mainly to Mr. Gladstone, and to those who worked with and followed him, that things did turn out as they have done until now. Unlike Richard Cobden, Mr. Gladstone had not the excuse of having taken the part of Russia from the very beginning of his career. On the contrary, he had to unsay and to undo what he had said and done during the greater part of his life. Out of office, he suddenly broke with the principles which he had maintained in the Crimean War, solemnly re-affirmed in 1871, and upheld to the last day of his administration. Thanks to Mr. Gladstone's teachings, as well as to the wild but persistent utterances of Mr. E. A. Freeman and the Rev. Mr. Malcolm M'Coll, public opinion was so shaken for a while from its basis, that the Czar could muster courage to destroy the work for which 50,000 Englishmen had lost their lives, and a hundred million pounds sterling had been spent.

The study of political psychology is always actively pursued in the councils of a Power whose ambitious schemes are as often promoted by Macchiavellian intrigue as by brute force. For fully two years Russia masked the object she was driving at by got-up insurrections and local wars on Turkish soil. Herzegovinian insurgents, Montenegrin raiders, Servian militiamen, and lastly Russian "volunteers," were in turn used for the deception of Europe. This game began in summer 1875. In December, 1876 the so-called National Conference met at St.

James's Hall. Then followed the Conference at Constantinople, when Russia sought to gain the co-operation of Europe for "coercing" Turkey into compliance with a plan which aimed at dissolving the Ottoman Empire, and laying the basis for a future renewed Russian intervention. No heed was taken of Turkish parliamentary reform. The most autocratic ruler, the harshest oppressor of nationalities, the persecutor of dissenting creeds, unblushingly asserted himself to be the chosen vessel of regeneration in Turkey. Can we wonder that Ottoman statesmen, taking their stand on a *Magna Charta* wrested through popular risings from successive Sultans, should have indignantly refused to yield to the hypocritical demands of that foreign despot?

Still, it was only in the middle of 1877, after pamphlets about "Bulgarian Horrors" and "Lessons in Massacre" had been plentifully issued, and the attitude of Lords Derby, Salisbury, and Carnarvon had further shown a division in the Councils of England, that Alexander II. dared taking the decisive step. At last he thought he was sure of England being so disunited that no alliance could be formed between her and Austria-Hungary,* and that he might with safety violate the autonomy of Roumania, in spite of treaties solemnly sworn to. So the Russian army was mobilised and war declared. Henceforth Bosnia and the Herzegovina vanished into the background. The got-up, rouble-paid insurrections there had done their duty; this particular device of enlisting popular sympathies was therefore abandoned.

The victory won by the Czar, under the greatest difficulties, in this unprovoked and most cruelly sanguinary war of aggression—for which he mendaciously pretended to have received a European mandate!—is the worst result that could have happened for the Russian nation itself. "Parliamentary government as in Turkey" could not have been refused by a vanquished Autocrat to his dissatisfied subjects. Triumphant, he compels the Sultan to dismiss his Parliament; confirms in Russia arbitrary rule itself; and, by the creation and enlargement of vassal States, as well as by downright annexations, spreads farther the blighting shadow of his own tyrannic power in Europe and in Asia. Thus the Czar's victories are the defeats of freedom.

The Peace Preliminaries, so far as they are known, show this

* "Much has recently been said against Austria by Liberal speakers. I ask your leave to say a few words upon the other side. . . . It is no exaggeration to say that a *revolution has taken place since 1867 in the countries governed by the House of Hapsburg*, and that whereas no country was formerly more justly odious to the Liberal of whatever country or shade of opinion, no country, taken as a whole, except England, enjoys more fully at the present moment the advantages of civil and religious liberty. Austria is dead: Austria-Hungary lives."—LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE, in the "Daily News" of February 26, 1878.

clearly enough. With a studied secretiveness most insulting to all Europe, and more specially to the Treaty Powers of 1856, Alexander II. has kept governments and nations in the dark as to his negotiations with the envoys of the Porte, whom the Grand-Duke Nicholas dragged along with him for weeks like prisoners of war. Day by day English Ministers had to hide their diminished heads before parliamentary inquirers, and to confess in a shame-faced whisper that they were "still without any official information." When at last, after a tantalising suspense, the facts came out through the Czar's contemptuous condescension, the Treaty was found to be the acme of arrogance.

Roumania, which the noble-minded and unselfish Russian Emperor forced into the war—solemnly promising, through Prince Gortschakoff, to M. Bratiano, that "no retrocession of Bessarabian territory will be exacted"—he now simply means to rob. "Not wishing to annex territory," the Czar asks for his pound of Rouman flesh. The Parliament at Bucharest have brought out this particular perfidy in all its hideous glare. We may easily conclude therefrom what will be the result of other acts of "deliverance" on the part of Alexander II.

By conferring seaports upon Montenegro and the new Principality of Bulgaria, he clearly seeks to obtain, in an indirect way, the much-longed-for naval stations for his war-fleet in the Adriatic and the Ægean Sea. As to Bulgaria itself, a glance at the map will show that this co-called Slavonian State is destined, under a prolonged Russian garrison and protectorate, to be made serviceable to the Czar's policy in four directions.* By being extended far beyond its ethnographical limits, Bulgaria is to press upon, and so to stifle, the remnant of Turkish independence at Constantinople. Again, it is to exercise Slavonian pressure from the south upon Roumania—to crush that Latin-speaking country, as it were, between two Russian grinding-stones. Thirdly, Bulgaria is to act as a lever of territorial disintegration upon Hungary, by attracting the Slav tribes which are ranged round the Magyar centre. Fourthly, it is to weigh heavily upon Greece, to cut her off from the possibility of further expansion towards Byzantium. In this way, Great Bulgaria will be nothing but a Minor Russia.

* "The Russian troops will occupy the country, and lend armed intervention to the (Russian) Commissary in case of need. This occupation will be limited to an approximate period of *two years*. The Russian effective army of occupation, consisting of six divisions of infantry and two of cavalry, which will remain in Bulgaria after the evacuation of Turkey by the Imperial army, will not exceed *fifty thousand men*, and shall be maintained at the expense of the country. The Russian troops in Bulgaria will preserve communications with Russia, *not only vid Roumania*, but also through the ports on the Black Sea, Varna, and Bourghas, where the necessary depot may be organised for the duration of the occupation."—ART. VIII.

Instead of serving the idea of nationality, it will be a disturbing force for the existence and the growth of surrounding nations of far higher development and culture. So much for the Czar's liberation schemes.

As to the proposed annexations in Armenia and on the eastern coast of the Black Sea, they are introduced by a sort of low cunning, under cover of an indemnity to be paid by Turkey, which is fixed at 1,410,000,000 roubles—1,100,000 of which are “represented by cessions of territory in Asia!” Batoum, Ardahan, Kars, Bayazid, and the territory as far as the Soghanli Dagh, are all to be swept into the Russian fold. If these cessions are allowed to take place, they so clearly threaten to bring Persia into the Cossack grasp, and thus to endanger English interests in the East, that it is scarcely necessary to dwell upon that part of the Peace Preliminaries.

Professor Fawcett—who, we regret to say, has occasionally outvied even Mr. Gladstone in his pro-Russian zeal—declared in a recent speech at the Town Hall, Shoreditch, that “this is great and glorious news,” and that these terms of peace are “so moderate” that he could not see “how the most perverse ingenuity can discover that the interests of England are menaced by them.” We wonder at this all the more because Mr. Fawcett takes great interest in the future of India. He also said there could be “no greater mistake in politics than to be always looking about for motives.” For all that, he himself immediately proceeded to inquire into the motives of those who at present exhibit such “new-born zeal for Poland.” We would, however, remind him that men of the most different parties and creeds in England have for a long time shown great zeal for Poland—some of the Tories included. It is, therefore, historically not correct to say that the zeal is quite a “new-born” one, even on that side. When the member for Hackney is astonished at the extraordinary moderation of the Russian terms, we may well ask whether he had expected the Czar to annex the whole of Turkey at once?

With regard to the idea that it is a mistake to look about for “motives” in a war of aggression, waged by a Power which incessantly aims at aggrandisement, whilst maintaining an iron tyranny at home, we are compelled to dissent from a doctrine that makes matters rather too easy for the invader and the robber. When a suspicious personage comes into a house, knuckle-duster in hand, we are apt to inquire about his “motives.” Altogether, we consider it to be a very poor School of Politics where the clearest lessons of history are neglected, and where people are taught to open their mouths and shut their eyes in order to receive from the bludgeon-armed representative of the most grinding despotism any benefit he may deign to shower upon their teeth.

Far wiser we believe is it to "look about" sharp when dealing with an Empire which, from the most ancient times down to our present days, has given a thousand proofs of a combined brutality and duplicity such as only characterise the procedures of the worst Asiatic tyrannies of old. The lessons of history in this respect are stern indeed. They are well worth being pondered upon whenever Russia makes a move upon the political chess-board. He who does not inquire into the "motives" of Czardom will easily fall a victim to its craft. Fraud, cunning deception, liberal professions, made with the tongue in the cheek, have preceded Russian aggression in the Crimea, in Poland, in Finland—everywhere. The result has uniformly been to draw one nation after the other down to the level line of oppression, although in the beginning of the complication high-sounding phrases about reform had usually been scattered about for the allurement of the gullible.

When we investigate the motives and procedures of Russian Governments, we find it to be their habit first to accuse their neighbours of maladministration, of anarchy, and so forth, and to use these charges as a moral basis for attack. At the same time it is a fact not less proved by history, that the very attempt at reform among their neighbours always induces Russian Governments to hasten their onslaught, lest a regenerated nation should be better able to defend its independence against the threatening encroachment.

Do we say this from any unworthy jealousy of what is often erroneously called a "youthful Power," but which in truth is a designing despotism more than a thousand years old? No; we simply repeat the literal confession and teaching of one of the most eminent Russian diplomatists in the time of Alexander I. and Nicholas—namely, Count Pozzo di Borgo, whose mantle has fallen on the Gortschakoffs and Ignatieffs. When Poland suffered from aristocratic anarchy and confusion, Russia made that state of affairs the pretext for intervention. Yet, no sooner did Poland reform herself in a Liberal sense, than she was denounced as "a hotbed of Jacobin propaganda," and entirely dismembered. In the same way, whenever Turkey began some reform, Russia, after having denounced her misgovernment, hastened to fall upon her, sword in hand. This is what Pozzo di Borgo, as the Czar's ambassador at Paris, wrote in a despatch in the first year of the war of 1828-29.

The despatch begins by stating, that when the Imperial Government examined the question whether it had become expedient to take up arms against the Porte, there "might have existed some doubts as to the urgency of this measure" in the eyes of those who had not sufficiently reflected upon the effects

of the reforms which the Chief of the Ottoman Empire had just executed with such tremendous violence. When it was seen, however, that "*these reforms would have the effect of consolidating the Ottoman Empire,*" the Russian Government could not hesitate any longer. "The Emperor" (Nicholas)—Count Pozzo di Borgo continues—"has put the Turkish system to the proof, and His Majesty has found it to possess a commencement of physical and moral organisation which it hitherto had not. If the Sultan has been enabled to offer us a more determined and regular resistance, whilst he had scarcely assembled together the elements of his new plan of reform and ameliorations, *how formidable should we have found him had he had time to give it more solidity, and to render that barrier impenetrable which we find so much difficulty in surmounting,* although art has hitherto done so little to assist nature! Things being in this state, we must congratulate ourselves upon having attacked them before they became dangerous for us; for delay would only have rendered our relative situation worse, and prepared us greater obstacles than those with which we meet."

This valuable avowal is the clue of Russia's procedures. She wants to work her way towards and into Constantinople. Therefore she is afraid of Turkish amelioration, and cuts across it with the sword as soon as it begins. All the while she poses before Europe as the champion of reform in the East! Truly, the hypocrisy of Czardom on the public stage is only matched by its cynicism behind the scenes. Turkish administration, since the days of the Crimean War, has no doubt been marked by gross abuses. Still they were scarcely grosser than those from which impartial travellers have, within the last few years, been able to partly lift the veil in the Czar's own dominions. Any attempt at the recovery of self-government, or even any defence of national independence, on the part of tribes not yet quite subjugated, has always been beaten down in the most merciless manner. On such occasions the days of Tamerlan seemed to have come back. Cruelties were practised, by the "Divine Figure from the North," in the Caucasus, in Poland, and in Turkestan, which have scarcely their like in modern history. "*You are not to spare either sex or age. Kill all of them!*" was the official order of one who is loaded with the favours of Alexander II. We seem to hear Charles IX. of France, when, maddened with bigotry against the Huguenots, he exclaimed:—"Tue! tue!"

A short-lived sanguinary frenzy has ever and anon characterised the doings of Bashi-Bozuks or Circassians when they were surrounded by attempts at insurrection which Russian agents had fostered. It was reserved to the army leaders and governors

of the Czar coolly to put the Gospel of Extermination into a governmental system. Officers were ordered to "kill them all," without regard to sex or age, "in Circassian style"—that is, *not* in the fashion of the Circassians, but in the style formerly used against the heroic mountain tribes when they bravely defended their own homes and hearths.

Gross as the abuses of Turkish administration have been, it cannot be denied that some of the provinces under the sway of the Porte had of late years made considerable progress, at least in material prosperity. The Russian soldiers and officers, when coming into Bulgaria, were amazed at the wealth of the simple peasantry. The *mujik* in the Czar's uniform envied his "oppressed Bulgarian brother"—nay, declared at last that the whole outcry against Ottoman exactions had been a fraud. The correspondent of the "Daily News" found that the condition of the agricultural labourer in this country was not by far to be compared to the much better condition of the peasant in down-trodden Bulgaria. Mr. Archibald Forbes thought the lot of the latter was one "for which a British philanthropist would gladly see a considerable section of his countrymen exchange their own." He added that the Russian soldier, who was driven to slaughter in order to free the Bulgarian, "feels, with a stolid bewildered envy, that he would be glad indeed to 'have half his complaint.'"

Even a Russian journal printed this:—

"The economic condition of the Bulgarians is so good that we Russians can only envy them. Not unfrequently I have heard sighs of envy among our Cossacks and soldiers at the sight of the plenty which exists in the Bulgarian villages. There is land in abundance. The majority of the peasants have such a quantity of grain that they can never reap and store it all in time. Labourers cannot be obtained, even at a high price. The Bulgarian peasant almost never goes elsewhere to seek work. All remain at home, and find plenty of occupation. Being exempt from the military conscription, all the labouring population can be employed. The stackyards are filled with wheat and barley. Indian corn is grown in enormous quantities. Each one has his own vineyard. The gardens are stocked with pears, plums, peaches, cherries, walnuts, and apricots. Melons and water-melons are the most common fruits. Masses of mulberry trees give the raw materials for silk. The flocks and herds are innumerable. Around each village you meet with thousands of sheep, pigs, long-horned cattle, buffaloes, and horses. Barndoor fowls and game exist in great quantities. In the villages there are such hosts of geese and ducks that sometimes in the morning they prevent one from sleeping. Living is wonderfully cheap. At the sight of all this our sceptics often ask, 'Where is the oppression and devastation about which so much was written?'"

Nor can it be denied that the Porte, however corrupt its Government otherwise was under Abdul Aziz, at all events

introduced, after the Crimean War, a more efficient organisation of its army and navy. This reform—pointing as it did to a coming purifying process in other parts of the administration, and consequently to a consolidation of the Empire—was no doubt one of the main causes which induced Russia to try seizing the first opportunity for a renewed attack.

Another cause of uneasiness for the Court of St. Petersburg was the growing movement of the so-called "Young Turkish" party. Here we have to speak of facts but little known in general, but which were certainly not hidden from the watchful eyes of Russian agents. So far back as about twelve years ago, a movement began in Turkey which had for its aim the abolition of the arbitrary form of government; the introduction of an Ottoman Parliament; the controlling of the exchequer by the representatives of the people; and the establishment of full civil and religious equality for all races and creeds. This party recruited itself mainly from the younger generation, especially from the learned class. Men of riper age were, however, by no means wanting among these aspiring reformers, though for reasons of personal safety they did not come out very openly. Midhat Pasha, whilst not exactly belonging to the party of "Young Turkey," still was looked upon as one of its hopes. In religion, Midhat is a member of a Mohammedan Dissenter sect; for the "fatalist believers in the Koran" also have their sects, as all other religions in the world have. Even the "unspeakable Turk"—to use the senseless mouthing phrase of Thomas Carlyle—or the "one great anti-human specimen of humanity"—as Mr. Gladstone styled a whole people—is not proof against the march of intellect. Ay, Mohammedan Calvinism, too, is being sapped by more enlightened thought. And even as in Western Europe the "right divine of kings to govern wrong" has been disputed, with varying success, by the defenders of popular rights, so in the world of Islam also men leagued together for doing away with a similarly arbitrary Sultanate.

Midhat, in former years, repeatedly endeavoured to awaken the Porte to the necessity of a reform in the sense of representative government. These attempts were unsuccessful. They only resulted in the occasional personal disgrace of their author at Court. Between 1867 and 1868, a small group of Turkish exiles—Zia Bey, Ali Suavi, and Aghaia Effendi—published in London and Paris a journal ("The Mukhbir") in the Turkish language, which sometimes came out with corresponding English and French texts, in which representative institutions and all the other reforms were fully advocated. We pass over further signs of such earlier political activity. Be it enough to say that the Softa rising, which finally led, in 1876, to the establishment of an Otto-

man Parliament and the proclamation of civil and religious equality for all races and creeds, was only the practical outcome of an agitation begun many years before—an agitation the Czar's emissaries had watched with a jealousy easily to be understood in the light of the Pozzo di Borgo despatch.

All these facts and considerations convinced the Czar that he must attempt a sudden spring upon the intended victim which threatened to escape from his clutches. He saw the material prosperity of Bulgaria—that is, of the country through which his natural war-path lay—rapidly on the increase; he found Turkey becoming stronger on land and sea; he perceived within her borders the growing germs of parliamentary institutions; and he became all the more alarmed because, if he allowed Turkey to cast away the absolutistic form of government, his own dominions would alone have presented the spectacle of strictly despotic rule in Europe.*

In 1870, as soon as France and Germany were locked together in a terrible struggle, Russia broke away from one of the stipulations of the Treaty of 1856, which hindered her aggressive power against Turkey. At the same time she tried hard to get up one of those phantom insurrections in the Herzegovina which would allow her to step forth as the champion supporter of a downtrodden people. The diplomatic documents referring to this intrigue were published at Vienna. They have never been disavowed by the Russian Government. We allude to the secret despatches and cypher telegrams (1870) of M. de Novikoff—then, as now, the Russian Ambassador at Vienna; and of M. Ionin—then, as now, the Russian Consul-General at Ragusa, where the headquarters of a Russian Committee of Action have been established for years past. The supplementary evidence is found in the confidential despatches (1870) of Khalil Bey, then Ambassador of the Porte at Vienna. Count Andrassy, at that time Hungarian Premier, was so impressed with the written proofs of Russian designs which Khalil Bey had been able, by means of a go-between, to obtain from the archives of Muscovite diplomacy, that he endeavoured to bring about a declaration of war against Russia on the part of Austria-Hungary.

However, the attempt to raise an insurrection in the Herzegovina was not very successful. In the meantime, the war be-

* "A Russian gentleman observed to me: "Russia looks upon the establishment of a Constitution and a Parliament by the Turkish Government as an insult and a defiance to her. *Their existence would alone furnish us with a sufficient reason to make war upon Turkey.* We will never consent to be the only power left in Europe without constitutional institutions; and as we are not yet prepared for them, we cannot, it is evident, allow Turkey to have them."—*Mr. Layard's Despatch to the Earl of Derby, of May 3^d, 1877.*

tween France and Germany came to an end. Consequently, fresh mines had to be laid.

This was done a few years later, in 1875—once more on Herzegovinian ground, and once more with the aid of Montenegro, whose chieftain draws from Russia an annual pension of 8000 ducats. Shortly previous to the artificial raising of this most recent revolt, the Russian Government busied itself in an extraordinary manner with a Congress for the Humanisation of the Code of War. Her delegate, in his opening remarks, declared on that occasion, with the customary ingenuousness, that “nothing was further from the intentions of his Government than to renew the era of wars.” Those who had closely studied the ways and manners of Russian diplomacy maintained, even then, that this whole so-called Humanitarian scheme had no other object than to cripple the power of defence of a nation which the Czar wished to assail. We have seen since with what humanity Russia and her allies make war.

Here we must enter for a moment upon those Bulgarian horrors which preceded the terrible reprisals taken in spring, 1876, by the Turks.

It is well known that a Bulgarian Committee of Insurrection, affiliated to Russia, had been in existence on Roumanian soil, at Bucharest, for some twelve years past. This Committee was in connection with a similar organisation on Bulgarian soil. Now we have before us the “Thirty-Six Articles” agreed upon in the General Assembly of the so-called Apostles and Delegates of the Bulgarian Committee of Insurrection held in the Madjka Balkan. It was the attempt at a practical application of those articles which led to the ghastly scenes known as the Bulgarian Atrocities. The framers of the instructions in question, whose names are appended to them, were known to be men acting in the Russian interest—to aim at Pan Slavism under the patronage of the Czar. We will only give a few questions and answers of those Apostles and Delegates:—

“Q. Are you agreed to begin the insurrection on the 1st of May?
A. Yes; but it must be announced by the 25th of April. Q. Do you consider it necessary to burn down Adrianople, Philippopoli, and Tatar Bazardjik? A. Yes. Q. Is it necessary to burn down Karlowa, Zladi, and Ihtiman? A. Yes. Q. Is it necessary to burn the villages? A. Yes. Q. All of them? A. No; not all of them. Q. Which are to be burnt? A. Those which might disturb the sacred common cause. Q. If the mixed villages resist, what punishment do you propose. A. *Fire, massacre, and pillage.* Q. What do you decide with regard to the Mussulman villages? A. They must, at the beginning of the insurrection, and without losing a moment, be forced by fire and massacre to submit.”

We further read in those articles that—"the Council of Terror has already designated twenty incendiaries for Philippopoli, and ten for Adrianople;" that Sophia must be burnt; and so forth. The names of the Apostles who signed this are: Petre Vanikoff, Yorgui Nikowski, and Yorgui Ikonomoff. The Commissioners' names were: Custojanoff, Sokoloff, Karadjoff, Yani Bransko Gronoff, Loldjomeroff Gogoli, Khrestahi Tornoff, Matchoff, Telechoff, and Yovan Sokoloff, to whom the districts of Avrat-Alan, Prochtintcha, Dербend, Raslik, Petrieh, Philippopoli, Otlok Keui, Brachova, and Bazardjik were assigned. We should, of course, be loth to place such Articles of Arson and Massacre on a level with the policy and practice of any regular Government; but when we consider what the official instructions were in Turkestan, and what has been done at Plevna under the very eyes of His Majesty the Emperor Alexander II., we do not find the difference so great between this Bulgarian catechism of atrocities and the Government practice of the Czar.

Says the "Daily News" correspondent in a letter from Adrianople:—

"Seventy miles of utter desolation, seventy long miles strewn with the household effects of many thousand families, seventy weary miles of a continuous, ghastly, sickening panorama of death in every form and in its most terrible aspect—such is the road from Philippopolis to Hermanli. Here has been enacted a tragedy of such colossal proportions and horrible character, that it is quite impossible for any one who has not witnessed part of it to conceive, in the most moderate degree, the nature of the diabolical drama. It was here that was assembled the great mass of the Turkish families that fled from the villages at the approach of the Russians. Fugitives from the entire territory from Plevna to Philippopolis were for weeks and even months endeavouring to make their way to Constantinople, the haven safe from the pursuit of the Muscovite. Now, for the first time, do we appreciate in part the sufferings of these people, and form some adequate idea of the multitude of Mussulman inhabitants who have fled panic-stricken before the Russians. As we rode from Philippopolis, the corpses of peasants were to be seen lying in the snow, and some of them had already been exposed to the weather for two or three weeks. Some had blood-stains still fresh on their garments. Hundreds of abandoned arabas stood in the road and choked the ditches alongside. There were traces of bivouacs in the snow, which became more and more frequent as we proceeded, until these side-paths were almost literally carpeted with the *débris* of camps, and our route lay between rows of dead animals, broken arabas, piles of rags and cast-off clothing and human bodies, for thirty-five miles of the whole of the first day's ride. Women and infants, children and old men, had fallen in the fields by the roadside half-buried in the snow, or lying in the

pools of water. While many of the bodies bore marks of violence and showed ghastly wounds, the great proportion of the women and children were evidently frozen to death, for they lay on the snow as if asleep, with the flush of life still on their faces, and the pink skin of their feet and hands still unblanched. Side by side with these, many corpses of old men, full of dignity even in death, lay stark by the roadside, their white beards clotted with blood, and their helpless hands fallen upon their breasts. From the muddy water of the ditches tiny hands and feet stretched out, and baby faces, half-covered with snow, looked out innocently and peacefully, with scarcely a sign of suffering on their features. Frozen at their mothers' breasts, they were thrown down into the snow to lighten the burden of the poor creatures who were struggling along in mortal terror. The peasants were travelling in miserable arabas, without food or shelter, and with half-starved oxen. Miles of these araba trains we passed on the road, human beings and household effects jumbled in promiscuously. Upon the jolting carts bedding and utensils were piled. Women and children upon donkeys and cattle followed alongside, and behind for miles was a long trail of wretched, weary, half-dead stragglers; old men and women bent double, crawling along with the aid of crutches or sticks; mothers with infants at their breasts, scarcely moving one foot before the other; all this *after long months of flight, constant exposure, continuous dread of marauders and the hated Muscovites.* Never did I feel so utterly helpless as in the presence of this supreme misery. . . . It was a pitiable sight to see an old, grey-bearded Turk lying, with his open Koran beside him, splashed with blood from ghastly gashes in his bared throat. Bundles of rags and clothes nearly all held dead babies. Crowds of Bulgarians swarmed in this great avenue of death and desolation, choosing the best of the carts, and carrying away great loads of copper vessels, which lay about in profusion, and mud-soiled bedding, with no more respect for the dead than for the rags they lay on. These scavengers would drive their carts across the heads of dead women and old men without even a glance of curiosity at the bodies. I should say that at least 500 dead non-combatants lay in the bivouac; certainly no less than 15,000 carts had halted there, large as the number may seem, and at least 75,000 people had deserted the whole of their possessions and had run away, with only what they could carry in their hands. Sickened by the continuation of the ghastly panorama for so many hours, we rode on to Hermanli, not leaving the last of the horribly mutilated corpses until we reached the very edge of the village."

Again, when Osman Pasha's army was vanquished, we read in the unimpeachable text of the "Daily News:"—

"PLEVNA, Dec. 17.

"Plevna is full of horrors, and after the turmoil of the past four months the complete silence now seems strange and oppressive. With all the vivid recollections of the various incidents of the siege, the most active imagination could not picture the thousandth part of the fright-

ful sufferings, the awful misery and wretchedness, that are found within the narrow limits of the town, nor draw the faintest outline of the sickening spectacle, the panorama of ghastly horrors, that is almost unparalleled since the terrible plagues of past centuries. Human beings lying like sheep in the streets; houses filled with dead; hundreds stretching their hands feebly heavenward for a morsel of bread or a drop of water, and no help that could be commanded to alleviate their suffering or save the wretched creatures from their painful death. Even after constant contact with human suffering and death in every form, I can scarcely bring myself to repeat the story of what has passed in Plevna since the surrender.

“Of course, the attendants at the hospitals joined their lot with those who tried to break through the Russian lines. The day and night of the battle passed, and the sufferers received no food or water, and their festering wounds were undressed. *The following morning the Russians entered and took possession, and made the day one of rejoicing, WITH THE VISIT OF THE CZAR AND THE IMPERIAL STAFF; but this celebration of the event, however short it may have seemed to the victors, was a long season of horrible suffering for the wretched, helpless captives, who stretched their skeleton hands in vain towards heaven, praying for a bit of bread or a drop of water. Neither friend nor foe was there to alleviate their sufferings, or to give the trifle needed to save them from a painful death, and they died by hundreds; and before the morning of the third day the dead crowded the living in every one of those dirty, dimly-lighted rooms which confined the wounded in a foul and fetid atmosphere of disease and death.*

“It was only on the morning of the third day after these wretched, tortured creatures had been left to their fate that the Russians began the separation of the living from the dead. The mosques, the largest houses, and many of the small dwellings had been filled with sick and wounded.

“The first room entered in one of these charnel-houses contained ninety odd Turks. Of these, thirty-seven were dead, and many others on the point of death. Piteous groans came from between rigid lips, and painful cries for water, and some made feeble signs for food. One or two of the strongest raised themselves, and fixed their hideous, sunken eyes with such a beseeching stare on those who had come to free them from the company of the dead, that it would have softened the hardest heart. The small room, dimly lighted by a high window with one pane of glass, was crowded with the forms of thirty or forty ragged, filthy human beings. Many of these forms were motionless, and scarcely audible groans were heard from one or two who raised with difficulty their bony hands to their lips, to signify their need of food. There were faint whispers of ‘Some water!’ ‘Some water!’ piteous to hear. The dim light was concentrated on the half-naked body of an old man stretched across the entrance, whither he had dragged himself in the last hours of his agony, in hope of succour, or at least of a breath of fresh air; for in the unventilated room the air was thick with putrid odours, which burst out when the door was opened,

overpowering strong men, and causing them to turn sick and faint. The old man's hands were clutched in the rigour of painful death on his nude and meagre breast; and his head lay against the very crack of the door, so that it was opened only by rude force. Living and dead were lying together undistinguishable along the walls, behind the door and under the window.

"This room is one of fifty where a similar spectacle is presented. The pavement of the mosques is covered with crouching forms, some moving at intervals, others motionless and silent. Here and there the faces of the dead come out in ghastly relief, with a fixed expression of great agony.

"Nothing can be done but to drag the dead from among the living, let in the light and air, and give water and nourishment in hope of saving some of those who remain alive. Small enough was the force of men who set about this painful task, and meagre enough their means. Three open peasants' ox-carts were all that were available for the removal of the dead, and fifty soldiers to carry the bodies from the rooms to the carts, and bury them in the ditches. As fast as possible, bread and water were distributed; and the feeble wretches fought with their last breath for the nourishment. Some, propped up against the wall, slowly ate until the unmistakable pallor came over their faces and their eyes were fixed in death. Even the effort of eating the long-needed food was too great for their waning strength. The living clutch at the morsel in the dead man's hand, and struggle for it with all their feeble power, perhaps to fall dead before they can eat the bread.

"The three open ox-carts began the removal of the dead at once, and as I write the work still goes on. The hospitals daily supply more freight of this kind than the slow-moving teams can carry away to the ditches outside. The disinfection of the hospitals was promptly effected. As fast as possible, with the small force of men at hand, the rooms were emptied one after another. After a day or two some of the Bulgarians were compelled to serve in place of the soldiers, and they set themselves about the hated task with a brutality terrible to witness. They drag the bodies down the stairs by the legs, the heads bumping from step to step with sickening thuds; then out into the court through the filthy mud, where they sling them into the cart with the heads or legs hanging over the side, and so pile up the load with a score of half-naked corpses.

"It is horrible to hear the conversation of the men who do this work. *They perhaps bring out a body still warm, the heart still beating, and the flush of life on the cheek. One says:—'He is still alive,' and proposes to leave him without stopping to decide the question. The others cry:—'Devil take him! He will die before to-morrow, anyway. In with him.'* And so the living goes in with the dead, and is tumbled into the grave. I have seen this myself, and the man who has charge of the disinfection of the hospitals and burial of the dead, told me that he doubted not that such cases occurred several times daily. When the three carts are full, they start away through the streets toward the ditches outside the town. The horrible load jolts and shakes, and now

and then a body falls out into the mud and is dragged into the cart again, and thrown down and jammed in solidly to prevent a recurrence of the accident. This heartless proceeding goes on in the public streets, crowded with the men, women, and children of the place—the soldiers, the wounded, and the sick; and after so many days of the same spectacle, no one any longer pays any attention to the transport of the dead. Over a thousand have been already carted away, and from the hospitals come about a hundred daily.

“I have given but a slight outline of the scenes that have passed before my eyes since I came here. A long detailed account alone could give anything like an idea of the climax and final act of the drama of Plevna. The town is full of similar pictures. Along the streets are frequently seen one or two wounded who have crawled out from the hospital, and lie dying in the mud. There is no valid excuse for this wilful disregard of human life. *The Russians knew that Plevna must fall, and they expected to find thousands of starving men there, and thousands of badly attended wounded.* The surrender must have been, as it probably was, a surprise, but the day before the expected event was not the time to prepare for it. There should have been detailed, a month ago, proper officers to prepare everything for the care of the surrendered troops. There can be no excuse for the fact that only three open ox-carts can be found to transport the dead; and only a score of Bulgarians, who run away at every opportunity, can be detailed to perform the duty of burying the dead. Out on the plain, near the bridge over the Vid, are bivouacked 15,000 or 20,000 prisoners, fighting for bread, miserable beyond description, in the cold, with hundreds of unburied dead covering the ground near the spot where the first attempt was made to break through; and day after day passes and their condition does not change. Plevna is one vast charnel-house, surpassing in horror anything that can be imagined.”

Such is the result of Congresses convoked by the Czar for the “Humanisation of Warfare,” and for the “Amelioration of the Condition of Prisoners of War.” Such is the philanthropy of “Holy Russia”—such the generous nature of the “Divine Figure from the North.”

We experience a certain repugnance, after the foregoing, to discuss the claim which the advocates of the Russian Government set up for it as the champion of the Slav nationality. Still it may be useful to devote some attention also to this part of the case.

Not a few men allow themselves to be at once intellectually captivated as soon as the word “nationality” is pronounced—at least, as applied to countries abroad. Yet Switzerland, the freest Commonwealth in Europe, would not stand the test of nationality, in the sense of homogeneousness in race and language. Two-thirds of its inhabitants are of German origin and speech. The remainder are divided into French, Italian, and Romansch-speaking people. Hungary would not stand the test of nation-

ality either. Besides its central Magyar race, and its influential German population, Hungary contains a variegated number of Serbs, Croats, Slovaks, as well as a considerable Rouman population of Latin speech. To make a separation according to nationality would be the destruction of the country—its splitting up into a hundred fragments—the return to chaos.

With the exception of Italy (since she lost Savoy), and of Holland and Denmark, there is not a single country in Europe which has not an admixture of some race different from the one prevailing in it. In the East, there are many parts where the confusion of races, owing to the successive results of the Great Migrations, has become utterly inextricable. This is the chief obstacle of an easy solution of the Eastern Question. Sheer want of veracity or gross ignorance only can take no account of this state of things, which could not be altered except by wholesale massacre and transportation. The Russian Government may regard this as desirable. No humane man will.

Italy is a nationality; so is Spain; so is France; so is Germany; so is England. We do not lump Italy, Spain, and France together as a single nationality; nor do we apply this expression to Germany and England combined. In the same way, the word "Slav" is not a term of nationality, but a comprehensive ethnographical expression, under which the most widely divergent branches of an originally united stock, and even a great many different races who have only in course of time become Slavonised in speech, may be conveniently described. But could we, with any degree of political reason, speak, for instance, of an Aryan nationality?

If so, we might as well speak at once of a human nationality. The Aryan stock comprises races from the frontiers of China to perhaps the shores of Peru. In surveying mankind, the term "Aryan" is a very serviceable one; but, politically, we do not speak either of an Aryan, or a Turanian, or a Semitic "nationality." We do not even apply that word for the designation of the common origin of a subdivision of Aryans—namely, of the Germans, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Icelanders, Dutch, Flemings, Switzers, Englishmen, North Americans, and Australian settlers, all of whom mainly belong to the Teutonic stock.

So also we cannot apply the word "nationality" to the Slav race, which contains tribes standing so widely apart from each other as the Poles, who are most purely Slavonian; the Russians, who in their majority are Slavonised Tatars and Finns; the Bulgarians, who originally were not Aryan, but Ugriau, kindred of Tatars and Turks; the Czechs, among whom there is a Germanic admixture, as well as an Avar substratum; the Croats, who, again, are more purely Slav—and so forth. All these dif-

ferent nationalities have gone through such variegated historical development—they have formed, and still mostly belong to, such different state structures, and use such different tongues, that it is simply a misnomer to try ranging them under one “nationality.”

No doubt, even as we are wont to speak of a Teutonic stock, so we may also speak of a Slav stock, from the point of view of ethnology. In politics, however, we have to keep account of the differences in historical development and in language. It would be an impossible scheme, on the face of it, to unite all the members of the Teutonic race in a single nationality and political organisation. As to the “Slavs,” we need only bring to recollection that when the delegates of the various Slavonian countries met at Prague in 1848, they quickly found it impossible to understand each other’s tongue. Thence, by a strange irony of fate, they had to fall back upon the German language as a means of carrying on the business of their “Slav” Congress!

European Russia herself is, in race-origin, not Slav, but mainly Finnic and Tatar. The small Slavonian nucleus which, at the dawn of history, existed in the western part of what we now call Russia, has but slowly spread in the course of centuries. Even now the process of Russification is far from being complete. If anything is thoroughly proved, it is the fact of the vast territory between the Ural range and the Vistula having originally been inhabited by Ugrian, Finnic, Tatar, ay, by Turk and other Turanian races. At one time, the Gothic nation pushed itself in, extending its sway from the Baltic to the Black Sea. But then fresh Tataric tribes, Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Khazars came in. The latter, belonging to the Turkish stock, and being in creed partly Jewish, partly Mohammedan, ruled over what is now Southern Russia from the eighth to the eleventh century. Meanwhile, in the north, the Warangians, a Germanic warrior-tribe, founded a Finno-Slav kingdom under Rurik. But from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, nearly whole Russia fell under the rule of the Golden Horde, and thus became doubly Tatarised through nearly the whole length and breadth of the land. At present, a large fringe of populations in the north, east, and south of European Russia is still far from being Russified. We will not go so far as the learned Polish writer F. H. Duchinski, who only makes out a little more than 21,000,000 Slavonians in European Russia, including even Poland, whilst he attributes upwards of 35,500,000 “Uralians” (Finns and Finno-Turks), and a little more than 3,000,000 of sundry nationalities (Germans, Swedes, &c.), to the remainder of the Empire on this side of the Ural. But at all events, the “Slavonian” character of Russia Proper is of the most doubtful and mixed kind.

A Serb, a Bulgar, a Croat, a Czech, a Pole, are at least as different from a Russ in speech (not to mention historical or religious differences) as an Englishman is from an Icelander, from a Swede, from a Dane, from a Dutchman, and from a German. Yet, under the pretence of a common nationality, Russian Pan Slavists aim at the absorption of all populations that can be ranged under the "Slav" name. The intermediate nationalities, such as Roumans and Magyars, are, in the opinion of these Pan Slavists, simply to be crushed out of existence. The Russian language is, in this process of annexation or assimilation with other Slav tribes, to be violently enforced—as it has been in Poland; as it is attempted in the Baltic provinces; as it is proposed even for Bulgaria. And whilst constituted nations are to be torn to pieces for the sake of getting the scattered branches of the Slav race into the fold of the Czar's Empire, Russia herself is to keep Finlanders, Germans, Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians, the unwilling Poles, Tatars, and a host of discordant nationalities in Europe and Asia, under her despotic sceptre!

Thus Pan Slavism is merely a mask for the aggrandisement of Russia, whose rulers otherwise are the very destroyers of all nationality.

With what difficulties as regards restive nationalities Russia has still to contend at home, whilst she professes to liberate nationalities abroad, cannot be better shown than by a quotation from General Fadeyeff, the out-and-out champion of Pan-Russian aggrandisement. He writes:—

"No one can imagine that the Polish question is in reality settled. All its component parts are quite as alive now as they were before. As yet the state of affairs has been bettered only in one respect: the people have been withdrawn from the direct influence of the upper classes of society, which are inclined towards revolution. In this way, no doubt, an obstacle has been created to any rising from within, but no impediment exists to a rebellion supported from without. A province that remains loyal to the country when occupied by a foreign foe is a burden to the latter, because the necessity of keeping it in submission divides his forces. But the western provinces of Russia in their present condition, and *not only the kingdom of Poland, but even Volhynia, where the Catholics number only ten per cent of the population,* will certainly become thoroughly Polish, and hostile to Russia on the first appearance of a foreign foe. The 'intelligent classes,' little scrupulous in the means they use, would, at once seize the power they formerly possessed, and compel the local population against their will to toil for the foe of Russia with a zeal equal to that which a true-born Pole would employ. . . . Until the majority of the educated classes and of the landed proprietors in the western provinces are Russianised—an end towards which but little advance has been made—that part of the empire will be liable to all the

eventualities of war in the same degree as the kingdom of Poland. This position of affairs is fully known at Vienna, Pesth, and Cracow."

General Fadeyeff thinks that the only means of finally crushing the Poles is to surround them from all sides by the building up of a vast Slavonian confederacy. That confederacy is to immerse them—to press upon them from every direction—to crush them. The policy of immuring restive nationalities is a favourite idea of his. Bulgarians, Montenegrins, Serbs, Croats, and Slovaks are, in his opinion, to be attracted towards Russia, so as to crush by their means the intermediate Rouman, Magyar, and Polish nationalities. Austria-Hungary is, therefore, in General Fadeyeff's view, to be destroyed like Turkey. According to him, it would even have been better to begin with an attack upon Austria, previous to an invasion of Turkey. He compares Turkey to a strong chest, of which Austria forms the lid. "Without lifting that lid it is impossible to get anything out of the chest." Again he says:—"Everything that strengthens Austria is a new impediment to Russia." In other words, Austria-Hungary, whose constitution has been changed from top to bottom in a Liberal sense, must not be allowed time to consolidate her parliamentary institutions on both sides of the Leitha, lest the intended Russian advance towards the upper course of the Elbe should be stopped.

The extension of Russia into Bohemia, as well as to the Adriatic and the Archipelago, is, in fact, the distinct programme of that Panslavist agitator, whose pamphlets have appeared with the *imprimatur* of the Imperial censorship. This gives peculiar significance to his assertion that "the Russian reigning house must cover the liberated soil of Eastern Europe with its branches, under the supremacy and lead of the Czar, long recognised, in the expectation of the people, as the direct heir of Constantine the Great."

However, even this consummation would evidently not satisfy General Fadeyeff. In common with a great many Russian writers, he declares Europe at large—not merely Eastern Europe—to be incurably sick, struggling with fits of cold fever, which sometimes reach a paroxysm almost threatening death, whilst Russia is hale and hearty—a young giant whom no ills affect. Expressions like these, which clearly point to a Russian desire of world-dominion, are a favourite piece of cant among Panslavistic writers.

As a counterblast to such Muscovite bravado and lust of universal conquest, we may give a quotation from an excellent pamphlet of a veteran leader of English Chartism, who lives in voluntary exile in the United States. Mr. George Julian Harney, than whom there have been few more ardent champions

of democratic freedom, says in a review of the recent anti-Turkish agitation in England :—

“Whatever the evils of Turkish misgovernment—however deplorable the condition of the subject populations, the Ottoman Empire is no menace to Europe—no more to the smallest than to the largest states; no more to the weakest than to the strongest. Under the sceptre of the Sultan, Constantinople is substantially a free port, a commercial mart where almost absolute freedom of exchange prevails. Under the sceptre of the Czar—I say nothing about the introduction and enforcement of high protective and prohibitory tariffs—Constantinople would become the sovereign seat of an aggressive power, dangerous in a naval as well as a military sense, a camp and arsenal for aggressive wars and spoliations, a laboratory of designs for the acquisition of universal empire, necessitating as bloody struggles for the freedom and safety of Europe as ever raged on the frontier lands of Turk and Christian.”

Similar views have over and over been expressed by French, German, Italian, Polish, and Hungarian leaders of Democracy, and have also found an eloquent championship in Swinburne's “Note of an English Republican on the Muscovite Crusade.”

If it is a well-established fact that the triumph of nationality is not the aim of Russian monarchs, it cannot be asserted with better reason that they are, or ever were, moved by religious sympathies with oppressed populations in their repeated invasions of the Balkan peninsula. The history of a thousand years proves the contrary. From the very day when the Russian Empire was formed, in the ninth century, there have been repeated attacks upon Constantinople by Russian despots. They made these attacks, as heathen rulers, upon the Christian empire of Byzantium. They continued them upon Christian Byzantium, when they themselves became converted to Christianity. They resumed their attacks when the subsequent Ottoman rule had become somewhat weakened at Stambul. They would again resume them if a Christian, but non-Russian, government were set up at Constantinople. Meanwhile they distinctly declare—witness the sayings of Alexander I., of Nicholas, and of Alexander II.—that they will not allow any other Power to establish itself at the Bosphorus. Not even Greece—in spite of her old glorious traditions and of her present religious affinity with Russia!

Altogether, the espousal of religious grievances comes strangely from a Government which in our days has enacted, against the Greek Uniates, cruelties as fiendish as any committed under the Holy Inquisition. Under the Turkish rule there has always been toleration, even if it was of the contemptuous sort, towards the adherents of other creeds. On the other hand, the history of Russia, from the sixteenth century, is full of the most

diabolical barbarities, practised against Christian dissenters from the Orthodox Church, as well as against Lutherans, Catholics, and Jews. There are pages in the older Russian chronicles from whose revolting details the eye turns away in disgust. Yet, when we look into the official documents sent by Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield and Lord Loftus, we find that religious toleration has grown not a whit better in Russia since then. The Cossack whip and the bludgeon applied to men, women, and children, on account of difference of creed—the order given to the Cossacks to hunt down these dissenters like wild beasts—the driving of the sufferers through half-frozen rivers, through which they had to wade with the water up to their waists—the camping out of the persecuted people in the wintry forests, where many died from cold—is not this a spectacle to move a heart of stone? The heart of Alexander II., the Magnanimous, was not moved.

And Mr. Gladstone exclaimed at Blackheath, in reference to this cruel despotism:—"In the name of God, go on and prosper!" And again:—"The time has come to emulate Russia by sharing in her good deeds." Mr. Robert Lowe, on his part, said of Russia with unusual warmth and gushing sentimentality:—"She is the refuge of the afflicted, the protector of the unprotected, and the father of the fatherless!"

The mind stands aghast at the acts of savagery perpetrated in Russia. Yet, it is for the extension of the influence of such a Government, which has placed itself outside the pale of humanity, and, by its aggressiveness, has become *hostis humani generis*, that we have been told this country should even sacrifice her Indian dependency rather than oppose the mild and generous Czar. We need scarcely say that we refer to Mr. E. A. Freeman. Seeing, however, that he has repeatedly denied having made use of the expression "Perish India!" we gladly give him the benefit of a full quotation, so that the reader may judge for himself.

We have before us the "Report of Proceedings of the National Conference at St. James's Hall, published by direction of the committee." According to it, Mr. E. A. Freeman said:—"But we are told that the interests of England demand that *we should withstand the advance of Russia*. We are told that our dominion in India will be imperilled, that the civilised world will fall into atoms, if a Russian ship should be seen in the Mediterranean. I answer: If it be so, duty must come first, and interest second. (Cheers.) *Perish the interests of England, perish our dominion in India*, rather than that we should strike one blow or speak one word on behalf of the wrong against the right. (Cheers.)"

What else does this practically mean than that the interests

of England and her dominion in India should perish rather than that the advance of Russia should be stayed? For Mr. Freeman, Russia simply means "the right." To oppose her, constitutes, in his opinion, "the wrong." Mr. Freeman has so often posed as a Crusader—he has so little scrupled to describe the unspeakable Turk a hundred times as a wild beast that must be dragged down by the chain and whipped—he has so fiercely declared that, for the greater glory of the Cross, there must be killing, killing, killing—he has throughout his agitation placed Russia so invariably before everything else—that we may really wonder at his denial of the use of language which, to any intelligent hearer or reader, can bear but one construction.

Need we show up the intentional fallacy which lurks in Mr. Freeman's would-be ironical expression that "we are told that our dominion in India will be imperilled, that the civilised world will fall into atoms, if a Russian *ship* should be seen in the Mediterranean?" We say the fallacy is an intentional one, because the historian Mr. Freeman knows as well as we do that there is no bar against the appearance of Russian ships of commerce in the Mediterranean. Russian merchantmen have free egress from, and access to, the Black Sea. For everything relating to peaceful progress, not the slightest impediment is put upon Russia. The clause referring to her men-of-war is the necessary result, partly of the situation of the Turkish capital, partly of the restless ambition of Russia, which never ceases to threaten "Czargrad."

Mr. Grant Duff, who certainly does not belong to the Turko-phil party, very sensibly wrote in the "Contemporary Review" on this point:—

"The provisions of the Treaty of Paris in that behalf apply not to Russia only, but to all the world. Supposing Piccadilly were a strait of the sea, miles and miles in length, from either side of which London rose on a gradual slope, so that a fleet steaming leisurely through it could blow the whole city to pieces, would it be endurable that all the fleets of the world should sail up and down it at their own sweet will? And if not all the fleets of the world, why particularly the one fleet which is far the most dangerous? Supposing Constantinople ever became Russian, does the newest school of Russophiles really believe that Russia would allow armed vessels to pass between Stamboul and Scutari? . . . Surely, under no circumstances, as long as a great city and its suburbs extend from the Sea of Marmora almost to the Symplegades, could you allow the Bosphorus to be treated as if it were the Straits of Dover or the Sound."

In the same article, Mr. Grant Duff, who otherwise makes light of dangers threatening from Russia, says:—

"Turkish Armenia once acquired, should the potentate who rules in

Samarkand desire also to rule in Nineveh, in Babylon, and Bagdad, what is to prevent him?—unless, indeed, Sir George Jenkinson, like a new Peter the Hermit, leads forth a gallant band of Crusaders to fight for the line of the Euphrates Valley. If Russia is so desirous of reaching a southern sea as many suppose, she will probably reach it more easily at the head of the Persian Gulf than anywhere else. Her presence there might well oblige India largely to increase the modest figure (£70,000 a year) which she now pays to the Admiralty for the service of the British navy; and the grand attack against our dominions there, with dreams of which Russian officers, as we gather from Captain Burnaby and other travellers, so often amuse the weary hours of their Central Asian banishment, might be aided by the operations of a fleet under a Russian Nearchus. That surely is a good working bugbear enough; but, *seriously speaking, what is there to stand in the way of Russia advancing from Trans-Caucasia to the southward, if she pleases so to do?*”

The attempt at a bantering style contained in the remarks about “Peter the Hermit” and the “good working bugbear” appear somewhat ill-placed in this warning argumentation. As a former Under State Secretary for India, the Member for Elgin sees clearly enough the prospective dangers which threaten the British Empire in Asia. He therefore has found it necessary to disconnect himself in some degree from the Russophil leaders or misleaders of the Liberal party.

Mr. Algernon Borthwick, in a valuable address, full of good information, delivered at St. James’s Hall on January 10, 1878, when the Duke of Sutherland was in the chair, also touched with practical sense upon the questions of the security of India and of the Ottoman capital. He said:—

“If Russia seizes Armenia, she obtains access to the head-waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, and becomes mistress of the direct road of the future to the Persian Gulf and to India. She would also so completely surround the Persian kingdom that from that time it would simply become a Russian dependency. She would gain access to the historic and easy highways to Syria and Egypt. Another of the objects for which Russia is supposed to be contending is the opening of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. The passage is free to the commerce of the world. It is forbidden only to ships of war, for the obvious reason that the presence of foreign squadrons in the waters of Constantinople must *ipso facto* amount to a military occupation of the capital. The Bosphorus is not broader than the Thames at Gravesend. If you can suppose such a thing as a great canalisation of the Thames and the Severn, we should no doubt be glad to see commercial navies passing through their course; but what would be said if a French fleet of war were to come up from the Channel, while an American squadron came up from Bristol, and were to anchor off the Houses of Parliament? Is that a thing that we should allow? . . . And what is the pretext for the opening of these Straits? It is asked by Russia

alone. She is put to no inconvenience at this moment, for in the Euxine she has no ships of war, What she is seeking is not egress from the Black Sea, but ingress to it. If she could do so, she would to-morrow send her Baltic fleet into the Black Sea. Her object in asking for this free passage is to obtain the mastery of those waters and the control of the Turkish capital. . . . The power of Russia would be so great that we should have to maintain large fleets to counterbalance it. We should have to maintain a Black Sea fleet as well as a Mediterranean squadron; and this measure, which is falsely represented to be one of peace, would add immensely to the burdens of the English taxpayer and the political dangers of Europe."

Surely Mr. Freeman knows all that. We do not for a moment assume him to be so wanting in information as to be unable to make the proper distinction between the different kinds of Russian "ships" and the aims and objects of the policy of Czardom in its attacks upon the Ottoman Empire. Yet we find him so carried away by his antiquated and ridiculous crusading fanaticism* that he will rather let the interests of England and her dominion in India perish than that the war fleet of the Power which has dismembered Poland, and filched the Baltic provinces and Finland, should be kept away any longer from that City of the World the possession of which has been the dream of Russian despots for ages past.

Ephialtes led the Persians to Thermopylai. Mr. Freeman says:—"We are the patriots who would keep our country in that path of right which is the only true path of honour." For him the path of honour is that which brings the navy of a semi-barbarian empire, whose despot aims at world-dominion, into the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles—ay, athwart that maritime road which is the shortest connecting link with the British dependency in Asia! If a new Mutiny were one day to rage in India, perhaps fostered by Muscovite agents—some of whom were by no means strangers to the former Sepoy rebellion—Mr. Freeman would probably expect the Russian "ships" near the Suez Canal to fire a salute in honour of the English troopships passing through it. But what if rebellion were rife on the Ganges and the Indus, and this country had meanwhile to fight battles with a Russian navy and army sallying forth from a lair close by the Egyptian waterway?

Four times within this present century has Russia busied herself, either in connection with the insatiable ambition of Napoleon I. or on her own account, with plans for the invasion

* "We should go forth with the pure zeal of the Great Assembly of Clermont; we should put the cross upon our shoulders, with the cry of 'God wills it!' on our lips and in our hearts."—*The Ottoman Power in Europe*, by EDWARD A. FREEMAN. London, 1877.

of India. The scheme may practically be a very difficult one. Of Russian intention there can be no doubt whatever. We will not refer to the maxims of the so-called last will of Peter the Great. That alleged document is, no doubt, a posthumous composition. Nevertheless, it is in a remarkable degree founded on the well-known lines of Russian policy. But between 1800 and 1854, distinct projects for an invasion of India have repeatedly been framed, of which Colonel Chesney some years ago gave the main details. Quite recently M. Schuyler stated in a report drawn up for the Government of the United States, that the Governor-General of Orenburg had informed him that it will be "necessary for the Russians to have expeditions against the Turkomans for many years. It will be a second Caucasus; and in the end we shall find ourselves obliged to take Merv, which would immediately lead to complications with England."

Merv is one of the keys of India. At Samarkand, M. Schuyler heard from Abdul Raman Khan, the ejected Afghan ruler, that "Shir Ali was detested by the Afghans for his complaisance to England," as they "would willingly join a foreign Power in an attack on English domination in India." Afghan politics are always of a complicated kind, difficult to unravel, owing to the rivalries and feuds of chieftains and septs, and the untrustworthy character of many leading personages there. But this we heard personally from a prominent Afghan who knows Russia well, that "if once the Muscovites had succeeded in lodging themselves in that rocky bastion, which at present serves as a protection to English dominion in India, it would be utterly impossible to dislodge them again."

At all events, it is not difficult to identify the "foreign Power" of which Abdul Raman spoke. There is but *one* Power in the world which aims at the overthrow of British rule in Asia. It is the Power which has invaded the Khanates of once independent Tatar; which seeks its way along the *Attrek* towards Merv; which projects strategical railways towards Teheran and Tashkend; which intrigues with Persia; and which, after having got the mastery over the gigantic Caucasian bulwark, now breaks down Turkey, the protecting wall for the free and safe passage of English "ships" through Egypt. All these movements lead to the same conclusion. The Gospel of Philanthropy and Civilisation, which is put forward by the Czar's emissaries or dupes as a justification, merely serves as a convenient mask.

On this latter point we may certainly quote Mr. Schuyler, who, so far from being over-favourable to this country, thinks it desirable that a Russian counterpoise should exist in Central Asia against the extension of English dominion. We see from his reports that the roads in Central Asia are being greatly

improved under Russian rule, which seems rather strange when good roads are almost unknown in the Muscovite Empire itself. The strategical object of this peculiar improvement is obvious enough. To smooth the paths for further annexations is the main object of the invader. In other respects, Russian rule is very barren of good results, according to Mr. Schuyler's showing. "For industry and commerce the Russian administration has done comparatively little. . . . Nearly all the attempts in regard to irrigation have proved failures. . . . Russian engineers have yet to learn from the natives. . . . As far as education is concerned, the Russians have done almost nothing."

The picture drawn by the American diplomatist of the class of Russian officials who flock to Tashkend almost passes belief. The most glaring acts of misgovernment, even to downright thieving and robbery, are committed by them. Money is being taken from the natives "at all times and under all pretences." Any persons that endeavour to enlighten the public as to the state of affairs are immediately punished. In some cases, the prefects resort to torture to extort confession from innocent persons. A judge placed stolen goods in a Khirgiz chief's tent and then accused him of robbery. No wonder "the people are beginning to forget the evils which they suffered from the Khan, and are thinking more of the evils which they suffer from the Russian officials."

These are the blessings which the extension of the rule of the Northern Autocrat brings to subject races. If it be asked why the Czar, though bent upon the incessant increase of his empire, should permit such gross tyranny, which in the end must harm his own interest, the obvious answer is, that in so vast a realm, which lacks representative institutions, parliamentary control, and the freedom of the press, as well as the right of free meeting, no effective supervision is possible from the centre. Moreover, a despot who dreams of nothing but how to yoke further nations to his triumphal car, has little choice as regards his tools. He cannot employ many honourable men. He must needs employ unscrupulous men to act as messengers of his oppressive behests. Autocracy has to take its instruments as they come; for dirty work, unclean hands cannot be refused. When we see that the Court of St. Petersburg is not ashamed even to keep as an ambassador in this country an ex-chief of the police, who has been used for purposes of diplomatic deception, which, if a similar deception were practised in private life, would expose its perpetrator to social banishment, we can easily imagine that the Czar has not too large a choice of men for the execution of his most perilous schemes of tyranny and conquest. The recent history of Poland, since the overthrow of the rising of 1863-64, furnishes additional evidence of this patent fact.

Since the Crimean War, Russia has completed the subjugation of the Caucasus, annexed vast territories on the Amoor, pushed her way through Turkestan, and now dealt a tremendous blow to the Ottoman Empire. Still, Mr. Gladstone pool-pools-that "standing hobgoblin of Russia." "Look at the map!" says Mr. Freeman; "it is not by Constantinople that the path to India lies." Quite true; the path to India lies more directly through those gigantic Asiatic conquests. The sovereignty, or practical suzerainty, over Constantinople brings Muscovite despotism nearer to the Mediterranean countries—to Greece, whose expansion Russia grudges; to Italy, where Czardom wished to see Bourbon tyranny preserved and national disunion perpetuated; to the Balkan countries, which Russian autocracy would fain convert into a means for the destruction of the Magyar realm. Finally, Constantinople, if in hands hostile to England, can be used for effectually thwarting this country at the very moment when it would be most important for it to have unimpeded communication with India.

Russia, which has already between eighty and ninety millions of subjects within the confines of a contiguous territory—not, like England, in widely scattered colonies and dependencies—works her way steadily in Asia as well as in Europe. She alternates in her lives of conquest—sometimes throwing all her strength Asia-wards; sometimes in the direction of Europe. In the end, her aims always converge. These aims are the establishment of universal Russian dominion within the Old World. If some think that this is a crazy ambition, all we can say is, that nations which were not on their guard, or which ignored the stern teachings of history, have repeatedly fallen the victims of such methodic madness of an ambitious tyranny.

It has been stated more than once as a Russian programme for the future, by writers well conversant with the policy of the Court of St. Petersburg, that "Turkey must come down first; then Austria; then England." It has been said:—"Russian autocracy will never rest until England has been brought down from the pinnacle of her greatness. Russia knows of what value India is for the commercial prosperity of this country; a commercial prosperity in which the working class of the English towns is deeply interested. Hence Russia will always aim at coming nearer and nearer to India, by first pushing in the outer bulwarks, such as Turkestan, Turkey, and Persia. When that work is done, she will try to bring about the final catastrophe and convulsion."

The loss of India, so long as the overgrown Muscovite Empire is not broken up, would be tantamount, for England, to the loss of her position as a great Power. Commercially speaking, the

loss of India would work ruin in many a humble English home. The yearly export to the Asiatic dependencies of this country amounts to about £30,000,000 sterling. Other markets in Europe and America have, through competition, or through a return to protective duties, or through both, become considerably restricted. Is it, under such circumstances, advisable to pronounce with a light heart the phrase:—"Perish the interests of England! perish our dominion in India!" in favour of the policy of an Empire which certainly cannot be described as a humanitarian agency, but which rather follows the practices of Gengis Khan and Tamerlan? These Mongol rulers also had at their courts a superficial veneer of culture; perhaps, comparatively speaking, even more so than the Russian Court. For all that, the doings of Gengis Khan and Tamerlan were a curse, not a blessing, to mankind. The same holds good of Czardom; for it is only the continuation of the governmental usages of that Golden Horde which swayed Russia for two centuries and a half, and which has imprinted its spirit on Russian policy to this hour.

If the day were to come which would bring danger to English rule in India, how many of those who now talk contemptuously and unconcernedly about these "British interests" would stand aghast at the result of their light-hearted, hare-brained folly! What a chorus of condemnation would arise from their midst against statesmen that had not been able to make better provision! What different views and arguments we would then hear put forth from those to which public opinion had been treated during the Atrocity agitation! True statesmen, therefore, will cast aside all petty, time-serving considerations, and act up to the dictates of their conscience and their knowledge of what is really advantageous to the country and to the larger interests of mankind.

And true need they have to be watchful and active betimes; for warning is already given them. In the "Memorandum of a confidential conversation of Count Schuvaloff with Lord Derby" (June 8, 1877)—that is, before Russia had achieved any victories—we find the following:—"England appears to fear lest the spreading or consequences of the war should lead us to threaten Bassorah and the Persian Gulf. It is not at all our interest to trouble England in her present possessions, or, consequently, in her communications with them. *The war which is actually* going on does not demand it*, for its object is clearly

* The word "actually" is evidently the insufficient translation of "*actuellement*" in the original French text, which means "at present," "just now."

defined, and matters would be complicated rather than simplified by so vast an extension of the struggle."

So the *present* war does not demand the troubling of England in her Indian possessions! That will come afterwards in due time. Russian diplomacy has always been great in such leering, ironical, and yet highly polite, covert threats. Those who cannot read and interpret them are naturally marked out as their victims.

The aspect of affairs is at this moment a gloomy one. We are not of those who believe that the Turkish Empire should be upheld on principle. On the contrary, we fully acknowledge that as soon as Russian danger ceases, national re-arrangements on a large scale should take place in the East. More especially do we believe that Greece is destined to play an important part in the future regeneration of the countries south of the Balkan. But we know that the problem, even within that restricted area, is one of the most perplexing, through the strange jumble and irregular juxtaposition of populations of different race and speech.

The elements of real strength are wanting in a great measure among the so-called nationalities of the East. It is no use trying to build up a number of houses of cards, which a single blast from the North may easily overthrow. The radical bane of every large Empire in that south-eastern corner must always, by the nature of things, be the confusion of discordant nationalities, each of which overlaps and breaks up the unity of its neighbour by odd zigzag lines or by heterogeneous patches of race-fragments. If, on the other hand, instead of a single large Empire, a number of smaller independent States are to be formed, we meet with endless difficulties through the contending claims and rivalries of Serbs, Roumans, Bulgars, Greeks, Turks, and Albanese, each of whom uses a different language, as dissimilar from the other as is Russian from Italian, Polish from German, or Chinese from English.

This chaotic confusion favours the schemes of Muscovite aggression. Were Poland restored as a dividing wall between Russia and the East, the problem of restoration would at least not involve a public danger for our part of the world. As it is, the Turkish nation, through its martial qualities—which far surpass those of the other races of the East—has hitherto acted as a good defence of Europe. It is no longer an aggressive force; it is a temporary shield of European security. The Germans, between whom and the Turks fierce wars have been waged even so late as last century, always readily acknowledged this, though the Germans have at the same time been fired with a strong phil-Hellene sentiment. One of their foremost

Liberal, or rather democratic writers, Ludwig Boerne, compared, fifty-six years ago, the Ottoman Empire to an iron gate which protects Europe against the irruption of wild beasts. He added:—"I predict that five years after the conquest of Constantinople, India is lost for England." The same Anglo-phil writer exclaimed:—"If England is thrown overboard, then woe to the European ship with its crew!"

The Liberal and Democratic parties all over the Continent still hold firmly to the anti-Russian creed. They feel the perils which threaten the popular cause from the semi-barbarian empire. The duty of Europe is thus clearly marked out: it may, in one word, be summed up as the duty of resistance against the spread of Czarism. No new vassal state of Northern Autocracy must be allowed to be set up between the Danube and the Ægean. Only a few days ago a Russian paper, the "*Novoe Vremya*," said with refreshing frankness in regard to Bulgaria:—

"Its administration will be organised after the Russian model. The Principality will be divided into governments and circles, and the Prince will be chosen from among the Bulgars by an assembly of the representatives of the Bulgarian people which will shortly be convoked at Tirnova. The Bulgarian army will also be framed after the Russian pattern, and not a few Russian officers and sub-officers will enter it. It is easy to see that the Bulgarian Principality, though it remains, according to the written law, a dependency of Turkey, will actually, and by moral right, *be closely bound up with Russia.*"

Against such aims we have resolutely to set our face. Whatever the ultimate reconstruction of these nationalities may be, under all circumstances we are convinced that no worse agency could be selected for solving the complicated problems of the East than the despotic Power which confessedly aspires to dominion in that quarter, and which is a standing threat to Europe at large. Hence we believe that "shotted guns and revolvers" are very much required when parleying with Russia after the conclusion of a sanguinary war which the voice of Europe had condemned. It is with the object, not of delivering nationalities, but of coming nearer to the possession of Constantinople, that an unreformed tyrannous Power has made war upon Turkey at the very moment she began reforming herself. Only amiable enthusiasts, who would deluge the world with blood for the sake of a crotchet, can ignore such a fact, which may become decisive for the security, the freedom, and the culture of Europe. Statesmen worthy of the name will not be so easily deceived, but, whilst discussing with the ambitious invader of Turkey, will firmly keep their hands on the hilt of the sword ready for action.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

AN amusing and yet thoughtful book by Professor J. S. Blackie contains a good deal of talk about Theism and Atheism,¹ but no convincing demonstration of the truth of the affirmative doctrine. The argument drawn from the general belief of mankind in the Divine existence is furbished up anew, and the old argument from design is reasserted. In answering the objection derived from the real or alleged absence from the creed of Buddha of the two fundamental doctrines of popular religion, belief in God and the immortality of the soul, the Professor allows that this creed does not recognise a supreme God. But he insists that Buddha, though a man, and in his earlier life by no means an exemplary character, is now regarded as a kind of divine person, and that his religion is, therefore, not to be stigmatised as atheistic. As respects the immortality of the soul, he avers that the doctrine forms an essential part of the Buddhist creed, contrary to the contention of a recent learned writer, who shows that Nirvana first signifies extinction of earthly desire, or, in other words, the attainment of holiness, and, secondly, as the result and reward of this moral extinction, a final extinction of personal existence. Leaving these debatable questions, we observe that *any* approach to Theism, if it does not satisfy, at least mollifies the Professor, who not only sees in Pantheism a form of Theism, but smiles complacently on the Buddhist priest who declares that heat, air, and water constitute the true creative power. With the critical results of Biblical investigation the author of the "Natural History of Atheism" appears to have no acquaintance. In his jaunty fashion he denounces the *obvious* meaning of the first chapter of Genesis as the product of a prosaic mind. Opposing the speculations of Dr. Darwin and Mr. Huxlèy, Professor Blackie makes merry by putting questions which even his orthodox readers will have no difficulty in answering. What monkey, he asks, ever wrote an epic poem, or composed a tragedy or comedy, or even a sonnet, or professed his belief in any thirty-nine articles, or smiled, or laughed, or sang, or gave the slightest indication of knowing the most elementary propositions in the first book of Euclid? With all this diverting protest against our cousin the ape, Professor Blackie is himself an advocate of the doctrine of evolution, strongly dissenting from "the vulgar imagination which delights to represent the Supreme Being as a sort of omnipotent harlequin, launching the fiat of his volition as the nimble

¹ "The Natural History of Atheism." By John Stuart Blackie. London : Doldy, Isbister, & Co. 1877.

gentleman of the pantomime strikes the table with his wand, and out comes a man or a monkey, or something else out of nothing ;" and emphatically ruling that nothing is created out of nothing, and that mere volition, even of an omnipotent being, cannot be conceived as bringing into existence a thing of an absolutely opposite nature called matter. In fact, he rejects the absolute dualism of mind and matter which is implied in the received orthodoxy, and decides that God's ways are not as man's ways, and that "His way is evolution." Thus, it appears that Professor Blackie is a sort of Christian Pantheist. It will be seen, too, that he is no admirer of a rigid orthodoxy, rejecting as he does the doctrine of eternal punishment, thundering against antic observances, thaumaturgic virtue, sacerdotal claims, and seeing in ceremonial mummeries "a phenomenon to make the stars blush." In reality, Professor Blackie is anxious to vindicate the religious character of the human soul, and to bear witness to the sentiment of sublimity, awe, and veneration which the contemplation of all that is majestic or beautiful in the material or moral order awakens. He feels strongly and reasons weakly, he quotes where he should argue, but emotional effusion proves nothing, and classical citation shows a predilection for poetry, not an aptitude for philosophy.

Differing from the Scottish Professor, who refuses to accept the phantom conception of a single conscious being outside nature, or the creation of the world by six verbal fiat, a compatriot though Transatlantic Principal and Vice-Chancellor asserts the production from non-existence of the material universe by a power outside of itself.² Dr. Dawson, the author of the book whose title we give below, undertakes to resuscitate the Mosaic cosmogony, and ingeniously interpolates the geological epochs into the mythical days of the narrative in Genesis. In answer we can but repeat what has been often said before, that the days in Genesis are ordinary days of twenty-four hours ; that this is evident not only from the mention of evening and morning in each, but from its adaptation to the common week and Sabbath, and from the use of the word *day* in the fourth commandment. In the Mosaic cosmogony the creation of plants preceded that of animals, and plants only were produced on the third day ; whilst the monsters of the sea and the birds of the air were not created till the fifth, the creation of the fifth day being non-existent on the third. According to the Mosaic record, there is no gradual development of life, whereas in the great stone book of the geologist we find evidence of a successive and continuous production. According to Dr. Dawson, the whole first known human age occurred within four thousand years of the Christian era, though we must add that he qualifies this hypothesis by pleading that "no one can say that it is geologically impossible." Against this possible hypothesis we are content to array the perhaps unanimous verdict of eminent geologists, who maintained, and we presume still maintain, that man's place in the geological record belongs to the

² "The Origin of the World according to Revelation and Science." By J. W. Dawson, LL.D., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, Montreal. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1877.

earlier post-tertiaries in Europe, and that older varieties of his race may have existed for untold ages in the regions of Asia and Africa, from which the European branches are probably descended. We leave Dr. Dawson, however, to settle the question of man's antiquity with his brother geologists, and proceed to give an instance of his singular mode of interpreting his text. We are expressly told, Genesis ii. 19, that "out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them, and whatsoever Adam called every living creature that was the name thereof." In spite of the explicitness of this statement of universality in the book which he regards as inspired, Dr. Dawson affirms that a group of creatures, the group of his own centre of creation alone, was exhibited to Adam. Of the author's critical qualifications for the task he has undertaken some idea may be formed when we say that he considers the Book of Job to have been written before the Exodus, and both his modesty and his capacity will be apparent when we add that he does not think it necessary to attach any value to the doubts of certain schools of criticism as to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and that no rational student can doubt that we have in these books a collection of authentic documents of the Exodus. At such attempts as the present to make dead bones live, we hardly know whether to smile or sigh. It is natural, however, that, in the midst of doubt and difficulty and philosophical discord, men should fall back on authority, and try to recover the warrant of infallibility which, in these days of what another author calls the "Decay of the Churches,"³ appears to be their only safeguard against the bewildering anarchy of opinion or the blank desolation of banished faith.

While the universities can thus boast of persons to vindicate doctrines still dear to orthodox believers, one whose theological college was Gloucester gaol, to which his bold avowal of unacceptable opinion once condemned him, reprints in a revised form and in better type the "Trial of Theism,"⁴ first published in 1858, the title being suggested by Sherlock's "Trial of the Witnesses." Like Professor Blackie, Mr. G. J. Holyoake has written a book about Theism in which we find sagacious critical comment mingled with personal matter, copious quotation, and illustrative anecdote. Objecting to the dyslogistic and antiquated term Atheism, and believing in the self-existence, self-activity, eternity, and infinity of nature, and above all in the beautiful order or cosmos of the eternal universe, Mr. Holyoake prefers to use the word *cosmism* to designate what he calls the complement of Atheism, thus indicating the affirmative element of his religious philosophy. Conceived not in an academic but popular spirit, the "Trial" is broken up into sections treating of the argument from design, adducing the testimonies of distinguished men against its conclusiveness, containing

³ "The Decay of the Churches: A Spiritual Outlook." London: Simpkin & Marshall. 1878.

⁴ "The Trial of Theism, Accused of Obstructing Secular Life." By George Jacob Holyoake. London: Trübner & Co.

discussions on religion, argumentative, impassioned, evangelical, pantheistic, and philosophical, and concluding with speculations on a life apart from Theism, and on realities beyond it.

A reprint of a very different kind carries us back to the remote period 1830 to 1845. The first volume of Dr. Newman's "Via Media"⁵ has already been noticed in the "Westminster Review." The second and concluding volume contains occasional letters and tracts, chiefly controversial, among which is found No. 71 of the "Tracts for the Times." The volume closes with a detailed retraction of anti-Catholic statements made in the days when the author did not hesitate to draw upon the vocabulary of ultra-Protestant invective in his censure of the Church of Rome. The quiet strength and simple beauty of Dr. Newman's language, and his courteous bearing in controversy, will perhaps induce many to linger over pages which, though not without historical interest, are almost superannuated. From one of the foot-notes, which we assume to be recent additions, we take this instructive statement of the ancient doctrine of Purgatory—

"As to the thought that friends departed have to endure suffering, our comfort is that we can pray them out of it; but that all, save specially perfect Christians, before they pass to heaven endure, with sensitiveness in proportion to their sins, the pain of fire, is testified by almost a *consensus* of the Fathers, as is shown in No. 79 of the 'Tracts for the Times.' This certainly is the doctrine of antiquity, whatever want of proof there may be for the exact Roman doctrine. Tertullian speaks of purification in a subterranean prison; Cyprian of a prison with fire; Origen, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, Lanctantius, Hilary, Ambrose, Paulinus, Jerome, Augustine, all speak of fire."

Such seems to be Dr. Newman's present opinion of the state of the departed faithful. We prefer that which he held when he wrote in the text that, assuming the truth of the doctrine, "there is no one who can for himself look forward to death with hope and humble thankfulness. Tell the sufferer upon a sick-bed that his earthly pangs are to terminate in Purgatory, what comfort can he draw from religion?"

We cannot congratulate Dr. Newman's co-religionist, Mr. Colin Lindsay, on the success of his "De Ecclesia et Cathedra,"⁶ a work which appears in the form of an epistle, and which is surely the longest epistle that ever was written, occupying as it does the space of two portly volumes, and extending over 1050 pages. The object of this lengthy epistle is to re-assert the claims of the Church of Rome, to indicate the characteristics of the Empire Church, as he calls it, to delineate the divine plan of redemption, and to describe the preparation for the introduction of Christianity and the establishment of the spiritual power. The more historical part of the work is preceded by a narrative of the pre-Adamite ages, the creation of man, the fall of Satan, and the war against Christ. The treatment of the subject is in

⁵ "The Via Media of the Anglican Church." By John Henry Newman. Vol. II. London: Basil Montague Pickering. 1877.

⁶ "De Ecclesia et Cathedra; or, The Empire Church of Jesus Christ." An Epistle by the Hon. Colin Lindsay. Vols. I. and II. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

our opinion inadequate, the attempt at the removal of scientific difficulty ineffectual, the composition inflated, and the description—as witness the picture of paradise, vol. i. p. 211—in bad taste. At the commencement of the first volume, Mr. Lindsay intimates dissatisfaction with his reviewers; but we decline to enter into the merits of his controversy with them. Of course his main object is to vindicate the pretensions of his Church, of the *Cathedra Petra*. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, and Fermilian, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, are generally understood to maintain the independence of individual Sees against the exorbitant claims of that of Rome, and Mr. Lindsay does not seem to deny the fact, but he pronounces Cyprian's testimony to be inadmissible because he held erroneous notions and because he contradicts himself, and he sets aside the evidence of Fermilian as the judgment of an angry man; objections which are surely insufficient to invalidate their testimony. Cyprian, devoted to episcopacy, no doubt recognised in Rome the *Cathedra Petra*, holding, as it appears, a refined doctrine respecting St. Peter and his supposed See as representative and originative of ecclesiastical unity, but not therefore recognising the exclusive authority of the Bishop of Rome. The growth of the Roman See, favoured by local position, political exigencies, and the personal capacity and ambition of the Bishops of Rome, is a phenomenon historically explicable. The precedency which it obtained on the separation of the Empire was confirmed under Leo the Great by Valentinian's recognition of the Roman Pontiff as supreme head of the Western Church, and when the influence of Constantinople was subverted by the Lombard conquest of Northern Italy, the ambitious projects of the Popes began to attain free growth and development. It is true, however, that it was to the authority of Peter, and to the celestial keys which he held, that the Popes appealed in support of their claims. It is true, moreover, that writers towards the end of the second century, Tertullian, Irenæus, and somewhat earlier Dionysius of Corinth, refer to Peter's presence in Rome, but in language which shows that their record is but an echo of a current tradition. The legend which associates Peter with Paul as joint-founder of the Roman Church seems to have grown up out of the antagonist tendencies of the Petrine and Pauline communities. The Ebionite Christians, perhaps, seeing in Gnosticism the revival of an old adversary, express their antipathy by opposing Simon Magus to Peter; Simon Magus, in the Clementine Homilies representing Paul the hateful man, who preaches Antinomian doctrine and contends against the rock and foundation of the Church, Peter, whose office it was to follow the upstart apostle in order to counteract his mischievous doctrine. Those who wish to see the latest and most complete exhibition of this legend and its growth, as well as an examination of the alleged evidence of Peter's presence in Rome, may consult Professor Zeller's recently published volume, "Vorträge und Abhandlungen," a valuable and interesting work.

"The Story of Religion in England" ⁷ has none of the exclusiveness

⁷ "The Story of Religion in England: A Book for Young Folk." By Brooke Herford. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

of the "Cathedra Petra." The spirit which animates it is rather that of an indiscriminate charity than of dogmatic faith. In its modestly written pages are traced the growth and action of Christian life and sentiment as revealed in the saints of the British Church, in the Irish, the Anglo-Saxons, and Normans, in Wickliff and the Lollards, in the reformers of England and Scotland, in Puritanism, in the Society of Friends, in the popular awakening under Whitefield and Wesley, and even in the free inquirers of the last century. Justice, too, is done to Irving, Priestley, and Chalmers. The working of the Catholic Church in England is favourably noticed, and the heroic faithfulness of its priests in seasons of sickness and pestilence, receives its meed of praise. The author refers hopefully to the heartier brotherhood and increased mutual respect of the Protestant churches, and predicts for Protestantism a good time coming. His prediction may be realised, but should it be so, it will surely involve the surrender of much distinctive dogma.

In Mr. White's "Life in Christ"⁸ we have a curious example of progressive theology, retrograde criticism, and sceptical obscurantism. Like Principal Dawson, the American geologist, whose book we have already noticed, Mr. White commences his enterprise of restoration of faith by a general survey of the scientific difficulties which appear to militate against the acceptance of the old doctrine of Mosaic inspiration. By taking exception to the hypothesis of evolution because it halts, by appealing to the authority of Dr. Dawson as a geologist, by calling in question the correctness of historical and archæological erudition, he endeavours to discredit learning and science to such an extent as is necessary for his purpose, the vindication of the Mosaic record. Of his interpretation of Genesis we shall say only, that it is, in our opinion, arbitrary and chimerical. Mr. White, like most of the interpreters of his school, substitutes his own glosses for scriptural statements, and because the substitution renders these statements credible to him, expects his readers to receive them as the *intended* meaning of the inspired original. We are not aware whether Mr. White is acquainted with the labours of the eminent biblical critics of Germany; if he is not, he is hardly qualified for the task he has undertaken; if he is, he is perhaps still less qualified, as in this case he evinces an inability to appreciate the evidence adduced against the genuineness and authenticity of considerable portions of both the Old and New Testament writings. Troubled, as would seem, by the aspect of a society rapidly losing its faith in God and immortality, Mr. White has been induced to write the volume before us, in the hope of restoring the vanishing belief in the posthumous future of mankind. To achieve this end, he does not attempt to prove the "heathenish" doctrine of the inherent immortality of the soul. By the light of science and history, unable to see his way to any satisfactory conclusion as to the origin of mankind, its relation to the animal races, or its future destiny, he refers us for the solution of all doubts to revelation, the

⁸ "Life in Christ." By Edward White, Author of "The Mystery of Growth," &c. London: Elliot Stock. 1878.

right interpretation of Scripture being its effectual apology. Man, he contends, according to the Bible, is not unconditionally immortal by nature and destiny; and though the thinking power may, if God will, survive in a maimed, imperfect state, it alone is not the man; nay more, man apart from God perishes for ever. Mr. White, it will be seen, rejects the doctrine of Universalism, or ultimate salvation of all men, including the wicked, as based on special pleading, and affirms that the language of Scripture implies the entire destruction, the absolute annihilation, of all rebellious persons; this destruction, however, being suspended until the reprobate have first endured tribulation and anguish proportioned to the malignity of their crimes, for the satisfaction and manifestation of the divine attributes, which is the first and last end in creation. But while repudiating the doctrine of the personal reformation of the offender as the object of posthumous punishment, he equally repudiates the doctrine of everlasting suffering as incompatible with the conception of divine goodness and justice. The three main divisions of his work are: a study of the Scripture doctrine on the nature of man; the object of the divine incarnation; and the conditions of human immortality. The book is written in a simple, unaffected style, and evinces that the author has some reading and reflection.

From theological speculation we pass to learned exposition. Dr. Eadie's posthumous publication, "A Commentary on the Two Epistles to the Thessalonians,"⁹ which wants but little to render it complete, does credit to his scholarship, indicating as it does an intimate acquaintance with the literature of the subject, and showing that, while availing himself of the labours of others, he yet preserves an independent judgment. As regards mere verbal exposition, there is little opening, we imagine, for any marked dissent. Occasional difference of opinion, however, may exist as to his exegesis. For instance, in the expression "We which are alive," 1 Thess. iv. 15, the author intimates his conviction that the coming of Christ was to be immediate, assuming the survival of himself and the contemporary faithful till the time of the second advent; but this natural interpretation, Dr. Eadie, as fatal to the inspiration of the passage, declines to accept. Strictly construed, the aorist, chap. ii. 16, implies that the punishment of the Jews was already an historical event. To escape the necessity of acknowledging a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, Ritschl pronounces the verse to be an interpolation; while Dr. Eadie holds that the aorist identifies purpose with fulfilment. The words *εἰς τέλος* he understands of the extremity of divine anger, a construction rejected by Hilgenfeld as ungrammatical. His cursory remarks are no sufficient answer to Bauer's objections, any more than is Professor Jowett's elaborate argument. The presumptions against the authorship of these epistles are not easily set aside. In 2 Thess. iii. 17, the apostle's signature is mentioned as a

⁹ "A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians." By the late John Eadie, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, United Presbyterian Church. Edited by the Rev. William Young, M.A. With Preface by the Rev. Professor Cairns, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

token of genuineness, yet as these are the earliest letters attributed to St. Paul, it is hard to see what motive could exist for cautioning his correspondents against forgery. The representation of the Man of Sin and the imagery descriptive of the second advent form another presumption in favour of the post-Pauline authorship of the Thessalonians. The characteristic idea of the second epistle, the conception of Anti-christ, does not again occur in any of the letters bearing the great apostle's name. Mr. Jowett, while defending the genuineness of the Thessalonians, allows that the difference of style and subject in these writings from the style and subject of the apostle's undoubted productions is so great, that it can only be accounted for on the hypothesis of a mental transformation. For the reasons here indicated, and for others assigned by Bauer, we are inclined to regard these epistles as productions of a period subsequent to St. Paul's death. In fact, as the latter-day doctrine of second Thessalonians corresponds to that of the Apocalypse, it was perhaps written about the same time as that mystical vision, namely, A.D. 69, or soon after.

As specimens of Hebrew literature, exceptionally represented in this quarter's library, we have to acknowledge three volumes published by the Society of Hebrew Literature. Of these, the first contains "Essays on the Writings of Abraham Ibn Ezra of Toledo,"¹⁰ who died A.D. 1174. This learned man, pronounced by Gesenius to be the most thinking, sagacious, and unprejudiced of the Rabbins, is said to have written more than one hundred works. In every place where he stayed he wrote books and discussed difficult problems. The subjects on which he descanted were philosophy, theology, grammar, astronomy, astrology, mathematics, and poetry. While professing to elucidate difficult passages in the Bible on grammatical and rational principles, he yet inclines to mystical and fanciful interpretations. Thus, in connection with the "heaven of heavens," he appears to hold a theory of ideas similar to that of Plato; and he endows the stars with certain primordial properties, in virtue of which, as visible agents of the divine will, they exercise influence on the earth and earthly elements, and determine the fate of individuals and nations. In further illustration of his opinions, we may add, that while discountenancing Messianic prophecy in general, he yet predicts the advent of the glorious days of the Messiah, when the soul will be reunited to the body; but only for a time, for the body will return again to dust, and the soul will then rejoin the immortal company of angels. Such felicity, however, is reserved for the good alone, the souls of the wicked will perish. Other information respecting Ibn Ezra's opinions and writings is given in sufficient detail in Dr. Friedländer's valuable essays.

The second volume in the series specified is the "Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah"¹¹ (of which an English translation is in print), edited from MS., with notes and glossary, by Dr. Friedländer. The

¹⁰ "Essays on the Writings of Abraham Ibn Ezra." By M. Friedländer, Ph.D. Vol. IV. London: Trübner & Co.

¹¹ "The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah." By M. Friedländer, Ph.D. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

commentator divides the book into two parts. Concerning the first thirty-nine chapters, he expresses no doubt that they are the work of him whose name the book bears; the remainder of the book he regards as the production of a prophet who lived during the Babylonian exile and the first period of the restoration, arguing that the redemption from the exile and the successes of Cyrus are treated as past events.

The remaining volume of our series, entitled "Miscellany of Hebrew Literature,"¹² begins with an account of the life and labours of Manasseh Ben Israel, a contribution to the history of the Jews in England, translated by Dr. Mendes from the German of Dr. Kayserling. It may be remarked that when Cromwell submitted the Jewish question to public discussion, Manasseh Ben Israel appearing as the champion of his countrymen, the majority of the clergy present in the Assembly declared against according any rights to the Jews, while Cromwell himself is said to have spoken splendidly in their defence, supported only by a few of the Puritan ministers. Besides this narrative of the career of a man of learning and energy, who read and understood ten languages, the "Miscellany" contains a lecture by Dr. Benisch on the sons of the prophets, some pleasing legends from the Midrash, Helv y's travels in Abyssinia, translated from the French MS., Ibn Ezra's short commentary on Daniel, and a paper on a Hebrew translation of "L'image du monde," which appears to have been made about the end of the thirteenth century.

We conclude with a brief acknowledgment of two works still lying on our table. "A Historico-Apologetical Study,"¹³ by W. J. Manssen, treats of Christianity and woman, describing her position in Greece, Rome, Judea, ancient Germany, and in medi val and modern Christendom, and discussing the question of female emancipation.

The "Folkestone Ritual Case"¹⁴ in a complete form is comprised in the portly and well-printed volume whose title we give below. Arising out of the first prosecution under the Public Worship Regulation Act, and being the first ecclesiastical suit brought before the Judicial Committee as altered by the appellate jurisdiction, the appeal *Ridsdale v. Clifton* and others has especial importance for all who take an interest in such questions. The volume contains a *verbatim* report of the argument delivered on behalf of both the appellant and the respondent, printed from a revised transcript of the notes of the shorthand writers. The documents connecting the appeal with the original suit in the court of Lord Penzance are prefixed to the argument. Reference is facilitated by an analytical table of contents, as well as by an index to the proceedings at the end of the volume.

¹² "Miscellany of Hebrew Literature." Edited by the Rev. A. Lowy. London: Trubner & Co.

¹³ "Het Christendom en de Vrouw: Historisch-Apologetische Studie door W. J. Manssen, Predicant te Zaandam." Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1877.

¹⁴ "Folkestone Ritual Case: The Argument Delivered before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Case of *Ridsdale v. Clifton* and Others." By Sir James Stephen, Q.C. and Mr. Arthur Charles, Q.C. (on behalf of the Appellant), and by Archibald John Stephens, LL.D., Q.C., and Mr. Benjamin Shaw (on behalf of the Respondents), &c. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

PHILOSOPHY.

MR. SAMUEL BUTLER'S new work¹ is of a severer character than might have been expected from the author of "Erewhon." The account, however, which the previous volume gave us of the "Book of the Machines," showed a writer not incompetent to deal with problems such as those he now discusses; and "Life and Habit" will be found a suitable appendix to the earlier and lighter volume. The old love of paradox still sheds its light on Mr. Butler's speculations; but the incisive touches of the satirist are combined with the more sober suggestions of the scientific critic.

The title which Mr. Butler gives his work is in itself an indication of the leading argument which it contains. It is the influence of habit, of repeated action, on our physical and intellectual states, that Mr. Butler seeks to put before the public. The facts to which the writer appeals are, of course, not altogether new; and, indeed, he explains at the very outset that his book is not intended for the scientific world. None the less the manner in which Mr. Butler draws his conclusions will be found, we venture to believe, not without its value even for those who have already otherwise acquired a knowledge of the phenomena discussed. Especially will the paradoxical assertions which occur so frequently within the work excite attention, if not even opposition. "It is only those," Mr. Butler tells us, "who are ignorant and uncultivated who can know any anything at all in the proper sense of the words." This, of course, is simply a whimsical way which Mr. Butler uses to express the fact that true knowledge, like true health, should be unconscious, or, to adopt the writer's own expression, that "our knowledge and reasonings only become perfect, assured, unhesitating, when they have become automatic, and are thus exercised without further conscious effort of the mind, much in the same way as we cannot walk nor read nor write perfectly till we can do so automatically." The author of "Life and Habit," however, goes far beyond this commonly accepted doctrine. Habit and memory become in his hands the magic formulæ which explain all development and all existence. Each cell in the human body is, he thinks, a person with an intelligent soul: and "as these myriads of smaller organisms are parts and processes of us, so are we but parts and processes of life at large." But, Mr. Butler goes on to show, "this creature, LIFE, has only come to be what it is by the same sort of process as that by which any human art or manufacture is developed." All life, in other words, is the result of repetition—a result which gradually accumulates in the course of its transmission. Darwin, it will be obvious, becomes at this point the master whose creed is accepted by Mr. Butler. Differentiations of structure are

¹ "Life and Habit." By Samuel Butler. London: Trübner & Co. 1878.

mainly, he holds, the results of accumulated remembrances; and instinct may be identified with inherited memory. Mr. Butler, however, is no blind adherent of Darwinism. Darwinism he sees is without a motive power which will originate and direct the variations which time is to accumulate. He "cannot think that 'natural selection,' working upon small, fortuitous, indefinite, unintelligent variations, would produce the results we see around us." But once suppose that the original animal has a power to vary—once, in fact, add on Lamarck's "sense of need" to Darwin's "struggle for existence," and all Mr. Mivart's objections to the genesis of species fall to the ground. "Evolution entirely unaided by inherent intelligence must be a very slow if not quite inconceivable process. Evolution helped by intelligence would still be slow, but not so desperately slow."

Mr. Butler disclaims all pretensions to scientific originality or accuracy—writes, in fact, frankly, "I know nothing about science," but it will be obvious that he has written a work which thinkers of the Evolution school cannot afford entirely to neglect. But apart from whatever interest it may excite in men of scientific mind, the "general" reader, whom Mr. Butler is confessedly addressing, will find much food for reflection in its pages. He will discover many a "hard saying" in it; and, meanwhile, to whet his appetite, we close with one of Mr. Butler's paradoxical conclusions. "The whole charm of youth lies in its advantage over age in respect of experience, and when this has for some reason failed or been misapplied, the charm is broken. When we say that we are getting old, we should say rather that we are getting new or young, and are suffering from inexperience, which drives us into doing things which we do not understand, and lands us eventually in the utter impotence of death."

Herr Noiré's "Aphorisms on Monistic Philosophy"² present, in somewhat categorical and disconnected form those ideas with regard to a metaphysics of scientific theories which we have before this brought before the notice of our readers. About the value of these ideas we have before now expressed our opinion, and cannot say that we feel inclined to alter it even after Professor Max Müller's laudation of the "unendowed professor." There is undoubtedly much of real importance in the manner in which Noiré, following on the lines of Spinoza, goes beyond the ordinary antitheses of current thought, and views opposites as sides of unity. He sees the shallowness of much so-called "science," recognises the one-sidedness of materialistic teaching, and insists on the discussion of metaphysical forms as a necessary part of philosophical analysis, but we cannot but still regard his reduction of the world to its two great "attributes" of movement and sensation as a somewhat crude hypothesis which requires at least elaboration and proof. There are, however, many of Noiré's aphorisms which, taken by themselves, are excellent. We need merely quote the following as instances. "The individual always unites the

² "Aphorismen zur monistischen Philosophie." Von Ludwig Noiré. Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1877.

universal and particular." . . . "The empirical consideration of things gives us only parts without a whole ; the idealist leaves us only wholes without the parts." . . . "The idea of change and variation can arise only out of its opposite, the permanent." Noiré is at least sanguine with respect to the future of the monistic philosophy. "It is," he writes, "my firm and unshaken conviction that monism, the final reconciliation of the opposites of spiritualism and materialism, of idealism and realism, is the philosophy of the future, and that before a hundred years have passed all genuine thinkers will profess it as their creed."

Professor Carriere³ brings us to a monism somewhat different from that in which Noiré supposes himself. to sum up the spirit of all modern evolution theories. Carriere's unity of existence is to be found in an eternal omnipresent being, that unfolds itself in everything, but does not lose itself in multiplicity. Genuine monism, he writes, is that which leaves us no lifeless sameness ; it is that which involves an "energy in unity which, through the difference which it posits in itself, at once develops itself and comes also to itself." But it is not so much the later conclusions of Carriere's volumes that will excite most interest at present. The criticism of ethical materialism, to which the earlier chapters are devoted, will at any rate most probably receive the greatest amount of attention from the philosopher. How, asks Carriere, are moral judgments possible? He finds, of course, that such judgments are only possible on the assumption that man is not a mere natural phenomenon, but a being possessed of moral categories in a knowledge of the perfect and imperfect. It would be unfair to the moral earnestness, the glowing eloquence of Carriere's work, to reduce its arguments to some few analytic sentences. Instead, we refer our readers to the work itself. They will find in it an enlightened criticism of the many *isms* which at present divert or pervert men's minds ; and an eloquent defence of a moral government of the world by one who is little inclined to adopt the phraseology of orthodox obscurantists.

Herr Spiller informs us in the preface to his little work⁴ that he has adduced, out of some eighty writings, proof of the impossibility of progress in science as it is at present studied. "If," he writes, "we follow the mental conflict as it presents itself in the natural philosophy of most recent times, we are astonished at the violent contradictions which show themselves, not merely in regard to thinkers generally, but even in regard to one and the same thinker ; many branches displaying the most wonderful acuteness and clearness, while in others we meet not only an absence of all clear thinking, but also the most stubborn advocacy of a quite untenable standpoint." The agnosticism in which present scientific teaching glories meets with his especial condemnation. In opposition to Dr. Schneider, who writes that "the

³ "Die sittliche Weltordnung." Von Moriz Carriere. Leipzig : Brockhaus. 1877.

⁴ "Irrwege der Naturphilosophie. Naturwissenschaftliche Aphorismen aus etwa achtzig Autoren." Von Philipp Spiller. Berlin : Stuhr'sche Buchhandlung. 1878.

cause which we call mind is known by us as little as the attractive force of bodies," and that "we can only observe effects in the one case as in the other;" Herr Spiller writes, "No! the original principle of all things is the very corner-stone of science." What this principle is with Dr. Spiller himself we have in a former number stated. Æther is what he views as the *Urkraft* of the universe. This æther theory, we are told, is "neither the old Dualism nor the modern monism, nor anything but what is far removed from Supernaturalism: it is a new philosophy to be described by the name of Ætherism."

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

THE first volume of Dr. Franz J. Rottenburg's treatise on the "Conception of the State"¹ is confined to the introduction and history of what he calls the French theory of the State till 1789. In it he notices three points of view from which it may be considered: the theological, the metaphysical or abstract, and the positive. There is, in this arrangement, a reminder of Comte, which predisposes the reader to expect at least a perfectly symmetrical treatment of the subject; and so far as Dr. Rottenburg has gone, he has very adequately fulfilled this expectation. He describes, in a style more vivacious than that of some contemporaneous German writers, in his first chapter, the French philosophy of the eighteenth century in its general characteristics; in a second chapter, French natural science, beginning with Descartes; then the general view of the universe held in France during the eighteenth century, and the jurisprudence and political philosophy during the same period. The method of this investigation is strictly inductive and promises good results, but the work is as yet incomplete. In a copious introduction, the author examines and criticises false or imperfect theories of the State, and shows the German antipathy to socialistic views on the one hand, and to purely sentimental idealism on the other. The book marks the transition stage, so noticeable elsewhere, between the purely philosophical era of German thought and the purely scientific era.

M. de Laveleye's work on "Primitive Property"² will be welcomed in an English dress. It is not only the most brilliant and complete review of the modern investigations into early land tenure, but contains a great deal of new matter collected by M. de Laveleye himself, especially with reference to the Swiss tenures. Professor Nasse startled the English lawyers some years ago by proving that the common tenure of village

¹ "Vom Begriff des Staates." Von Franz J. Rottenburg. Erster Band. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot. 1878.

² "Primitive Property." Translated from the French of Emile de Laveleye. By G. R. L. Marriott, B.A., LL.B., with an Introduction by T. E. Cliffe Leslie, LL.B. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

communities (to the existence of which in India Sir H. Maine had drawn attention) was the primitive system of England itself. M. de Laveleye, after laying down the law of evolution of property in land, describes the village communities of Russia, India, and Java, the "Allmends" of Switzerland and Southern Germany, the Germanic Mark, and the ancient land-laws of the Irish and the Arabs, and of ancient Greece and Rome. He proceeds to the next stage of development, namely, family communities, as still existing among the Southern Slavs, and as known in the Middle Ages, especially in Italy; traces the history of property in land in England and China, and the nature of common lands and rights in Holland, France, and Belgium, and discusses the way in which the English have dealt with the land systems of India. M. de Laveleye's work is rendered specially interesting by its political views. He is of opinion that the dangers of democracy lie in the inequality of conditions, and that unless the catastrophe can be prevented by measures of State on a large scale, the same struggle between rich and poor which destroyed the republics of antiquity will destroy the modern states also. He holds that the Economists have made a fatal mistake in pressing the advantages of individual property in land, and that the abstract arguments by which private property is explained and defended as an institution are in favour, not of private and exclusive ownership, but of a form of tenure under which each man, as he comes into the world, shall be a proprietor. M. de Laveleye, however, does not argue as a theoretical socialist, but as a practical one. He cites the case of the Swiss "Allmends" as affording the best instance of the adaptation of the primitive system of village communities to modern times and requirements. The most striking example occurs in the Canton of Glarus, where a large manufacturing population still preserve their communal rights of pasture, garden, and forest, and live in a state of comfort and civilisation which makes the friends of the English mechanic envious. To those, however, who are averse from such ideas, and hope everything from free contract and individualism, M. de Laveleye's work abounds in interesting matter, and wherever Sir H. Maine's works are found in an English library, this book ought to stand on the same shelf.

Mr. Poor,³ discarding the economical theories which have been in vogue for two thousand years, and are still prevalent, discusses the laws of currency from the point of view afforded by the proposition that the desire to possess gold and silver being an original instinct stronger than that felt for any other kind of property, the value of gold and silver is absolute, while that of all other property is relative. After reviewing the opinions of the leading economists, from Aristotle to Mr. David Wells, he proceeds to a very hostile criticism of Mr. Chase's financial policy, and concludes with an argument against the double standard.

Mr. Moffat explains that his treatise on "The Economy of Con-

³ "Money and its Laws: Embracing a History of Monetary Theories, and a History of the Currencies of the United States." By Henry V. Poor. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1877.

sumption"⁴ is suggested by his own reflections upon the current economical views of the day, and has been written in the absence of any wide acquaintance with earlier writers. His point seems to be that wealth depends mainly upon the degree of consumption, and he asserts that capital results not from saving but from labour; and he endeavours to show that modern political economy is unable to deal with the growing organisation of industry.

Mr. Halbert, in a small book with a somewhat large title,⁵ endeavours to prove a periodicity in financial crises and panics, based upon the fact that in England we have had such a crisis about every decade of this century, and illustrated by examples of periodicity, or at all events average—a wholly different thing—in the rate of discount, the price of corn, the rainfall, and the sun's spots.

A very interesting collection of facts relating to the moral ideas of uncivilised tribes is brought together by Mr. Wake in a work on "The Evolution of Morality."⁶ Mr. Wake, after a review of modern theories of morals, gives a long general chapter on "The Sense of Right," into which he has put such authentic information as he can get from travellers and missionaries as to the ideas of the savages of the world. He concludes that the earliest moral ideas are connected with the idea of property, and sanctioned by the dread of retribution from the spirits of the dead. He then treats of the development of the blood-feud, of tribal morality, of the softening influence of women on morals, and of the sense of brotherhood. Mr. Wake next treats of the morality of ancient nations, and the moral systems of the leading faiths of the world. He concludes with a short criticism of Positivism, to which he objects that in its exclusive altruism it overlooks the moral force of self-regard—recognised, though imperfectly, in the Christian idea of personal holiness, and upon which is really based the very idea of duty; and considers that as a religion it fails.

One of the most eloquent of American speakers, who has known all the great Americans of his day, and many of the foremost men of other countries, a man brought up, as his dedication of this volume indicates, in the best American traditions, and conversant in later years with the inner tones of political thought of other countries than his own, Dr. J. P. Thompson,⁷ is an adequate exponent of the views taken by educated and patriotic Americans of the position of America towards, and as compared with, other civilised communities. The volume now published by him is a collection of lectures delivered in Berlin, Dresden, Florence, Paris, and London during the American Centennial year.

⁴ "The Economy of Consumption: An Omitted Chapter in Political Economy." By Robert Scott Moffat. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

⁵ "An Exposition of Economic and Financial Science, based upon a Cycle of Seasons in each Decade." By William Morton Halbert. London: Remington & Co. 1878.

⁶ "The Evolution of Morality: Being a History of the Development of Moral Culture." By C. Staniland Wake. London: Trubner & Co. 1878.

⁷ "The United States as a Nation." By Joseph P. Thompson, D.D., LL.D. Boston: Osgood & Co.; London: Trubner & Co. 1877.

He judged it well thus to gather in the harvest of a century's experiences, hoping by such means to contribute to the solution of the social problems which each age brings to all countries in their turn. In some things the last-formed society is the first in the race for balanced freedom ; in some, the first is last. In his preface Dr. Thompson warns observers that in America it is more misleading than elsewhere to take the Government as representing the people, and his aim is to show the people as they are. In the first lecture, "On the Grounds and Motives of the American Revolution," Dr. Thompson deprecates the use of the word "revolution," with its European signification, to characterise "that moderate, patient, and matured action by which the people of the American Colonies declared that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally destroyed." His indignation is stirred by the allegation that America rose against taxation without representation, and he argues that it was rather against attacks made upon the oldest communal rights inherited from English ancestors, rights concentrated in the "town meeting," and attacked by the "Regulation Acts," that the colonists revolted. This Review comes under Dr. Thompson's lash for a view of the American Revolution which does not agree with his own ; but he says that, in comparison with all others, he looks to it for "candour, intelligence, and a fair degree of sound and accurate knowledge of the subject on which it treats ;" and he is perhaps therefore the more bound to admit that the writer of the article in question may be quite well acquainted with the facts he details in answer, and yet may with candour hold a different opinion as to the most prominent motive power in the American Revolution. Even doctors have differed. The Declaration of Independence, to which the second lecture is devoted, is described as "a marvel of political history," in that it was so moderate and guarded in the midst of revolution. In the former lecture Dr. Thompson has pointed out the severe logical and metaphysical training which the populace of the Colonies had received from their long-winded, accurate, and strongly, clearly reasoning divines. They had disciplined minds such as were never before nor since found among revolutionists. The doctrines of the Declaration are examined in detail, and enthusiastically vindicated from all adverse charges, and contrasted with French republican assertions. The third lecture is a masterly summary of the American Constitution, and will be invaluable to students and to many who would gladly get a clear idea of what is both complex and not too easy to find succinctly put forth. In the course of this lecture it is attempted to be shown with what care the framers of the Constitution avoided the recognition of the institution of slavery, which they, at the same time, did not attempt to abolish. It contains an eloquent eulogium on Washington, and a very interesting comparison or contrast between him and Frederick the Great and Napoleon the First—"devotion to liberty and to man, without one thought of self," contrasted with the egotism and unscrupulousness of the other two. The fourth lecture reviews the political history of the century in America ; points out the violence of Congress, but finds its counterpart in England so lately as in O'Connell's time,

and quotes strange personalities from the "Times" of that day, and some from Lord Beaconsfield's pen, worthy of any low-class American paper; enumerates the great political and moral victories of the century, culminating in the war, and in the steadiness of the nation when the assassination of President Lincoln might well have "paralysed the Government and thrown the country into anarchy." Having thus considered "the nation as tested by the vicissitudes of a century," Dr. Thompson considers it as "judged by its self-development and its benefits to mankind," taking occasion to confute what he considers as misrepresentations by Dickens and Mr. Carlyle, and summing up "the proper American type of civilisation" as "cosmopolitan in the spirit of elevating humanity," and finding one of its highest manifestations in the fact that "in the view of the worth of the individual and the brotherhood of humanity, the United States, having set the example of codifying her own laws, has taken the initiative in schemes of arbitration and for the reform of international law in the interest of peace and unity, which shall one day bring in an era of culture such as Europe has not yet seen." The closing lecture deals with reforms which the lecturer would fain see in American affairs. He would restrict the suffrage, would introduce compulsory elementary secular education, and would endeavour to raise the negro by less protective and exceptional legislation. He discusses with vigour and acumen the religious, race, and labour problems which press heavily now on all thoughtful Americans, and concludes with a short "Platform for the New Century."

Mr. Hare's⁸ well-known name as a cicerone will be welcomed on the title-page of the two well-got-up volumes devoted to the exploration of London streets, byways, and buildings by many who are almost ashamed to walk so ignorantly as they do about London. At the same time, though it may be almost invidious to carp when so much has been done, perhaps the ordinary reader will feel that picture galleries and great churches have taken up somewhat too much of Mr. Hare's attention. He shows himself a vehement partisan of Charles the First, calling Cromwell and his people "regicides" and "rebels" continually; and it may be that this mental condition inclines him also rather to care for what in London belongs to the aristocracy of rank, wealth, vice (for Nell Gwynne has no bad epithets, however often she appears, nor have men of like character), or intellect, while the life of the common people is not quite sufficiently cared for. There is as much as these two volumes can hold of matter which is in the main very interesting, except that inexpressibly dull people are noticed in the chapter on Westminster Abbey,—and future pages might be devoted to such antiquarian and "common people's" interests as have really made London what it is to its inhabitants. It is not alone as the home of the Court, nor even as the modern home of the Parliament, or the centre of some portions of English intellectual life, that London is so supremely captivating to the imagination, but as the place to which the

⁸ "Walks in London." By Augustus J. C. Hare. In Two Vols. London: Daldy, Lister, & Co. 1878.

whole country has tended, always crowded, always bewildering, its crowds and its bewilderments changing and growing with the change and growth and development of the nation. We want from Mr. Hare or some one else a book about London written on the plan of Mr. Green's "History of the English People;" but until this desirable work appears, Mr. Hare's is charming and most valuable. Indeed, it must always remain so, for what he has done scarcely need be re-done, though in some points it needs revision. For instance, unless we mistake, Dr. Williams' library (vol. i. p. 277) has found a home for itself near Gower Street, and is accessible to any reasonable reader; students can no longer (vol. i. p. 60) be called to the bar because they have eaten their dinners without examination; the degree of "Serjeant" (vol. i. p. 79) is no longer indispensable for a judge; and it is scarcely candid merely to mention the fact of the abolition and sale of Serjeants' Inn without alluding to the fact that the plunder was divided by some of our highest legal functionaries. As in his works on Rome and its environs, Mr. Hare has in these volumes given many most interesting and pithy quotations from English and American writers, modern and classical, and it would improve a future edition if an index of these quotations were added to that now so helpful to the explorers, who will in numbers appear to represent the demand for which Mr. Hare has provided the supply of information. It is a pity that they should not in some respects show the way to more extensive information, instead of historical facts being made to rest on papers in "The Builder," admirable and useful as that journal may be. Mr. Hare is vehemently inimical to many of the recent alterations in London, and to some of its monuments; the destruction of Northumberland House is "the greatest of all the barbarous and ridiculous injuries by which London has been wantonly mutilated within the last few years," and the crowning reason why it should have been spared is that it was "the house in which the restoration of the monarchy was successfully planned in 1660 in the secret conferences of General Monk." He mercilessly accounts for Whittington's cat by telling how it was in his favour that the penalty of death for burning coal was set aside, and that the new fuel was brought in a "collier (catta) still called a cat." The plan upon which such a book is necessarily constructed, a topographical one, would make it a storehouse for examiners in general English history. Almost every page might suggest questions dealing with every past century.

In two further numbers of the illustrations of street industries in London, Messrs. Thompson and Smith⁹ tell us the secrets of the trades of Italian street-musicians, street-locksmiths, shellfish sellers, "flying dustmen," old furniture shops, and shoeblacks not belonging to the well-known "brigade." Some doubt is expressed as to whether the Charity Organisation Society was not rather too hard in its estimate of the *padroni* of the street-musicians, and Mr. Smith bases his more

⁹ "Street Life in London." By J. Thompson, F.R.G.S., and Adolphe Smith. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1877-78.

hopeful account on his personal inquiries. But the Government has considered the abuses great enough to warrant its interference. Mr. Smith very sensibly suggests the great safeguard for young children that would be provided were the Elementary Education Act made binding on foreign children. This is an idea well worth working out. It seems that there is an art even in dealing with old keys, and that restrictions have been laid on the sale of keys to fit moulds or impressions of locks, as well as on the loan of keys by locksmiths. For success in the shellfish trade, the neighbourhood of public-houses and of a cabstand is considered essential. The trade is very uncertain. The flying dustman is rather a poacher. In London the parishes collect the dust, and ought to dispose of it so as to decrease the rates, and their men ought not to be paid. But they like to be paid, and are apt to neglect households from which they get nothing. For the relief of these, and of households which have failed to catch the regular dustman on his rounds, the flying dustman appears, and collects the dust for a small payment, selling the more valuable parts of it, and only too often letting the rest leak out of his cart in the roads. The independent shoeblack has a hard time of it, for among the "respectable" classes of society there is a strong feeling in favour of the brigade, though the poor often prefer the independent shoeblack. A license has to be bought by him for five shillings, or the police handle him roughly, though they are apt to exceed their legal powers in this as in other cases.

Mr. Doherty¹⁰ publishes what are chiefly contributions to some paper or magazine on hospitals; charitable dinners (to the poor—not to wealthy contributors, who devour the widows' houses they have the credit of building); Miss Robinson's great work among the soldiers in promotion of industry, education, and temperance; and on similar subjects. His style is agreeable, and it is probable that the interest created by these papers may have done good. They had better have been revised and "brought up to the present day," however. For instance, there are more children's hospitals in London now than he describes or names, notably that pathetic institution in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, where little children refused as "incurable" at the hip-disease hospital end their days in comfort, or even recover, with the bright open reach of the river at Battersea before them to cheer their weary, painful days. In describing the Paris prisons, he mentions that two are behind the age in the promiscuous herding together of prisoners. One of these is St. Lazare (the women's prison), where persons are sent for every variety and shade of crime or alleged offence against scandalous police tyranny, and that prison has in no respect been reformed since the days before John Howard. Such papers as these, while they please, should stir to further inquiry. If they do, Mr. Doherty will have done good service to society.

Miss Octavia Hill's¹¹ name will secure a reperusal to her reprint of

¹⁰ "Saunters in Social Byways." By Malcolm Doherty, B.A. London: Remington & Co. 1878.

¹¹ "Our Common Land, and other Short Essays." By Octavia Hill. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

sundry essays on her two favourite subjects—the preservation of commons and open spaces for purposes of recreation, and the most effectual method of visiting and assisting the poor. The former topic is happily no longer in peril of oblivion ; the latter will require judicious handling for a long time to come. There is some danger of frightening away volunteers from a cause in which all the best work must be voluntary, by insisting on the immense difficulty of doing more good than harm ; and some danger of supposing that charity can be drilled into a perfectly regular form. But meanwhile any true experience on the subject is welcome.

Mr. Pretyman¹² presents us with the usual powerful arguments in favour of the total abolition of out-door relief of the poor. He differs from Professor Fawcett in thinking that charity, with all its attendant evils of waste and indiscriminateness, is yet far better than the legal right conferred by the Poor Law. He is, however, not sufficiently alive to the practical difficulties of bringing up children respectably in the workhouse and district schools, and does not deal satisfactorily with the case of widows.

Mr. Brassey's¹³ valuable lectures and essays on capital and labour are too well known in detail to require special notice ; but they contain so much of what is permanently useful as to deserve the more permanent form in which they now appear. The present volume treats of wages at home and abroad, strikes, co-operation, education, and the duties of the Church in relation to the labour question.

And while Mr. Brassey discusses the income of the labourer, Mr. Bartley¹⁴ teaches, in a sort of catechism—of great length for a catechism—how to spend it to the best advantage. In familiar dialogues he discusses the economy of food and its preparation, dress, needlework, houses, drainage and ventilation, health and the sick-room, also saving in all forms. This little book will be found very serviceable by those who have opportunity of instructing the poor in these first principles of the art of comfort, and furnishes a good basis for the very necessary teaching of domestic economy in elementary schools.

Messrs. Daldy, Isbister, & Co.¹⁵ send us a set of copy-books called the "London Copy-Books," which have certain decided merits. They have frequent headings, never requiring a child to write more than three lines without a fresh copy ; and in the later numbers the copies are interesting in comparison with the ancient moral sentiments which an earlier generation learned to hate because they were bound up with learning to write. For in those days the art was learned through torture, the little short fat fingers being expected to perform prodigies in

¹² "Dispauperisation : A Popular Treatise on Poor-Law Evils and their Remedies." By J. R. Pretyman, M.A. London: Longmans & Co. 1878.

¹³ "Lectures on the Labour Question." By Thomas Brassey, M.P. London: Longmans & Co. 1878.

¹⁴ "Domestic Economy: Thrift in Everyday Life. Taught in Dialogues suitable for Children of all Ages." By George C. T. Bartley. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

¹⁵ "London Copy-Books." London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co.

the size of the letters for which grown-up hands barely sufficed. These copy-books have improved upon that older torture, but have not, we think, gone quite far enough. "Large hand" might be a late accomplishment, but ought no more to be imposed on a little child than striding or jumping on a baby that cannot walk. But this set of books aims at preparing a child to pass in the successive "standards," and reform must come from above, where the physical capabilities of children are the last things thought of.

"A Russian Lady"¹⁶ is so slight a veil to throw over the identity of the talented writer of these enthusiastically patriotic letters, that it is not easy to see why she should not have allowed her name to appear with Mr. Froude's. Mr. Froude admits that all Russians may not be represented by her, but urges her claim to careful hearing as a mouth-piece of a certain, and even a considerable, section of her country men and women. Mr. Froude says that Russia has been the practical agent of Europe; that we had better be on good terms with her than on bad, seeing that we cannot be on none at all; that the Turk is irreclaimable; that Russia must be the protector of the Christian provinces of Turkey, and that "O. K.'s" book is valuable as helping us to a better knowledge of the Russian character. In her first letter, in answer to an article in "Macmillan's Magazine," O. K. vindicates the uprightness of the intentions and actions of the Slav Committees of Russia and of the Pan Slavist leader, M. Aksakoff, and bids Englishmen remember how their ancestors helped the Protestants of Holland and France. Her second letter draws a distinction between the purely Russian tone of feeling of Moscow, the true Russian capital, and the wearied and indifferent tone of official, luxurious, foreign St. Petersburg. "St. Petersburg, thank God, is not Russia, any more than the West End of London is England." English newspapers are apt to get their news from St. Petersburg. A third letter dwells on the "unselfish sacrifices" Russia has made for the war, sacrifices that cannot be repaid even should she obtain what is called substantial compensation, such as Turkey has not to give. "The only compensation for sacrifices such as ours is the complete deliverance of the Slavs." "This grand war," says O. K., "has given a new impulse to Russian life, a deeper feeling of higher missions in the world." In making peace the Slavs will not be abandoned, and other demands must be insisted on. "Russians hate the Turks because they know them." O. K. says that the memory of Tartar (or Turk) invasions and oppressions still survives, and burns in the souls of the descendants of those five generations of Russians who suffered under them. English people hate the Russians because they do not know them; the humanity of their penal code, which puts English criminal law to shame; the freedom of Mohammedans under their rule; the superior generosity of the Russian Government to subject races as contrasted with the policy of England in India; the degree to which portions of the Empire have local self-government; the enthusiastic loyalty of the nation—are the topics of her successive letters.

¹⁶ "Is Russia Wrong?" By a Russian Lady. With a Preface by J. A. Froude, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1877.

Russia progresses so fast that no power can keep or make Turkey, incapable as it is of progress, an efficient power as against Russia; Russia does more good and has more right in Central Asia than England in India; the Bulgarians have many virtues, and the vices only of an enslaved race; the Russian army is not more corrupt than the English army—these propositions O. K. maintains with vivacity and acuteness, and concludes with an eulogy on M. Katkoff of the "Moscow Gazette."

Mr. Brassey¹⁷ says that the conduct of Russia has not been sincere in the present war; that Russia has been "disloyal" towards Turkey, having had it for her object to rule indirectly where the jealousy of Europe did not suffer her to rule directly. He quotes Mr. Baring to the effect that the rising in Bulgaria sprang from Russian intrigue, utilising even religion towards that end, and that this intrigue is of many years' standing. He believes the Czar to have been personally averse to the war and to the Central Asian advance of Russia, but to be powerless because he is a despot. Austrian Slavs have made common cause with the Russian Pan Slavist agitators, and Russia was impelled to pick an unnecessary quarrel with Turkey. England ought to have been more decided at first; she ought to have joined in the Andrassy Note, and ought to have insisted on reforms in Turkey without holding out hopes of military support. We ought, also, to have joined in the Berlin Note. He does not desire the perpetuation of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, as it is an anachronism; and he thinks Greece might be enlarged, but doubts whether she is yet fit for larger territory. In the catastrophe, "by separating ourselves from the European concert, we have forfeited our claim to exercise any preponderating influence over the decisions of a European Conference." Mr. Brassey would not have England seize Egypt. The concluding portions of his pamphlet are on the future of the Liberal party and the desirableness of Dis-establishment.

Sir Tollemache Sinclair¹⁸ publishes a sixth thousand, bound, and illustrated with two maps, an original cartoon representing Turkish atrocities, and several pictures from comic papers, English and American, of his collection of essays on the Eastern Question. Though he takes what may—either as praise or blame—be called a fanatical side, he certainly has collected a mass of quotations from historical documents, pamphlets, newspapers, published speeches, blue books, and innumerable other sources, that make his volumes really useful. It is probable that every one who reads the first preface, containing an attack on Jews and the Old Testament, in answer to the inevitable hostile criticism on his earlier editions in the "Jewish World," will decide that he never read anything more purely funny. But that is a personal matter, and for the larger portions of the rest of these really useful volumes Sir Tollemache Sinclair is not responsible except as a collector. He is, however, keenly conscious of this possible view, and endeavours to anticipate and

¹⁷ "The Eastern Question and the Political Question at Home." By Thomas Brassey, M.P. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

¹⁸ "A Defence of Russia and the Christians of Turkey." By Sir Tollemache Sinclair, Bart., M.P. London: Chapman & Hall.

disarm criticism for the future by pointing out which chapters he recommends to the sleepless, which to the lighter reader, which to searchers after amusement, while to graver persons the two volumes are, in spite of all eccentricities, gravely welcome. The first chapter is devoted to undermining the partially common distrust of Russia, and contains as a quotation Heine's bitter sentence, "My heart sinks within me when I think that after all Shakespeare was an Englishman, and belongs to the most repulsive people that God in His anger ever created ;" while it also quotes "diner à la Russe" as an involuntary tribute to superior civilisation. The second chapter is on "Past Phases of the Eastern Question," and bristles with history, indignation, quotation, and statistics. The third chapter is on the "Present Phase," and strongly takes the Christian side. It collects and perpetuates facts only too apt to drop soon into the oblivion hastened by disgust. Then follows a prophetic chapter on the results of the war, including a portion of a speech by Mr. Sandford, "a Conservative M.P.," in May 1877, on the probable terms of peace, which is almost startlingly like those actually proposed. Then follow chapters on Mohammedanism, the religious position of the Sultan, and the social and moral condition of the Turks and of the Christian populations. Then comes a grand comparison between the conduct of England to Ireland and of Russia to Poland, which would be difficult to epitomise, but which may be conceived of from the leading idea. Some sad experiences must have driven Sir Tollemache to write, "A benevolent despotism is better than an oppressive Parliamentary Government." A chapter on the Indian nightmare is valuable: and the volume practically ends with a plea for the reconstruction of the Greek Empire. The second volume, called an appendix, contains matter of much the same sort, but perhaps has a preponderance of extracts from other writers.

"The War Correspondence of the 'Daily News,'¹⁹ 1877, with a connecting Narrative, forming a continuous History of the War between Russia and Turkey to the Fall of Kars," is one of those volumes which no gentleman's library should be without, unless the gentleman happen to be a Russophile of so pronounced a type that he cannot endure to hear anything said against the Turk or his employés, and thinks that to preserve anything that may have been said is a crime or a blunder. All the world knows just now what is the purport of this correspondence, what its influence on the current politics, and how brilliantly the work was done by Mr MacGahan and Mr Forbes, and others. But it is quite a different thing to consider how much will be remembered or known of it ten years hence. And for this reason—knowing so little as we do whether the eternal Eastern Question is to die out now or after another convulsion—the preservation of all this information in a handy volume is of great value. Much praise cannot, however, be given to the print in which it appears; it is peculiarly dazzling and trying to the eye, and the new-fangled crotchet of making a para-

¹⁹ "The War Correspondence of the 'Daily News.'" London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

graph begin outside instead of inside the margin of the other lines aggravates the fault.

Count Moltke's "Letters from Russia"²⁰ have little more than a personal interest. They were written in 1856, and are quite private letters to his wife, describing his impressions of the country and the ceremonies of the coronation of the Emperor. But the Russia of to-day is not the Russia of 1856, and the information which is not obsolete is superseded by Mr. Wallace's recent volumes.

Dr. Gray's²¹ account of the social condition of China is a very useful and interesting description of the manners and customs of that wonderful empire. Allowance must be made for a missionary's point of view, but Dr. Gray deals in a fair spirit with his subject. He sums up his views thus:—"Their religion is a mass of superstition. Their government is in form that which of all others is perhaps most liable to abuse—an irresponsible despotism. Their judges are venal, their judicial procedure is radically defective, and has recourse in its weakness to the infliction of torture; their punishments are, many of them, barbarous and revolting; their police are dishonest, and their prisons are dens of cruelty. A considerable mass of the population does not know how to read, and nearly everywhere there is a prejudiced ignorance of all that relates to modern progress. Their social life suffers from the baneful effects of polygamy, and to a certain extent of slavery; and their marriage laws and customs hold women in a state of degrading bondage. This is a grave bill of indictment against the religious, political, civil, and social institutions of any nation, and yet, notwithstanding conditions so little favourable to the development of civil and social virtues, the Chinese may be fairly characterised as a courteous, orderly, industrious, peace-loving, sober, and patriotic people." Dr. Gray, however, is not content with generalisation. He illustrates almost every statement by instances of social life which have come under his own observation or inquiry. The most painful details, after all, are not the well-known accounts of inhuman torture, not only of prisoners but of witnesses, but the accounts of the habits of polygamy, and the facilities of divorce which enslave the women. Chinese slavery is, on the whole, of a domestic type, but entails the fearful evil of kidnapping, and ministers in no small degree to the very worst of vices. There is no regal limit to the power of the master. This book does full justice to the remarkable filial piety of which Confucius laid the foundation among the Chinese, and to which Dr. Gray attributes their tenacity of national life.

Mr. Rae's²² journey took him over ground which is in modern times sufficiently untrudged for literary purposes, and his volume has

²⁰ "Field-Marshal von Moltke's Letters from Russia." Translated by Robina Napier. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

²¹ "China: A History of the Laws, Manners, and Customs of the People." By John Henry Gray, M.A., LL.D., Archdeacon of Hong-Kong. Edited by William Gow Gregor. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

²² "The Country of the Moors." By Edward Rae, F.R.G.S. London: John Murray. 1877.

in this view a certain value. He quotes a criticism on a former book of his, suggesting that he has little capacity for seeing things ; but that is scarcely true. He sees a very fair average number of things, but his capacities rather tend to fail him at that point. He has not a sufficient preparation to make much of what he sees. And he does himself injustice by the very silly comments or attempted jokes which he constantly introduces. He has read and become imbued with the style of Artemus Ward and Mark Twain without catching their gifts of humour. But there is much pleasure to be had from this volume, and a fair quantity of information about the social condition of the Moors of Tripoli, Tunis, and the jealously closed sacred city of Kairwan. He first found his way to the ruins of Leptis, and photographed some portions of such of the remnants as are left by the devouring sand, and by the still more rapacious natives, who use columns for olive-crushers and carved capitals hollowed out for mortars and basins. But a good deal remains in fragments and "bits," and coins are abundant. Homs, a seaport some two miles distant, is rising to importance by this traffic in antiquities, and by more legitimate industries. Murder seems to be extremely frequent in these parts of the world, and the cheating and bargaining of the bazaars are as invariable as in the East. The inhabitants of Tunis reflect the polish and good-breeding of the Spanish Moors, and are noted for their intelligence. Reading, writing, and a knowledge of the Scriptures are ordinary acquirements among them. This may only be in the limited sense in which they are "common" in all Mohammedan countries. A third of Mr. Rae's volume is wisely devoted to a detailed account of his visit to Kairwan, a Mohammedan sanctuary held in such esteem that seven pilgrimages to it are held equivalent to one to Mecca, and a sacred well there is supposed to communicate with one at Mecca. A Christian has but rarely been able to enter it, though a note to the governor of Kairwan from the Prime Minister and an escort from Susa sufficed to enable Mr. Rae to make a sufficiently safe and leisurely survey of it, and even to take a good many sketches and measurements. The inhabitants cursed him both gently and loudly, but that was as little as could be expected in a city the chief interest of which consists in its having been closed to Jews and Christians for eleven or twelve centuries, and in its having been the starting-point for the Moorish invasion of Spain. It was a great centre of learning, and there still remain in the city curious manuscripts and books which might suffice to tempt future travellers.

Lord Beaconsfield is informed by Mr. Austin²³ in his opening sentence that "the fortunes of the British Empire are trembling in the balance, and it is your hand that can adjust the scales." This is probably no news to Lord Beaconsfield, though he may not appreciate the suggestion that Mr. Austin expects him to "adjust," instead of holding the scales evenly, and letting the nation, whose servant he is, put its own weight in. The first pages of this pamphlet are incredibly

²³ "England's Policy and Peril : A Letter to the Earl of Beaconsfield." By Alfred Austin. London : John Murray. 1877.

like a tract—say an address to a drunkard on the verge of final delirium tremens. His responsibilities, his capabilities, his circumstances, are detailed to him with minute personal application; and his consciousness of the truth of it all, and his conscience, are appealed to with pathetic bathos. But Mr. Austin reveres and trusts his victim; while of his colleagues in office he says, "It has never entered into my mind to suppose that there is a feeble head or a faint heart among them." He feels sure that the honour of England is safe in their hands. It is really to be hoped that this pamphlet was not thrown into Lord Beaconsfield's waste-paper basket, but that it will find its place in some future edition of the "Curiosities of Literature."

The "Unknown Counsellor," to whose counsels Major Evans Bell²⁴ calls attention, was Mr. John Dickenson, a name not familiar to most English people outside a certain circle of Liberal politicians, including George Thompson, Mr. Bright, Cobden, Milner Gibson, and others who yet remain. This particular society was one deeply interested in those topics of Indian policy which are so difficult, and seem so distant, as to be repulsive to the popular English mind. India seems almost too big to be comprehended, and the first efforts to comprehend it bring to light such a vast variety of conflicting interests—native, official, mercantile, individual, and imperial—that the instinctive impulse is to be thankful that there are others whose plain duty it is to understand all the intricacies of Indian questions. The worst of this is, that it practically relegates all disputes to the decision of specialists interested on one side, instead of their being subjected to the wholesome criticism of public opinion, which is fairly disinterested even where it does not aspire to be grandly just. Mr. Dickenson devoted his whole life, without personal advantage or obligation, to mastering these problems, one by one, and to endeavouring to secure for them calm, full, and well-informed consideration in England. Major Evans Bell has long been a worker with him, bringing to the work considerable Indian experience, such as Mr. Dickenson had not. Mr. Dickenson's leading desire about India was, that we should make ourselves conspicuous to the natives by our even-handed justice and our kind consideration of those natural and hereditary ruling families who must always be the leaders of native opinion and the centres round which the native loyalty will gather. We are not able, he thought, by education of native gentlemen not belonging to the aristocratic families, to create a class of governors under us who will secure the attachment of the populace for our rule. On the contrary, English-educated natives of lower rank are looked upon with suspicion and dislike when they occupy administrative posts, as was found in the time of the Mutiny. Long before that date Mr. Dickenson and his friends had been strongly opposed to that annexation policy which at once carries the mind to Lord Dalhousie's name, and from which the Mutiny so completely converted Lord Canning. It then became plain that we must look to loyal native states for safety

²⁴ "Last Counsels of an Unknown Counsellor." By Major Evans Bell. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

in difficult times. The annexation policy is one which is perpetually tempting to fresh generations of officials, high and low, but it is one which is steadily disapproved by patient observers of Mr. Dickenson's and Major Evans Bell's school of politics. It was in this aspect that Mr. Dickenson approved the assumption by Her Majesty of the title of Empress of India, as he hoped that this new relationship to the native princes would prove a safeguard to them against further encroachments, and also a sort of tie as between them among themselves, and between them thus united to a superior. Whether he took into consideration their possible objection to the assumption of titular superiority is another question. The last case of Indian difficulty with which Mr. Dickenson was busied was that of the Maharajah Holkar of Indore, in Central India. His opinion was that Holkar, having been educated and advised by Sir Robert Hamilton, can be demonstrated to have been exceptionally and conspicuously faithful to English rule during the Mutiny, though he was for a short time powerless to control his troops. Holkar has been refused the territorial reward granted to other faithful princes, on the theory that he wavered in his allegiance. But these "Last Counsels" are an elaborate refutation of the charges against him—an accusation against an Indian official who is asserted to have made a grave mistake, and to have sacrificed Holkar's reputation to save his own, and a protest against the way in which Holkar's remonstrances and appeals have been left without due and sufficiently impartial examination. Associated with this case is that of the Rajah of Dhar, who, though independent, has been treated as a dependent of Holkar's, and in respect of whom this volume produces certain evidence for pronouncing him an injured potentate, though a small one. All this is no mere assertion, but quotations from official documents are abundantly given, and an appendix contains also much interesting matter. It may be that English interest in India may be best aroused by individual cases, which may serve as pegs to hang further morsels of information or thought upon, rather than by efforts to induce the British taxpayer to take the interest which, as a moralist and a free-born man himself, he ought to take in the complex crimes connected with our general policy in India.

The second division of the Italian population returns for 1876²⁵ gives as usual most elaborately minute statistics of the extent and civil status of the people, worked out separately for each district, with comparative tables for the past few years. It may be interesting to note a few particulars. Out of 1,080,000 births, 47,000 are returned as illegitimate, and 29,000 as foundlings. It is perhaps safest to add these figures together, which will give a result of about one illegitimate birth in thirteen, not an unfavourable ratio considering the ignorance, poverty, and low civilisation of so large a portion of the kingdom. The general want of education is shown by what is considered a fairly trustworthy test, the proportion of signatures appearing on the

²⁵ "Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio. Divisione di Statistica. Popolazione. Movimento dello Stato Civile." Anno 1876. Parte Seconda. Roma: Topographia Cenniniana. 1877.

registers of marriage. Nearly two-thirds of the Italians who marry seem to be unable to sign their names. But as if to disprove the popular theories of the connection between education and morality, the total number of infanticides in the whole kingdom is stated to be fifty-six. Perhaps this is to be accounted for to some extent by the number of foundlings, the temptation to put a child out of the way being vastly less in proportion to the facility for getting it provided for as a foundling.

It is curious to turn to the statistics of the rising Anglo-Saxon colonies.^{26 27} Victoria is the largest of the Australasian colonies, having a population of 840,000, increasing by 13,000 a year from ordinary causes, and 4000 a year by emigration. Thirty-five thousand of the inhabitants are not subjects of the Queen. Of these, by far the most important class are the Chinese, who number more than 20,000, of whom thirty-six are women. The overflow of the Chinese people into new Anglo-Saxon countries becomes every year of more and more serious importance. In all probability the vast and terrible famine which is desolating the northern provinces of China will give a great impetus to emigration, and the energies of North America and Australasia are aroused to devise means for keeping the swarm of industrious but unwelcome Asiatics from effecting further lodgment within their borders. The colony of Queensland is busy passing stringent laws imposing a prohibitive tariff on the importation of Chinese, treating, in fact, the labour market as a protected industry, and the Chinese as contraband. It is no more probable that such measures can be permanently enforced in the case of workmen, than in the case of merchandise, and there is this difference in favour of the workman, that he can very easily smuggle himself. It will probably be found more effective, as the movement proceeds, to regulate than to stop it; as, for instance by requiring a due proportion of women to be brought, by enforcing good sanitary regulations, and by encouraging the emigrants to thoroughly adopt their new country, establish settled homes, and discontinue the practice of carrying back to China their dead; and this even at the cost of competition in labour, and in face of the difficulty of introducing separate and Asiatic communities into a Western political system; not to mention the inevitable objection of a respectable society of Churchmen, Catholics, Presbyterians, and Wesleyans, to seeing their country studded with temples of Fô. An English colony usually presents the prominent English questions of the day in a more advanced stage, and it is interesting at the present moment to notice that almost the whole population of Victoria, rural as well as urban, enjoys the advantage of representative municipal institutions; that only six and a half per cent. of the marrying population are unable to sign the register; that public instruction

²⁶ "Victorian Year-Book for 1876-77." By Henry Heylyn Hayter, Government Statist of Victoria. Melbourne: John Ferres, Government Printer. London: George Robertson, 17 Warwick Square. 1877.

²⁷ "Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand for 1876." Wellington: Government Printer. 1877.

absorbs more than one-eighth of the total expenditure of the Government; that more than a fifth of the population are voters for the legislative assembly, and sixty-two per cent. of the voters actually vote; and that the military and naval expenditure is about £60,000 a year. The success of the system of land transfer with a Government title is established by the facts that land to the value of £15,000,000 has now been brought under the Act, which has been enforced since 1862; that about sixty per cent. of the land dealt with or sold enjoys the benefit of the Act; and that the halfpenny in the pound on the value of the property brought under the Act, which is charged to indemnify the Government against possible losses by bad titles, has produced a surplus of more than £40,000, the total claims on this insurance fund since the commencement of the system having come to little more than £700.

In these days of rapid growth of municipal expenditure, it is wise to compare our local budgets with those of foreign cities. The second part of the "International Municipal Statistics,"²⁹ published by the city of Buda-Pest, presents the financial affairs of twenty-five large towns, including Vienna, Munich, Rome, San Francisco, Paris, and London; the figures for London being somewhat meagre, and confused with the variety of municipal jurisdiction.

"Isha"²⁹ is of opinion that men and women are equal in the sphere of morality, and must work out their equality by greater wisdom on the part of the woman and greater love on the part of the man—a proposition which will perhaps be admitted without difficulty. "The Franchise"³⁰ is a pamphlet treating of the value of an educational test for the franchise, and urging the propriety of granting the suffrage to women as well as men, subject to that test. The degeneracy of the House of Commons is assumed, and the arguments do not present any particular novelty on this well-worn though important subject.

Signor Iacampo³¹ reviews the recent political events in France, since the 16th of May, from the point of view of an Italian liberal, to whom the French Clerical party are not only foreign conservatives, but conspirators against home liberties. He agrees with most liberals that the French Republic means peace, even in regard to Alsace and Lorraine.

²⁸ "Statistique Internationale des Grandes Villes." Deuxième Section. Statistique des Finances. Tome I. Rédigé par Joseph Kórosi. Buda-Pest: Maurice Rath; Paris: Guillaumin et Cie; Berlin: Bureau Royal de Statistique. 1877.

²⁹ "Woman's True Power and Rightful Work." By Isha, Author of "Marriage and Married Life." London: Reunington & Co. 1878.

³⁰ "The Franchisé: An Educational Test a Remedy for the Degeneracy of the House of Commons." By Mary Grant. London: Ridgway. 1878.

³¹ "Le Urne Francesi: Il Presidente della Repubblica et l'Italia." Considerazioni e Ricordi di Michangelo Iacampo. Campobasso: Stabilimento tipografico del Progresso. 1877.

SCIENCE.

WE are glad to welcome a new edition of Professor Tait's "Sketch of Thermodynamics,"¹ which is a decided improvement on its predecessor, both in external form and also in respect to the completeness of its contents. A useful index also has been added. The author has retained the semi-historical character of the work, which renders it especially interesting and attractive to the more advanced student, though, perhaps, it may unfit it to a certain extent for systematic use by a beginner. From the copious list of references to original papers, wherein the investigations referred to in the text are treated, it is clear that no pains have been spared to render the work as trustworthy and complete as possible. The book contains only three chapters, which were originally published as articles in the "North British Review;" their titles are, "Historical Sketch of the Dynamical Theory of Heat," "Historical Sketch of the Science of Energy," and "Sketch of the Fundamental Principles of Thermodynamics." The author tells us that, since they were first published, he has been led to examine very carefully the history of the subject, and has, consequently, made several alterations. He is convinced, nevertheless, that in attempting to give a rough sketch of the history of a grand physical theory, it is almost impossible to be strictly impartial. If he has possibly regarded the matter from a somewhat too British point of view, he is prepared to justify himself on the plea that, unless contemporary history be written with some little partiality, it will be impossible for the future historian to compile from the works of the present day a complete and unbiassed statement. "Are not both judge and jury greatly assisted to a correct verdict by the avowedly partial statements of rival pleaders? If not, where is the use of counsel?"

We regard the first and second chapters as the most valuable part of the volume. Professor Tait brings before us, almost in chronological order, the successive experimental facts, deductions, hypotheses, and developments due to various investigators in the domain of energy, from the time of Newton down to the present time. First we have the old views about the materiality of heat, and the early experiments of Romford, Davy, &c., tending to establish the connection between heat and energy—Carnot's fundamental principle (forgotten for a time, but recalled to the attention of scientific men by Clapeyron and Sir W. Thomson), the more correct form of which was first stated by Professor J. Thomson in 1849. The author then deals with the claims of Mayer, Séguin, Mohr, Colding, &c., in connection

¹ "Sketch of Thermodynamics." By P. G. Tait, M.A., formerly Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Second Edition (Revised and Extended). Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1877.

with the determination of the mechanical equivalent of heat, the elaborate and systematic experimental work of Joule, Rankine's theoretical investigations, and the papers of Clausius and Thomson.

In his account of the development of the kinetic theory of gases, Professor Tait endeavours to assign to each of the contributors to this great work his share of the credit; and here, perhaps, he may have unintentionally done injustice to some.

The sections on Thermoelectricity in the second chapter are interesting, though too brief; and the same may, perhaps, be said of Sir W. Thomson's researches in Electrolysis.

This little volume and the "Recent Advances in Physical Science" by the same author, taken together, form a most interesting and valuable record of the present state of our knowledge, actual and theoretical, on the subject of Energy.

The Meteorological Department of the Government of India² was established as a coherent system with a central head in 1875. Previous to that time, the meteorological departments of different provinces and districts were distinct, and, as a rule, quite independent of each other. In Bengal and Assam, the system was under the direction of a local Reporter; while in the Bombay Presidency there was no regular supervision, and the arrangements of the observatories stood sadly in need of inspection. Similar want of system prevailed in other districts. In 1875 Mr. Blandford was requested to report on the administration of the various meteorological observatories throughout India, and to submit a scheme for their reorganisation. The scheme subsequently recommended was sanctioned by the Government of India in September of that year. The importance of a careful study of meteorological phenomena in India, and of the methodical treatment and co-ordination of observations made in various parts of the country, cannot be over-estimated. India stands pre-eminent as a field for the advantageous study of physical meteorology. There is scarcely one of the great fundamental problems relating to meteorological physics to the solving of which the natural circumstances of India are not fitted to contribute an important mead of evidence. Hence the establishment of a central meteorological bureau, with a responsible chief having control over all the observatories in the country, is a highly satisfactory event, from which much good cannot fail to spring.

It appears from the report, which is a model of conciseness and perspicuity, that at the time of the establishment of the new department there were eighty-four observatories in India and its dependencies (exclusive of Ceylon). They were very unequally distributed, being somewhat overcrowded in the alluvial sub-Himalayan plain, and unduly sparse over the whole of Western India and some parts of the Peninsula. Moreover, the data afforded by them were not comparable, and were inaccessible to persons in other Presidencies. In his report to

² 'Report on the Administration of the Meteorological Department of India in 1875-76.'

the Government Mr. Blandford recommended—(1) A redistribution of the observatories, and such additions to them as would serve to represent fairly the meteorological conditions of the whole of the British provinces under the Government of India. (2) That the data from all observatories should be rendered comparable *inter se*, and also with those of known standards. To accomplish this required a rigorous comparison of the instruments used; uniformity in the mode of their exposure and methods of reduction; the determination of certain local constants, especially of the elevation of the barometers above sea-level, &c. (3) The establishment of one or two observatories of a higher class in the interior of India as well as on the coasts, which might furnish detailed and continuous registers, and at the same time serve as depôts for verifying instruments, training observers for the minor stations, and for carrying on such experiments and inquiries as require special knowledge and training. (4) To bring together the materials furnished by the observatories in all parts of India for the purpose of discussion and publication.

In accordance with the scheme sanctioned by the Indian Government, there are to be ninety-five observatories working in connection with the department, distributed in three classes. The first class will contain three, those of Calcutta, Allahabad and Lahore, which will be furnished with self-recording instruments. There will be twenty-one second-class observatories, where hourly observations are recorded on four days in the month, and twice per day on all other days; and seventy-one third-class observatories, at which two sets of observations of the principal instruments are recorded daily.

The results of the meteorological department will henceforth be published in two serial forms. The first of these is the annual "Report on the Meteorology of India," the first part of which,³ viz., that for the year 1875, is now before us. The other departmental serial, the first part of which will be shortly issued, will be termed "Indian Meteorological Memoirs," and is designed for such of the work of the officers of the department as does not properly find place in the annual report.

The Report for 1875 contains a discussion of the meteorology of the year under the heads of the following elements:—Solar radiation, terrestrial radiation, air temperature, atmospheric pressure, anemometry, hygrometry, cloud proportion and rainfall. It is prefaced by a very interesting account of the physical geography of India and its dependencies, and a short description of each of the stations throughout the country.

The second edition of Mr. Proctor's "Universe of Stars"⁴ appears to be little more than a reprint of the first edition, and does not call for any lengthened notice. The volume consists of a number of articles published in the "Student," the "Popular Science Review," and

³ "Report on the Meteorology of India in 1875." By Henry F. Blandford, Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India. First Year. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing. 1877.

⁴ "The Universe of Stars." By Richard A. Proctor, Author of "The Sun," "The Moon," &c. Second Edition. London: Longmans & Co. 1878.

other periodicals, at various times during the years 1867-73, and contains an account of the author's inquiries into and views respecting the constitution of the universe. Mr. Proctor has perused and studied the works of Sir William Herschel, he tells us, in the same way as one would study some difficult mathematical proposition, and in consequence is of opinion that his account of the results obtained by that indefatigable investigator during his long and arduous labours in the study of the star-depths is more accurate than any yet presented. Apropos of Sir William Herschel's work in connection with the constitution of the stellar universe, the author expresses a decided opinion as to the value of hypothesis in astronomical research which deserves recording:—

“I lay down,” he says, “as a fundamental rule, that no hypothesis as to star magnitudes or star-distribution can safely be adopted as a basis of research. In ordinary subjects of inquiry it is well to have working hypotheses, varying perhaps as we proceed, but serving conveniently for the co-ordination of observations. But in researches into the constitution of the stellar universe, we must not adopt any hypothesis until observations sufficiently numerous and extensive have indicated its justice. It was owing to his failure to recognise this principle at the beginning of his work that Sir W. Herschel formed the stratum theory of the sidereal system, which French and English text-books persist in describing as a demonstrated theory, though Herschel himself definitively abandoned it.”

“The Freedom of Science in the Modern State”⁵ is the title of an address delivered by Dr. Virchow at the meeting of the German Association at Munich in September last. It is an earnest and well-timed appeal to the leaders of science, whatever may be their department of knowledge, carefully to discriminate in their writings and public teachings between the ascertained facts of science and the generalisations and speculations which may be based upon them. Such a warning is not uncalled for in our own country, and we trust that this pamphlet, which is full of careful criticism and happy illustration, may be widely read. The author's object is to guard men of science, when they undertake to instruct their fellow-men on scientific matters, against confounding the objective with the subjective side of their subject.

“When we teach,” he says, “we ought not to look upon the subjective side as an essential part of the doctrine. I do not go so far as to make the inhuman demand that everybody is to express himself entirely without any subjective view, but I do say we must set ourselves the task to transmit to the students the real knowledge of facts in the first place, and, if we go further, we must tell them each time—This is *my* opinion, This is *my* theory. This however, can only be done with those who are already educated and developed. We cannot carry the same method into the elementary schools; we cannot say to the peasant boy—This we know, and that we only suppose. On the contrary, that which is known and that which is only supposed, as a rule, get so thoroughly mixed up, that that which is supposed becomes the main thing, and that which is really known appears only of secondary importance. . . . Certainly we cannot give facts

⁵ “Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft im modernen Staat.” Berlin: Wiegandt, Hempel, & Parey. 1877.

only as raw material ; that is impossible. They must be arranged in a certain systematic order ; but this arrangement must not be extended beyond what is absolutely necessary." Again he says, "We must strictly distinguish between what we want to teach and what we want to investigate. What we investigate are problems, . . . and the investigation of such problems, in which the whole nation must be interested, must be open to everybody. This is the *freedom of research*. But the problem is not at once to be the object of instruction ; when we teach we must confine ourselves to those smaller domains which are already so large, and which we have actually mastered." At the end of his discourse he says, "Whoever speaks or writes for the public ought, in my opinion, doubly to examine just now how much of what he knows and says is objective truth. He ought to try as much as possible to have all inductive extensions which he makes, all progressive conclusions by the laws of analogy, however probable they may seem, printed in small characters underneath the general text, and to put into the latter only that which really is objective truth. Bacon said with perfect justice, knowledge is power ; but the knowledge which he meant was not speculative knowledge, but it was the objective knowledge of facts. I think we shall abuse and endanger our power if in our teaching we do not fall back upon this perfectly justified, perfectly safe and impregnable domain."

Professor Huxley has never expounded science to the unlearned more simply and more perfectly than in the volume called "Physiography."⁶ Every one who knows the strong individuality of the author will be prepared to find that in this "Study of Nature," as in all his works, the subjects are unfolded in ways more or less new, and marshalled under names which are not always familiar. The new names are happily not many, and excepting the title, "Physiography," are not very important. This name, however, is no more than the two single words "Physical Geography" rolled into one. And the only important difference of meaning in the two terms is in indicating the direction from which the subject is approached. Physical Geography is Physics applied to the interpretation of nature ; Physiography is nature interpreted by Physics. In the latter subject, as defined in this volume, we are placed face to face with nature in her most familiar features of rivers, springs, rain, and snow ; each of these and other typical phenomena is first described, and then traced to its origin. Thus the river leads us back to its origin in springs ; springs attain their explanation in the phenomena of rainfall ; rain takes us onward to its origin in the atmosphere, and further still to its source in the sea. Physiography is therefore the study of nature by the inductive method. Physical Geography, which is based on the deductive method, begins with the forces of nature, unbounded space and unlimited time, and then descends step by step to the world, the air, mountains, rain, rivers, and man, till it arrives at last at the laws which govern human actions and form the foundation of the science of Political Geography ; there is therefore a convenience in having the new name Physiography, though it would be well to remember that

⁶ "Physiography: An Introduction to the Study of Nature." By T. H. Huxley, F.R.S. London : Macmillan & Co. 1877.

it is only a branch of that comprehensive geography which Sir Isaac Newton, when Lucasian Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge, taught to the undergraduates of his time. In writing this book, Professor Huxley has performed a service for beginners and young people not dissimilar in kind to that offered by some language teachers, who, leaving grammars by the way, lead the student from the simple language of childhood and familiar conversation to the higher forms of literature. Being the report of a course of lectures addressed to young people, revised and matured, and edited with the assistance of Mr. Rudler, the volume will probably raise a demand for lectures of a like kind in other branches of knowledge, and it raises by comparison, the question whether, with such professional teaching, education could not be carried on faster and more effectively than is possible with the slow tutorial method in general use in the country. At present, the same mode of teaching is used after the reason has developed as obtains when the pupil has no more important intellectual faculty than memory. Since facts in science can hardly be learned except in their relation to laws which govern them or which flow from them, and therefore must be grasped mainly by means of the understanding, it may be doubted whether the tutorial method of teaching is applicable to science when it is taught as a branch of education. If the only result of learning is to be an examination test, then the method of our elementary schools may be good enough; but if education is aimed at, such as Professor Huxley here offers, then we must probably take with the facts Professor Huxley's method of grouping them in large masses, which can only be developed by means of lectures. And the only way in which this Physiography can properly do its educational work will be for the teachers' who may use the volume to expound the chapters as lectures; that is, each chapter as the amplification of a single idea, using the facts given, or other facts, only so far as is necessary to make the idea intelligible. It can hardly be objected that such a method will not ensure sufficient knowledge for examination purposes, for the volume is crammed with facts, evidently introduced since the lectures were delivered, and more with regard to the needs of the adult reader and teacher than in remembrance of the young learner's powers or wants.

As a Londoner speaking to dwellers in the Thames valley, the author begins with the "Thames," speaks of the tide which widens the river under London Bridge from 650 to 800 feet, and deepens its stream from twelve feet to thirty, and notices how, at Teddington, the 380 million gallons a day which flow through the weir only give the stream at high water a width of 250 feet. This smaller size is explained to result partly from the fact that more water runs down during the seven hours of ebb than flows up during the five hours of flood, and partly from the feeder rivers and rivulets which pour their waters in along the length of the Thames being passed by as we ascend to its source. And thus from the river a transition is made to its direction, and the student learns how to find the compass points by the sun and stars and magnetic needle; and then turns to the

contour map of the Thames basin, which leads to an explanation of the scale of maps, of contour lines, and definition of the basin and valley of the river, and a discussion on watersheds, well illustrated by a map of the British Islands, which shows the river basins and their water partings. In the second chapter the springs of the Thames valley are described and explained with the aid of geological sections, and shown to be the source of the rivulets which build up the river. The third chapter is headed "Rain and Dew," and here the several kinds of clouds and fog are described, and then naturally succeeds an explanation of "rainfall," the amount of rain falling on an acre in London, where the rainfall is 24 inches, being in the year 2400 tons. The rainfall of England and Wales is excellently shown on a map with six shades of colour, indicating the several regions where the yearly fall varies from under 25 inches in the area of the palest shade, to over 75 inches in the areas which are darkest. Figures are also given of the rain-gauge and of Daniell's hygrometer; thus the relation of springs and rivers to rain is made clear. The fourth chapter treats of water in its solid or crystalline forms of ice and snow, snow crystals of more than a thousand different forms being known. Hail is described but not explained. Hoar-frost and the snow-line are also discussed, but snow, hail, and the dew are said only to add two inches a year to the rainfall of the Thames basin. To condensation of moisture a contrast is offered in its evaporation, which occupies the fifth chapter. Here the means of measuring the rapidity of evaporation are described, especially the hygrometer invented by De Saussure, and Mason's dry and wet bulb thermometers. Chapter vi. discusses the atmosphere, first from the chemical point of view of its oxydising influence, constituent gases, and purity, and afterwards from the physical point of view of its varying pressure and the means by which the pressure is measured, and the several kinds of newspaper charts which in pictorial form show its variation from day to day. And all this is gone into because the changes in atmospheric pressure give rise to the winds which bring the moisture to the Thames valley. The seventh chapter treats similarly of the chemical composition of water, of the means by which it is analysed, and of the properties of the gases into which it is resolved, and from the combination of which pure water has been formed. But natural waters are not pure, so another chapter has to be given to their chemical composition, and the products of the salts they contain in solution. At Thameshead the river water contains about 23 grains of carbonate of lime to the gallon. But where the quantity is greater, petrifying springs, such as those of Matlock, or a bridge of travertin, may be formed, like that which spans the river at Clermont in Auvergne; or in caves the limestone becomes accumulated in stalagmites and stalactites. At London, Thames water contains more than 28 grains to the gallon, of which about 8 grains are carbonate of lime, 7 grains chloride of calcium, 7 grains of organic matter, 3 grains of sulphate of soda, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ grains of chloride of sodium. The total quantity of saline matter which the Thames year by year takes from Kingston to the sea is more than half a million of tons. The ninth chapter treats of the mechanical work performed by rain and

rivers in excavating valleys and transporting the sediment to the sea. Vast as the amount of sediment is which yearly finds its way to the sea, it is estimated that the average level of the Thames basin is in this way only reduced to the amount of $\frac{1}{8000}$ th part of an inch. The next chapter similarly treats of ice and its work, because the distribution of the glacial drift shows that in bygone ages ice played some part in excavating the basin of the Thames. Going down to the estuary of the Thames, we encounter the sea engaged in the work of wearing away the shores; and once launched on the ocean, we do not leave it without discussing the Gulf Stream and ocean currents, the form of the Atlantic sea-bed, and the temperature of the ocean water, before getting back to plains of marine denudation, and their influence in determining the general level of hills. This part of the book is open to criticism, as being less thoughtful, less logical, and following more the manner of views commonly current, than is the case with the earlier chapters. Thus there can be no doubt that just as the sea excavates by tidal action the shores of an estuary, so as land becomes depressed beneath the sea, every portion of a river valley becomes successively converted into an estuary, and is similarly excavated by tidal action. And afterwards, when land is again uplifted from the ocean, the river flows along the bottom of this valley, which it drains, but did not excavate. Chapter xii., on earthquakes and volcanoes, has but little to do with the valley of the Thames, so that it is only by referring to the increasing temperature of the earth in coal mines, and to the volcanic rocks which are interstratified with the Cambrian formations of North Wales, that any reason for the discussion can be found. And like some of the subsequent chapters, such as those on the effects of living matter in forming rocks and on coral land, it serves to break the continuity of the argument of the book, and thus sacrifices its philosophical unity, and some of its originality. The slow movements of land (Chapter xiii.) would have succeeded naturally to Chapter ix., and have formed a logical introduction to Chapter xvii., which discusses the geological structure of the basin of the Thames—a chapter illustrated with an excellent geological map of the basin of the Thames. Then succeeds an account of the distribution of land and water, of the figure of the earth, and of the earth's movements, which leads to the relations of the earth to the sun, as the prime source of the cycle of changes which are discussed in this study of nature, as exemplified in the basin of the Thames. The illustrations of the book are admirable, and sufficient both for students and for that larger class of general readers for whom it is even better suited. As an original and highly valuable contribution to Physical Geography, it will always hold a distinguished position in the history of science.

The first volume of Professor Nuhn's "Comparative Anatomy" ⁷ was devoted to what he termed the vegetative organs, as distinguished from

⁷ "Lehrbuch der Vergleichenden Anatomie." Von Dr. A. Nuhn. Zweiter Theil. "Animale Organe und Apparate der Thierkörpers." Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1878.

the animal organs, which form the subject-matter of the second volume, which concludes the work. The treatise is mainly designed to meet the wants of medical students, and follows the method of the author's lectures, which may here be considered to be given to the world ripened with the experience of twenty years, and enriched with a multitude of original and well-selected woodcuts, which are clearly drawn, and add greatly to the value of the work. By the animal organs are understood, first, the locomotive apparatus of the organism, and secondly, the sensory organs and nervous system which regulate its movements. The structures which are concerned in movement are divided into the passive and active, understanding by the former the skeleton, and by the latter the muscles. The treatment of each section is unusually systematic, and always begins with the features which organs have in common, and with their simplest manifestations, and then traces out their variations and complexities in the higher types of animal organisation, dwelling especially on the homologies of the structures considered. And thus, in the true spirit of evolution, which has always shadowed itself forth in comparative anatomy, the author comes to regard the simple and complex examples of structures which he describes as modifications of each other. After treating of the classification of the skeleton into outer and external structures, he first takes into consideration the outer skeleton of invertebrates, beginning with those in which it results merely from a chemical change in the action of the skin, as in insects, spiders, and the lower crustacea which develop a horny encasement, or is a consequence, as in the ascidians, of development of cellulose in its substance, or results, as in the higher crustacea, from the secretion of a layer of salts of lime. This portion of the subject occupies no great space, but the internal skeleton of the vertebrata is dealt with at considerable length, under the usual divisions into regions which are adopted by modern anatomists. The muscular system is treated in a like manner; only a commencement is made with the skin muscles, proceeding to the muscles of the trunk, and then to the muscles of the limbs. The nervous system, which occupies about half the book, is discussed on a similar plan. The higher forms are treated of first, and the other types are successively passed in review and well illustrated with figures. After treating of the central nervous system, the organs of sense are examined in a full and valuable way. An excellent feature of the book is the full bibliography which precedes each of the many sections into which it is divided. As a text-book it is good, but makes no claim to anything more than careful exposition of well-determined facts. It has no special system of ideas to advance, and is remarkably free from novel views, which might perplex the feeble, and help onward abler students. It has great merit as a digest of facts, and will be welcomed far beyond the limits of the author's classroom.

Dr. Stilling has devised some admirable coloured diagrams for the detection of colour-blindness, and issued them with a short memoir.⁸

⁸ "Die Prüfung des Farbensinnes beim Eisenbahn- und Marinepersonal." Von Dr. J. Stilling. Mit 3 Tafeln. Cassel: Theodor Fischer. 1877.

Colour-blind persons fall into three classes : first, those who are unable to distinguish red and green, who are estimated to form about five per cent. of the populations of the northern European nations ; secondly, those who are unable to recognise blue and yellow ; and, thirdly, those who cannot see any colour at all,—the last two conditions of sight being very rare. The author's method is to divide a sheet into small squares on the plan of a draught-board, which squares are coloured alternately in the different diagrams light and dark green, light and dark red, and light and dark blue. Then a letter or cross is traced in red or green upon the alternate squares. There can be no doubt that the arrangement is thoroughly efficient and it deserves the attention of all who have any interest in detecting colour-blindness, especially railway employés and pilots, for whom the work is designed. It is printed in parallel columns in German and English.

Notwithstanding that ophthalmology, the development of which has received an especially powerful impulse from the works of Helmholtz and Donders, has become thoroughly scientific only during recent years, the number of professional treatises on the subject is already considerable. But the power of fixing immoveably the bases of the science, and of producing on ocular pathology and therapeutics the treatise classical *par excellence* can scarcely fail to become in a supreme degree the appanage of a single man. In a work,⁹ the second edition of which appeared two years ago, and which we regret to have left unnoticed until now, Dr. Galezowski, having due regard alike to the legitimate authority which attaches to his name, and to the admirably conceived plan of his work, has proved himself capable of realising all the conditions necessary in order to present to the medical public a volume not less instructive than are his lectures delivered in Paris. In the work before us, an octavo volume of 980 pages, will be found, skilfully arranged, all that needs to be said—indeed, all that is known at present, concerning the physiology and pathology of the eye. Dr. Galezowski has not restricted himself to the ungrateful labour of attempting to compress within the limits of a simple manual his exposition of a branch of a science which is already too vast to lend itself to the accomplishment of such a scheme ; but, on the other hand, by adopting a method of description at once as brief and as complete as possible, he has avoided the opposite extreme exemplified by certain didactic treatises, the excessive amplitude of which wearies the readers and thus renders them comparatively uninformative.

In the course of his work, Dr. Galezowski follows the order of the anatomical structures step by step. The book comprises nineteen parts. The first sixteen correspond to the several extrinsic and intrinsic organs of vision, and these are described in the order of their superposition. A precise physiological description always precedes

⁹ "Traité des Maladies des Yeux." Par X. Galezowski, Docteur en Médecine de la Faculté de Paris. Deuxième Edition, Revue et Augmentée avec 464 figures intercalés dans le texte. Paris : J. B. Baillière et Fils. 1875.

the exposition of the disorders to which each part is subject. The methods of examination and of operation are not described in separate chapters, but their exposition naturally takes its place in the body of the work, just in the place and in proportion as it is needed. All the theories and explanations concerning the intimate constitution of the several organs, as well as concerning their functions and modifications, are carefully related; and as regards therapeutics, notwithstanding the considerable contributions to this department by the author himself, none of the methods appertaining to different oculists is ignored, but an analysis of the relative value of each is presented to the reader. In respect to the question, extremely interesting to the general pathologist, namely, what is the proximate cause of inflammation of the cornea, Dr. Galezowski demonstrates the influence of trophic nerves, terminating in the interlamellary tissue of the cornea. He shows that excitation of them is the cause of infiltration of plastic lymph, and of the development of vasculi in a tissue which normally is destitute of a vascular system. He also demonstrates the influence of the nervous system in the case of those ulcerations which he calls *neuro-paralytic*, because they depend either on the paralysis of the fifth pair of nerves, or on tubercular meningitis implicating the Gasserian ganglion. If we glance at the chapter on cataracts, the chapter of most interest to the surgeon, we find indications of operative methods, revealing in an especial manner the hand of the master.

We can give no adequate analysis of the work as a whole; we may remark, however, in passing, that we are glad to observe that the author, basing his conclusions on accurate observation, reduces the ophthalmoscopic data to their just value. Doubtless basilar meningitis, cerebral tumours, and other different diseases of the nervous centres, produce, by reaction, characteristic ophthalmoscopic disorders, but between these certain and intelligible results of ophthalmoscopic examination, and those which it has been proposed to introduce into the department of science here referred to under the name of cerebroscopy, there is, as the author has justly observed, a wide abyss.

Finally, Dr. Galezowski has had the happy thought of presenting, in the three last parts of his work, a study of legal medicine, of the hygiene of vision, and of the embryogenic development of the eye. We are not at all surprised in learning of the favourable reception by the medical world of this excellent treatise, in which physicians, surgeons, physiologists, and hygienists may find an exposition of the eminently useful scientific facts which severally concern them.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THERE are few subjects which have been so much discussed as the history of Italy; and yet, taken as a whole, it is one of the least understood. This favoured land, in the three thousand years of uninterrupted civilisation which it has seen, has been formed into so many states, has been the battlefield of so many races, and the scene of so many revolutions, that it presents itself to the historian almost as a chaos. Many histories of Florence and of Rome have been written, but we have yet to see a history of Italy from the standpoint of European civilisation. The author of the present work¹ has proposed to herself to fill this gap for the period which extends from the early Middle Ages to the commencement of the Renaissance. "It is our aim," she says, "to unite the scattered and broken links of the great chain of circumstances which brought on that change in society we call 'our own,' and which from the dissolving elements of heathendom finally produced the revival of letters, science and art, irradiating Italy with a glory unknown before." Thus speaks in her preface Madame Albana Mignaty, a Greek lady educated in England, who is already very favourably known by her book on Dante. The author has carried out her plan with a judgment, a talent in narration, and a philosophic breadth of view which are only too rare in the historians of the present day, and are very exceptional in writers of the fair sex. The work begins with a broad and clear sketch of Imperial Rome, and her decadence in the earlier Christian centuries, in contrast with which is placed the idea of the eternal spiritual Rome which St. Augustine formed so boldly about the same time. It then puts before us the barbarian world in juxtaposition with the Roman world, and shows us Charlemagne and the union of crown and tiara. It records in a series of lively chapters the long struggle between the spiritual and temporal powers, between popes and emperors, from Gregory VII. to Innocent III.—a struggle which forms the very kernel of the history of Italy in the Middle Ages. We consider the concluding chapters to be perhaps the most interesting and most original. They describe that first rise of the arts in the southern provinces and in Tuscany which was the dawn of the Renaissance, and place in a novel light the connection formed by Byzantine painting between Italian art and antique art. The work ends with an excellent characterisation of Dante as the typical representative of the Middle Ages, and the connecting link between the ancient world and the modern. Dramatic narratives, brilliant descriptions, portraits drawn in bold relief with the finest touch, all these essentially Greek characteristics are found in the book; but they are subsidiary to a highly philosophic spirit, to a lofty enthusiasm for

¹ "Sketches of the Historical Past of Italy, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the Earliest Revival of Letters and Art." By Margaret Albana Mignaty. London: A. Bentley & Son.

truth and beauty, and to a noble human sympathy which is broader than party or race. Just as Burckhardt's great book makes us understand the Renaissance, so this book makes us understand the Italy of the Middle Ages, and is worthy to take its place among the epoch-making works which fix for the world the most certain teachings and the loftiest truths of history.

We warmly congratulate the reading world and Messrs. Church and Brodribb on the fact that the translation of Tacitus by these gentlemen² has met with something like the success it deserved. The "History" has reached its third edition, while the "Annals" and the "Minor Works" (the latter now just published in uniform shape with the other works) are in the second. Opportunity has been taken to revise the translation, and to add to the excellent and only too brief notes. It is unnecessary now to commend these close yet highly readable versions; but we can honestly say that increased familiarity has made us think more and more highly of them; and we sincerely hope that the translators' reward in fame, if not in other forms of gain, has been sufficient to make the translators reconsider a passage in one of their prefaces, as to their labour being such as can bring neither profit nor fame.

Mr. Crutwell, of Oxford, has published a volume on Roman literature,³ into which he has compressed a very large amount of information. Indeed, as he discusses the whole series of Latin authors, from the Arval Brothers to Apuleius, in some 450 pages, and mentions that his book is designed for students and candidates for examination, he runs some risk of incurring the unpleasant though somewhat vague charge of endeavouring to "cram;" not from us, indeed, for we are not too sure what that vicious system is, or whether there is any illegitimate mode of conveying instruction prescribed and tested by respectable authority. If, however, his book is somewhat too full, Mr. Crutwell has put into it a great amount of erudite and interesting information, and has judiciously reduced what Teuffel and other great critics, foreign and native, have had to say on Latin literature. With the exception that it is condensed, and, therefore, a little difficult to read, it will be found an interesting and very useful book.

Archbishop Trench sends us a volume on "Medieval Church History,"⁴ containing, as he tells us, the substance of certain lectures which he gave some years ago at Queen's College, London, revised and corrected by later knowledge. He runs through the period from the conversion of England to the Reformation with a light but firm step, leaving nothing that is noteworthy unnoticed, and not loitering over

² "The History of Tacitus: The Annals of Tacitus: The Minor Works of Tacitus." Translated into English, with Notes and Maps, by Alfred John Church, M.A., and William Jackson Brodribb, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co.

³ "A History of Roman Literature, from the Earliest Period to the Death of Marcus Aurelius." By C. T. Crutwell, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford. London: Griffin & Co.

⁴ "Lectures on Medieval Church History." By Richard Chenevix Trench, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin, London: Macmillan & Co.

what might be passed by. It is unnecessary to speak of the style of the work, being whose it is, or to say that it is extremely interesting. Though the Archbishop has recast his lectures, he has avoided dissociating them from "the place where they were first given;" and as they were addressed to a class of young ladies, who (as he with amusing modesty and humour remarks), "however little one might know oneself upon a subject, were tolerably sure to know less," they will be found to possess the merit of a correct sketch rather than that of a profound study. The general reader will find the book instructive as well as very agreeable.

A translation has appeared of the Cavaliere Testa's "History of the War of Frederick I. against the Communes of Lombardy,"⁵ a work which was first published in 1853, and dedicated to Mr. Gladstone, who had then recently stirred Europe with his description of the horrors of the Bourbon rule in Naples. There are few more interesting characters in history than the fierce Emperor, and few more interesting periods than his reign, 1152-90, the greater part of which is included in the present work. He was crowned by that Nicholas Breakspere (Adrian IV.), who alone of Englishmen has sat in the chair of St. Peter. For a quarter of a century he spent the forces of the Empire in an attempt, which was finally unsuccessful, to overmaster the municipalities of North Italy and the still undeveloped power of the Papacy. And the remainder of his life, in Germany or in the East, was equally active, and well entitled him to the long rest into which he fell so mysteriously, the sleep which the poets say he is still sleeping in the subterranean hall of Kyffhäuser. Frederick's repeated campaigns in Italy are also fruitful in political lessons; for they show what a small power may do against a great power, they exhibit the most favourable examples of the independent city, and they comprise almost every possible relation of Church and State. Who remembers now that the city of Alessandria was founded by the Lombard League of patriotic Italian municipalities, and named in honour of a Pope who joined them in opposition to the foreign Emperor? The translation of Cavaliere Testa's work is clear, but it seems to affect a simplicity which becomes somewhat tiresome after a while.

Dr. Franz Heyer⁶ publishes a paper in the series of Virchow and Von Holtzendorff to show that the Inquisition and all penal treatment of heresy was the work of the Church and not of the State. We should have thought that this was a somewhat unnecessary labour; and if the contrary statement was made in the Prussian Parliament without calling forth a reply, we should have attributed this fact to contemptuous indifference rather than to an ignorant admission of the assertion, as Dr. Heyer does. The author traces the relations of the spiritual authority and the laity from the mild days of the early Church down to the latter part of the fourth century, when capital punishment was adopted

⁵ "History of the War of Frederick I. against the Communes of Lombardy." By Giovanni Battista Testa of Trino, Knight of the Orders of SS. Maurice and Lazarus, and of the Crown of Italy. A Translation. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

⁶ "Die Ausbildung der Priesterherrschaft und die Inquisition." Von Dr. Franz Heyer. Berlin: Carl Habel.

as a cure for heresy—a heroic remedy, certainly, but one that is un-
failing if only applied with due firmness. Leo the Great seems to
deserve the credit of having first discovered from the Pentateuch that
death by fire was the most suitable argument to apply to dissenters.
Charlemagne gave his bishops full authority to investigate and to punish
spiritual crimes. The case of the Albigenses, whose rulers shared the
heresy and the punishment of their people, is more than sufficient to
prove Dr. Heyer's thesis. Innocent III. brought the Inquisition to a
perfect system, which subjected clergy and laity alike to secret accusa-
tions. Later all power in the matter was transferred from the bishops
to the gloomy Dominicans, by which step, as the author remarks, the
last remnant of humanity was withdrawn from the spiritual courts.
The Inquisition flourished early in Spain, favoured of Popes, until Car-
dinal Mendoza made the institution a regular branch of the state service,
severing its connection with the Dominicans, and making it almost in-
dependent of the Popes. Dr. Heyer's task is not difficult, and he has
performed it fairly. We could indeed wish that liberal Germans would
leave the Catholics alone for a while. The latter have had much
bitterness to endure of late, and no support seems necessary for the
Protestant or anti-Roman majority.

Leopold von Ranke publishes a new and enlarged edition of his
"Fürsten und Völker von Süd-Europa," under the new title of "Die
Osmanen und die Spanische Monarchie in dem 16ten und 17ten Jahr-
hundert."⁷ The sketch of the Osmanli power is brief, not extending to
90 pages. It contains, however, all the matter which can be well gained
from sources so poor and is very clear. The history of Spain from the
Emperor Charles V. to Charles II. of Spain affords the author a better
opportunity of using his admirable talent for sifting and weighing
original authorities; and Dr. von Ranke has used this opportunity
well. The reigns of Charles V., Philip II., and Philip III. have re-
ceived, as is fitting, fuller treatment than those of their two successors,
and all is put in an interesting light. We are not altogether satisfied
with the arrangement of the Spanish part of the book, but a little in-
convenience in this respect may be pardoned when we remember that
the veteran author has nearly doubled the matter of the original work.
We hope he may be long spared to improve his old work, and to give
good new work to the world.

Another important historical contribution from Germany is the third
volume of Von Bernhardt's "History of Russia from 1814 to 1831,"⁸
published in S. Hirzel's well-known series, "Staatengeschichte der
Neuesten Zeit." This instalment of the work contains the period from
Alexander's return from Paris in 1815 to the birth of his nephew, the
present Emperor of Russia, in 1818, just before the Congress of Aix-la-
Chapelle. It is indeed a most ample and a most authoritative work.
The political developments and efforts of Alexander I. form by no

⁷ "Die Osmanen und die Spanische Monarchie im 16ten und 17ten Jahrhun-
dert." Von Leopold von Ranke. 4te Auflage. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

⁸ "Geschichte Russlands und der europäischen Politik in den Jahren 1814
bis 1831." Von Theodor von Bernhardt. Dritter Theil. Leipzig: S. Hirzel.

means the lest attractive portion of this country's history, and they are admirably traced here. Purely Russian matters, however, occupy only a part of this bulky history of these years. As the full title of the book promises, the European politics of the period are fully treated. France was then the centre of Europe, not because of her superiority in power, but because she was the chief object of the political activity of the great powers; and we find that her affairs are discussed with a fulness that must almost overlap the province of Herr von Bernhardt's colleague Von Rochau, the historian of France for the same period. But no jealousy is likely to arise between two men so eminent, who doubtless perfectly understand how impossible it is to take the history of one race or country as something separate from that of other races and countries. We need only say that this work is quite worthy of the series in which it holds a place.

The retired Oberappellationsgerichtsath, Dr. C. W. Pauli, is devoting his leisure to the systematic investigation of the records of the ancient free city of Lubeck,⁹ with a special view to the study of the German law in the Middle Ages. The present is the third volume of results which he has published. It contains extracts from the ancient city statutes relating to sale and loan, with a valuable commentary, and copious extracts from the old books of public announcements. The book is not written for the general reader, but it will be found interesting by the student of Low German or bad Latin, and of high importance by the student of commercial jurisprudence. The absence of a table of contents is a regrettable omission in a book of this kind.

Mr. Fornander, a judge in the Hawaiian Islands, has published¹⁰ (in the "English and Foreign Philosophical Library") the first volume of a work on the origin of the Polynesian race. The author considers that their original home was in the far west (of Hawaii); that they came from beyond Java, from beyond India, and are to be traced to the regions north of the Persian Gulf. He bases his arguments on language, particularly on local names scattered through this line of migration; on the general belief among the Polynesians of a western origin; on the presence in the Malay Archipelago of races which he considers to be pre-Malay, though others have regarded them as immigrants from Polynesia; and especially on the general tendency of Polynesian legends and myths. Our space forbids us to discuss this work with the fulness which it deserves, but we may say that Mr. Fornander has brought to his subject a vast amount of knowledge, and that this vast knowledge has been well digested and admirably arranged in his work, which, moreover, possesses the merit of a very agreeable style. The pretty dedication, "To my daughter Catherine Kaonohiulaokalani Fornander, as a reminder of her mother's ancestors and as a token of her father's love," shows that the author enjoyed advantages for a thorough

⁹ "Lubeckische Zustände im Mittelalter. Recht und Kultur." Von Dr. C. W. Pauli, Oberappellationsgerichtsath, a. D. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

¹⁰ "An Account of the Polynesian Race, its Origins and Migrations." By Abraham Fornander, Circuit Judge of the Island of Maui, H.I. Vol. I. London: Trubner & Co.

study of the Polynesian race beyond that of a long residence in its midst, and would seem to hint that this learned work, like many others, has been a labour of love.

The history of the British dominion in India is so much less known than it deserves to be, that we may well believe that many persons have been surprised to hear that there ever existed such a force as the Indian Navy, or that Lieutenant Low¹¹ would require two stout octavo volumes to relate its career. In reality, the part played by the naval force of the East India Company—which was in time designated the Bombay Marine, and finally the Indian Navy—in extending the power of the great Corporation in the East was highly important, and the history of its services goes farther back than that of its sister force, the Indian Army. The author tells us that when it was first formed, “the Company had not a single European soldier or sepoy in their pay.” The majority of English readers, as he says with much truth, regard Clive as if he was the first to cause the name and flag of England to be respected in the East. A perusal of these volumes will do much to restore credit to the bold sailors who long preceded that distinguished man. The services of the Indian Navy in repressing piracy, putting down the slave trade, and surveying dangerous but frequented coasts have been very considerable, and Lieutenant Low has done well to rescue them from oblivion. The India Office rendered this nearly impossible, as it took care to destroy all its official records! An astounding fact, only too well authenticated. The service itself was unthinkingly abolished in 1863. Steps are, we believe, being now taken to re-establish it. Lieutenant Low’s volumes are to a great extent a collection of materials for a more succinct history, but they are filled with interesting details, and with accounts of many gallant deeds, which but for him would have gone without a historian.

We receive the “True Story of the Vatican Council”¹² from Cardinal Manning, a man whose admirable common sense and skill in dealing with his countrymen has occasionally made us regret that he is an ecclesiastic, and especially an officer of a Church which so often hampers its best men. The present work is, however, not one that will increase his reputation. An infallibilist Cardinal’s account of the Vatican Council will hardly be read by any but infallibilists; and for these it is about as valuable as his counsel’s brief is to an acquitted prisoner. The book is indeed a mere brief for the infallibilists. If the discussion of the question was closed somewhat abruptly, we are told that the seven hundred fathers of the Council would have taken a very long time had they all spoken upon it; and besides, the heat of the weather was telling on their health, and the war between France and Prussia might break out at any moment. And if the Council did lose its self-control twice, did not the prelates

¹¹ “History of the Indian Navy (1613-1863).” By Charles Rathbone Low, Lieutenant, (late) Indian Navy, Author of “The Life of Field-Marshal Sir George Pollock,” &c. Two Vols. London: R. Bentley & Son. 1877.

¹² “The True Story of the Vatican Council.” By Henry Edward, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. London: Henry S. King & Co.

of the Council of Trent say to each other, "You be anathema?" And was not the English House of Commons noisy in the "Obstruction" discussions of this very year? The Cardinal will have no difficulty in finding other assemblies that have behaved worse than did the Vatican Council; but any such instances are entirely beside the question. The book contributes nothing to our knowledge, and is a poor result of the labours of so busy a man.

The next book before us is a contribution to the history of the day. It is "A Defence of Russia"¹³ by Sir Tollemache Sinclair, the gentleman who recently announced his intention to retire from Parliament in a singular manner. Had we even a small share of the downrightness and courage of Prince Bismarck, we might perhaps venture to say with that statesman that we have read Sir T. Sinclair with lively satisfaction; but to make such an assertion is as far beyond our powers as it would have been to subdue Austria and France. To us the "Defence of Russia" appears a mere collection of disconnected chapters on Russian virtues, Turkish and Jewish vices, the imbecility of Lord Beaconsfield and Baron Worms, and the ill-rewarded achievements of Sir T. Sinclair in the Franco-German War, in none of which do we find any sign of power higher than that of spelling and writing with a certain amount of grammatical correctness. The following is a specimen of Sir T. Sinclair's style and good taste:—

"Observing that only about half-a-dozen members of both Houses of Parliament had gone, either from curiosity or philanthropy, to the seat of (the Franco-German) war, I went up to London and saw the committee, who, morally, threw buckets of cold water on my zeal in what I considered a sacred cause. Colonel Lindsay, though I am his superior both in rank and age, treated me with the utmost hauteur, and strongly advised me to return home at once, as he did not want my services, and, in fact, would much rather be without them. I in vain informed him that I spoke French almost as readily and with as good an accent as English, that I could make myself understood in German, that I had robust health and strength, that I was perserving, active, not altogether devoid of intelligence, and anxious to be of use; and that as I was a baronet, the owner of the most extensive property in my own county, and its parliamentary representative, my zealous and disinterested services would be more welcome both to the French and Germans than those of probably any of their paid agents. All was to no purpose, but finding that I was not to be put off by any amount of discouragement, he gave me a document, which I found of very little use, and I started."

Sir T. Sinclair remarks that "those who seek amusement will find some satire and fun" in one of his chapters. We looked, and undoubtedly were amused, although we found no satire, and are rather doubtful about the fun, in the following remarks on Baron Worms' book:—

"When a book so ridiculously puffed as that which I am criticising appeared in Russia, the Czar must have trembled, and been inclined to sue

¹³ "A Defence of Russia and the Christians of Turkey, &c." By Sir Tollemache Sinclair, M.P. "What will this babler say?" Two Vols. London: Chapman & Hall.

for terms, fearing that if he performed so base and immoral an act as freeing the Christians in Turkey, for which no vermifuge would avail, like Herod, he might be eaten with Worms till he died, and that after death he would be sent to that place where their Worms die not, and their fire is not quenched."

Mr. J. Talboys Wheeler has published, through the firm of Messrs. Longmans & Co., a large book¹⁴ recording the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India on New Year's Day 1877. Those who regarded that innovation with dislike will have the opportunity of saying that the publication is worthy of that showy event. It is well printed, on inconveniently thick paper, and it contains a few poor photographs and coloured illustrations. The text is of the poorest description, and rarely soars above the level of the "Court Circular" in our newspapers. About half the book is filled with lists of names of those present, and it was probably hoped that those who are thus immortalised will purchase the work.

In 1871 a Norwegian, Captain Carlsen, discovered in a hut in the north of Nova Zembla sundry relics of Barents, the famous Dutch navigator, who perished there at the end of the sixteenth century. Captain Carlsen's voyage was also remarkable, as settling the fact that the northern extremity of Nova Zembla extends far more to the north and less to the east than was previously supposed. Five years later an English yachtsman, Mr. Charles L. W. Gardner, made a closer investigation of Barents' hut, and brought to light a large number of relics, among which were books, maps, many articles of common use, and, chief of all, a fragment of paper with writing on it. This has been with great difficulty unfolded and deciphered, and proves to be part of a journal, bearing the only known signature of Barents. Mr. Gardner, with great generosity and good taste, presented these articles to the Dutch Government, and they have been deposited in a "Barents Museum" at the Hague. The present volume¹⁵ is a translation of the Dutch official report on these relics. The translation is very good, and, with its map, illustrations, and facsimile of the manuscript, will be found of very great interest.

Dr. Keep's translation of Autenrieth's "Homeric Dictionary"¹⁶ will be found a most desirable companion by the student. It is a far better book than Arnold's edition of Crusius, of which it will probably take the place. It is well printed, and furnished with some useful woodcuts and plans.

Dr. Buchheim has now for some years been known as one of the most eminent of the Germans domiciled among us; and no one has

¹⁴ "The History of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi, held on the 1st January 1877, to Celebrate the Assumption of the Title of Empress of India by Her Majesty the Queen." By J. Talboys Wheeler. London: Longmans & Co.

¹⁵ "The Barents Relics: A Report to the Dutch Minister of Marine." By J. K. J. de Jonge. Translated by S. R. Van Campen. London: Trubner & Co.

¹⁶ "An Homeric Dictionary." From the German of Dr. Georg Autenrieth. Translated, with Additions and Corrections, by Robert P. Keep, Ph.D. London: Macmillan & Co.

done more than he has, by his books and otherwise, to advance the thorough study of his native language in England. The present book, "Materials for German Prose Composition,"¹⁷ is not a collection of the most hackneyed extracts from authors of the last century, as such books too often are, but a tasteful gathering from the newest and freshest sources, including Huxley, Captain Hozier, Dr. Russell, and even our periodical literature. The notes are short, but very careful, and the book is furnished with a most useful index of grammatical constructions.

A book which, though we cannot prophesy for it a large sale, will nevertheless be read with great interest by many intellectual persons, is Mr. Page's sketch of Henry David Thoreau.¹⁸ Born in Massachusetts in 1817, the son of a French immigrant mechanic, he received a good education, graduating at Harvard in 1837. He then kept a school for a while, and later devoted himself to his father's trade of lead-pencil maker. It soon appeared, however, that his heart and mind were really exercised in the long country rambles which he took, and he became a student of nature. He then began to earn his living as a land-surveyor, and before long was famed in all the country round for his minute knowledge of the land, and of all its forms of animal and vegetable life. He presently published a narrative of a country excursion made in company with a brother in a boat of their own building. In this little work he showed a wonderful gift of observation and a striking power of describing nature; and he used his classical attainments to good purpose, introducing several excellent criticisms. A later work, "A Walk to Wachusett," displayed still greater talent in the same directions. We cannot resist a quotation from it, which reminds us of Heine at his best in the "Harzreise:"—

"As we stood on the stone tower while the sun was setting, we saw the shades of night creep gradually over the valleys of the east, and the inhabitants went into their houses and shut their doors, while the moon silently rose up, and took possession of that part. And then the same scene was repeated on the west side, as far as Connecticut and the Green Mountains, and the sun's rays fell on us two alone of all New England men. . . . It was thrilling to hear the wind roar over the rocks at intervals when we waked—for it had grown quite cold and windy. The night was, in its elements, simple even to majesty in that bleak place—a bright moonlight and a piercing wind. It was at no time darker than twilight within the tent, and we could easily see the moon through its transparent roof as we lay; for there was the moon still above us, with Jupiter and Saturn on either hand, looking down on Wachusett; and it was a satisfaction to know that they were our fellow-travellers still, as high and out of our reach as our own destiny. Truly the stars were given as a consolation to man. We should not know but our life were fated to be always

¹⁷ "Materials for German Prose Composition." By C. A. Buchheim, Ph.D., F.C.P., Professor of the German Language and Literature in King's College, London, and Examiner in German to the University of London. Fifth Edition, Improved. London: George Bell & Sons.

¹⁸ "Thoreau: His Life and Aims." A Study by H. A. Page. London: Chatto & Windus.

grovelling, but it is permitted to behold them, and surely they are deserving of a fair destiny. We see laws which never fail, of whose failure we never conceived; and their lamps burn all day too, as well as night—so rich and lavish is that nature which can afford this superfluity of light.”

In 1845 Thoreau built himself a cabin in “Walden Wood,” and went to reside alone in it, earning what was necessary by surveying, and devoting the rest of his time to the study and contemplation of nature. Here Emerson often visited him; and he records for us how wonderfully he had tamed all the birds and animals around him. His plant knowledge was not less remarkable. “He drew out of his breast-pocket a diary, and read the names of all the plants that should bloom that day, whereof he kept account as a banker does when his notes fall due: ‘The *Cypripedium* not due till to-morrow.’” He thought that, if waked up from a trance in the swamp, he could tell by the plants what time of the year it was within two days.” After two or three years of this life, varied by journeys of which he usually published an account, Thoreau returned to his lead-pencil business. He made and described several other tours. In 1860 he took a cold, which caused his death in May 1861. In his later years he became distinguished as an opponent of slavery; and he was one of the few who saw at once the full meaning and outcome of the judicial murder of his friend John Brown in 1860. In a speech made while Brown was in prison he said:—

“I plead not for his life, but his character—his immortal life. . . . I see now that it was necessary that the bravest and humanest man in the country should be hung. Perhaps he saw it himself. I almost fear that I may yet hear of his deliverance, doubting if a prolonged life—if any life—can do so much good as his death.”

And after the execution he wrote:—

“On the day of his translation I heard, to be sure, that he was *hung*; but I did not know what that meant. I felt no sorrow on that account; but not for a day or two did I even *hear* that he was *dead*, and not after any number of days shall I believe it. Of all the men who were said to be my contemporaries, it seemed to me that John Brown was the only one *who had not died*.”

We have said enough to show that the little-known Thoreau was a prose poet of nature and a philanthropist of the first order, little as he received the latter name during his life. Mr. Page’s sketch, which contains a generous quantity of extract from Thoreau’s own writings, is worthy of the subject. We thank him for introducing Thoreau to the English, and warmly commend his book.

BELLES LETTRES.

IT is a real pleasure to be able to praise a novel without reservation, especially a Bohemian novel, and still more especially a Bohemian novel written by a lady. We have, perhaps, only one really clever Bohemian novel, Whitty's "Friends in Bohemia," which, however, has long since been forgotten except by the few who care for trenchant style and sparkling epigram. Whitty's tale concerned itself most with the literary aspects of Bohemia, with its newspapers and reviews, whilst "By Love and Law"¹ deals with its artistic side. "By Love and Law," too, shows far more real art and far more skill in character-drawing and in knowledge of human character, especially in certain phases, than the earlier work. Its first scene most appropriately opens in Great Turner Street, "the adjective 'Great' qualifying the common noun 'Street,' or, as a delicate tribute to departed genius, the proper noun 'Turner.'" Here, to a certain school of High Art, come Mrs. Maltby and her daughter Lois, panting to be an artist. "How long does it take to make an artist?" asks Mrs. Maltby, as she might ask how long it took to bake a quartern loaf. "Some souls," is the answer, "may attain Art at the end of a few centuries, others perhaps never. We cannot tell; we are not certain if the angels know." Here Lois of course comes to study, and the sketches of the place, of the "bears" and the "doves," are excessively clever and lifelike. But the most interesting part of the story commences when Lois marries Frank Halstead. The author paints married life with such delicacy and firmness of touch, that we may augur well for her future success as a novelist. Most writers of fiction make a great mistake in fancying that they are novelists because they are able to draw a few sketches of society. The sketches, for instance, in this very story of the Maltby family and their surroundings, especially of the Maltby girls, are excessive piquant, bright, and clever, but on the mere strength of such sketches we should not like to make any prediction about the writer's future. It is, we repeat, in her analysis and delineation of married life, its temptations, its struggles, its joys and sorrows, that the authoress of "By Love and Law" shows her real power. Amongst the best-drawn of the characters we most especially notice the unfortunate Frank Halstead. His noble aspirations when we first meet him, mixed even then as they are with a certain weakness and waywardness of character, render him attractive and win our regard. His downward career, his peevishness, which bursts out into moroseness, and what in real life we should charitably set down to insanity, all form, we fear, too true a picture. The susceptible artistic nature, when soured by misfortune and thwarted from causes within as well as from without, soon breaks down in the battle of life.

¹ "By Love and Law: The Story of an Honourable Woman." By Lizzie Aldridge. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1877.

David Lochrain, Agnes Dymond, and Nattie are all pleasant, living, breathing people, whom we can recommend to the reader.

The eighth and ninth parts of "A Modern Minister"² are certainly better than many of those which have gone before; but if we were to say that they were a great deal better, our praise would not then be very high. There are the same defects of style, the same loudness and showiness of tone, the same raw haste, the same wordiness, the same ruggedness and want of finish. The best chapter in the two parts before us is decidedly "A Dream in Marble." And yet it does not show a quarter as much real taste and genuine love for art as a single sentence of Miss Aldridge's story, although it is bolstered up by the most prodigious learning, including references to Pausanias and Ælian, and a translation from Sappho. Learning, supposing that it is even genuine, cannot take the place of originality. One touch of genius is worth all the references which the British Museum and Bodleian libraries could supply. All the writer's fine Ouidäish talk about "Parian marble, warm and creamy," and "grey white majesty of block from Mount Pentelicus," and "purest stone from the vineyard-crested quarry between Massa and Carrara," will not atone for want of insight and want of feeling. The grandiloquent epithets and phrases simply nauseate us. Of course, we are quite aware that this is not the criticism to which the writer is accustomed. It therefore behoves us most strongly to say, in unmistakable terms, that there are people who do not relish the treakly style of writing, especially when the subject is art. To turn to the story itself, let us say at once that the writer's chief defect is want of character-drawing. Of course the writer may turn round upon us and reply, that his is not a novel of character, but of plot interest. If so, why then publish it in parts? A novel of plot interest, of all novels, can least afford to be published piecemeal. As it is, most of the chapters read like little detached bits of a nightmare. The people—we will not say the characters—appear to us thoroughly unreal and unlikelike. We try in vain to realise them as existing in our state of society. We will not deny that they may exist; but when, at the end of each chapter, we find ourselves puzzled about their behaviour, it is very certain that the author has not been very successful in their portraiture. As to the old tricks of style, they may be found in every page—a flux of adjectives, and the use of three lines where one would be enough. The descriptive passages are as long-winded as ever. One of the best or worst examples may be seen at the beginning of Chapter xvii.: "She was an elderly woman, but a sturdy walker, and kept on with indomitable energy past milestones." Then of course we have the repetition of past,—“past finger-posts,” “past solitary churches,” “past farms,” &c., all of which simply means that the writer wishes to fill a page with the least possible expenditure of thought. The ruggedness and want of finish are also equally conspicuous. For instance, at page 118, Sir Dickson Cheffinger calls on

² "The Cheveley Novels: A Modern Minister." Parts VIII., IX. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1877-78.

Sir Dalton Kinnaird, and says to the servant, "I am Sir Dickson Cheffinger—I have not my card." Precisely twenty-four lines farther on, after a wrangle with the servant, he says, "Please take my card in to Sir Dalton." Once more, "Around it (a pond) grew weeping trees, all the trees that ever wept, it seemed" (p. 154). And then follows a list of weeping trees, amongst which figures the holly. The holly can hardly be called a weeping tree, although, perhaps, it may occasionally make people weep.

For many reasons the average German novel can seldom satisfy the taste of an educated Englishman. There are no better critics of novels than the Germans, and there are no worse novelists. Cultivated Germans admit that the great bulk of their novels are simply trash, and that to read them is something more than a waste of time. We certainly cannot strongly recommend "Riven Bonds"³ to English readers. Let us take the opening of the first chapter. It describes the triumph of a young actress on the stage. But the whole scene is told without the slightest dramatic power. The actress herself is described by such a roundabout phrase as "the object of the ovation." And this wordiness, the curse of the German novel, is found more or less throughout the whole tale, leaving a sense of weariness upon the reader, especially in those scenes which should be the brightest.

"Love and Art"⁴ is not a novel, but a collection of stories, some of which are fairly told. They bear, however, rather too much the marks of the amateur writer. Of course there is the inevitable Christmas story, which is one of the best in the book. We hardly think that the Dean of Chichester will thank Mrs. or Miss Hanson for her description of him as "John Burgon, a wild worshipper of Byron" (p. ix.), and of reminding him that she bought a cane of Byron's from a person whose name is given, and sent it to him as a present. In other respects the book does not offend good taste.

As we took occasion to say in our last number, everything which the author of the "Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family"⁵ writes is worth reading. She is always painstaking, and we have no doubt that her pictures of Ancient Carthage are fairly correct. In the first chapter there is a debate whether it is right to see the cruel sports in the circus, a chapter which we would recommend to fashionable ladies who go to Hurlingham to see pigeons butchered.

We cannot say that we care very much for the scenes in "Castle Blair."⁶ The children, it is true, are childlike enough, especially in their naughtiness, and there are here and there some pretty bits of description, and the humour is sometimes quaint in an Irish fashion,

³ "Riven Bonds." Translated by Bertha Nass from the Original of E. Werner. London: Remington & Co. 1878.

⁴ "Love and Art: A Leaf from the Past; and other Stories." By Sophia Hanson. London: Remington & Co. 1878.

⁵ "Lapsed, but not Lost: A Story of Roman Carthage." By the Author of "Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family." London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1877.

⁶ "Castle Blair: A Story of Youthful Days." By Flora L. Shaw. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

We can, however, recommend it to those who take more interest than we do in the doings and sayings of very young people, and who are not very particular about art and artistic considerations. It should always be borne in mind by novelists that there is nothing so difficult to draw as children, although nothing would seem to be easier.

Every one will welcome the new and extraordinarily cheap edition of "Vanity Fair."⁷ It would not be just to review modern novels after having read a page of it, and so we close our list.

In the interesting preface to the third volume of his collected works⁸ Sir Henry Taylor remarks :—" Fictions are written in these days often with great power and ability, but to me they seem powerful only to give pain." In the latter part of this sentence there is an immense deal of truth conveyed in a few words. It helps to explain the reason why Sir Henry Taylor himself has sought refuge in the drama. We can only regret his choice ; for we decidedly think that, with his humour and wit, his deep knowledge of human nature, his wide experience of the world, and, above all, his poetical feeling, that he would have lifted the novel into a higher sphere. He has not chosen to do so. He has, like many another mind of the highest order, found a solace in writing plays, to which the public at large persistently turn a deaf ear. If we would wish to see how great a novelist Sir Henry Taylor would have been, we have only to look at these two plays. They abound in wit from the first page, where the boatswain exclaims "that there are only seven cardinal sins in sea-divinity, and the worst of them was to keep a fair wind waiting" to the fool's song in "St. Clement's Eve," worthy of one of Shakespeare's wise fools—

" Oftimes offences that are twins
Shall suffer less than single sins ;
Stern forfeits tread upon his kibe,
Who hath not robbed enough to bribe ;
To distance justice in the course,
Who steals a purse should steal a horse.

To kiss a nun nor fear the worst,
Thou should'st have kissed the abbess first."

Full, too, are these two plays of the most delightful lyrics, such as "Love slept upon the lone hillside," in the "Virgin Widow." But the most beautiful, in our opinion, of all Sir Henry Taylor's lyrics is to be found in the same play. We shall quote it in full :—

" The Morning broke, and Spring was there,
And lusty Summer near her birth ;
The birds awoke and waked the air,
And flowers awoke and waked the earth.

⁷ "The Works of W. M. Thackeray." In Twenty-four Vols. "Vanity Fair." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1878.

⁸ "The Virgin Widow; or, A Peculiar Summer: St. Clement's Eve: The Eve of the Conquest: and other Poems." By Sir Henry Taylor. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

“ ‘Up!’ quoth he, ‘what joy for me
On dewy plain, in budding brake!
A sweet bird sings on every tree,
And flowers are sweeter for my sake.’

“ Lightly o’er the plain he stept,
Lightly brushed he through the wood,
And snared a little bird that slept,
And had not wakened when she would.

“ Lightly through the wood he brushed,
Lightly stepped he o’er the plain,
And yet—a little flower was crushed
That never raised its head again.”

No collection of English lyrics ought to be without this marvellous little ballad. And yet we do not remember to have seen a single one which contains it. The sweet yet simple rhythm, the exquisite pathos, must strike every reader. And now, what is to be our verdict upon Sir Henry Taylor’s plays? Simply this, that they have fallen upon evil days. The public will not read them, because the public delights in Ouida, Miss Braddon, and Mrs. Edwards, and the rest of the female novelists who pander to its tastes. The higher order of minds seldom turns to poetry. They are just at this moment too deeply engaged in the vast problems and speculations which science is opening out on every side. Yet to the few who in every age do prize poetry, and hold it dear for its own sake, Sir Henry Taylor’s plays and poems will always be regarded as amongst the most valuable and most thoughtful of the poetical works of the nineteenth century.

We are very glad to see Mr. Shepherd’s very prettily-got-up edition of Charles and Mary Lamb’s “*Poetry for Children.*”⁹ Mr. Shepherd has also prefixed a most interesting preface, in which he deals with children’s books, and writers and publishers of children’s books, and is most learned upon rare editions of such productions. It is hardly fair to criticise poetry which is avowedly meant for children. We will merely say that we recognise many of the pieces as old favourites of the nursery, and we feel quite sure that they will be doubly welcomed in their new dress. We may perhaps add, that “bird,” at page 22, is used, as it still is in parts of Wiltshire, for pet, favourite, or darling, and that it is not quite correct to say that the magpie is the only dome-builder (p. 217).

Mr. MacClymont¹⁰ may, perhaps, do something, but at present he is too much of an echo. Take, for instance, these lines—

“ Two chains to woman’s heart are riven,
(I pray you, lover, mark this well,)
One binds her to the highest heaven,
The other knits to deepest hell.”—P. 26.

⁹ “*Poetry for Children.*” By Charles and Mary Lamb. To which are added “*Prince Doms,*” and some Uncollected Poems, by Charles Lamb. Edited, Prefaced, and Annotated by R. H. Shepherd. London: Chatto & Windus. 1878.

¹⁰ “*Songs and Popular Chants, with other Verses.*” By James Roxburgh MacClymont. London: Arthur H. Moxon. 1878.

Whether Mr. MacClymont knows it or not, this is only a very weak version of Tenyson's

"Men differ as heaven and earth,
But women as heaven and hell."—"Merlin and Vivian."

Again, take these lines from a "Hymn to the Spring"—

"Sweet time of the singing of seasons,
Sweet time of the pairing of birds,
When Love, with her manifold treasons,
Is glad at the lowing of herds."—P. 69.

What is all this but the alliterative lusciousness of Swinburne without any of his inspiration? As a matter of fact, we should be doubtful, especially if we may trust to our novelists, whether lovers are glad at the lowing and bellowing of cows and bulls. Mr. MacClymont is sometimes, however, original—

"Nay, wonder not,
Sin dwells with beauty there ;
You know it is sin's happy lot,—
Sin's always fair."—P. 25.

We are not going to enter into any discussion with Mr. MacClymont on the question of the beauty of sin, but we should certainly like to see some further development of so interesting an ethical problem.

As it appears that we did not notice "Gerard's Monument"¹¹ on its first appearance, we are very glad to take the present opportunity of so doing. Our criticism on it must, however, be of the same general character as we passed upon Mrs. Pfeiffer's "Poems." Her reflective passages seem to us stronger and better than her narrative, and her narrative than her dramatic. Her sonnets are, taken all in all, her finest productions. She has attained a mastery which is very rare of a most difficult form of composition. After her sonnets we are inclined to rank her lyrics. Some of them are very sweet and delicate. We notice that, in accordance with modern taste, Mrs. Pfeiffer has tried her hand at a rondeau and triolet, and very dainty specimens both are. Whether these forms will ever, so to speak, become thoroughly acclimatised with us, is perhaps doubtful. Yet Mrs. Pfeiffer, Mr. Austin Dobson, and Mr. Gosse, have now shown us how plastic the English language really is, and how easily it lends itself to new shapes.

Great care is required, in writing a religious drama, lest it should by any chance fail in that dignity which is so essential. Humour may or may not be, as it has been stated, a thing of modern growth. Most certainly in the Middle Ages the sense of humour cannot have been so keen as it is now, or else the religious mysteries must have excited ridicule rather than reverence. We regret to say that, either from a want of a perception of the incongruous, or from some other

¹¹ "Gerard's Monument, and other Poems." By Emily Pfeiffer. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

cause, that Mrs. Campbell's "Pontius Pilate"¹² reads in parts more like a travesty of the Scriptures than anything else. We fully acquit Mrs. Campbell of any levity. She has, however, chosen for her theme a subject which is regarded by Christians as the most sacred in the whole Bible, and it behoved her therefore to handle it in a way which could give no possible offence. Mrs. Campbell is an educated lady, and we cannot extend to her the same excuse which we can to the illiterate, ranting Methodist who mixes up heavenly and earthly things in a comic way. How small Mrs. Campbell's sense of humour must be we may judge from the following stage direction:—"Pontius Pilate plunges into the lake amid thunders and lightnings, and an earthquake which shakes the mountain" (p. 114). How Pilate or anybody else can take a header into an earthquake we cannot divine. Now, we have no wish to be profane—the profanity is not ours—but it appears from Mrs. Campbell that Jesus Christ actually jumps out of an earthquake. At least this is the only meaning which we can possible extract from some lines at page 32. The whole passage in which these lines occur is written in the most execrable taste. Here, as we have said before, is a scene which, as reported by the Evangelists, is one of the most sublime which has ever taken place on this earth, a scene which is regarded by the Christian as the one great miracle upon which his eternal happiness depends, "for if in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable;" yet Mrs. Campbell can introduce into the mouth of a Roman soldier such lines as—

" At cockcrow
It was, my masters ; scarce we'd heard his first
Faint note that sounds ere night be past, and turned
Us east for sign of day, and one had said,
' No streak yet of the dawn ; the cock's before
His time ; ' another, ' Nay, I'll back the cock ;
The dawn is come.'—P. 28.

The only parallel to the Roman soldier and the Jewish cock is that of the Irishman who one morning, pulling out his watch, was heard to exclaim, "If the sun ain't over that hill in a minute and a half he will be late."

"Irenë Floss"¹³ is of the usual commonplace stamp of modern poetry. The authoress is good enough to tell us at page 61 that "Art consists in faithful reproduction." So it does; but it also consists in a great many more things, of which Mrs. Smith seems not to have the very remotest idea. Her blank verse is merely prose cut up into lengths. Niagara with her is "an almighty sight," which we regard rather as an Americanism than a poetical expression. A storm is thus described: "The thunder pealed, the violent powers seemed to wield a sway un-

¹² "Pontius Pilate." A Drama. By Jeanie Morison (Mrs. Campbell of Ballochyle). London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1878.

¹³ "Irenë Floss, and other Poems." By Harriette Smith (Cecil Laker). London: Frederick Warne & Co. 1878.

known before" (p. 51). We think we need not make any further extracts.

Mr. Leighton,¹⁴ who is an American, was singularly unfortunate with his "Sons of Godwin." As he pathetically informs us, just as his poem had been set up in type, the stereotype plates made, and everything got ready for a large edition, Tennyson's "Harold" appeared. It is only justice to add that Mr. Leighton endures his misfortune with great fortitude and philosophy, and does not bear our poet-laureate any ill feeling. We trust that he will be more fortunate with his present venture. We do not, however, feel very hopeful. We hardly think that lines like these will be popular—

"Old Nereus, from thy cave,
And thirsty salt sea wave,
Come up! come up! come up!
Old Merman, here's to thee!
Come tip the jug to me,
Come up! come up! come up!"—P. 109.

This is Mr. Leighton's idea of comic poetry. How a "salt sea wave" can be called "thirsty" we do not know. It sometimes, however, makes people thirsty.

If Mr. Anderson's "Songs of the Rail"¹⁵ were written after "The Angels and other Poems," which we noticed some time ago in these pages, then Mr. Anderson has gone back. If they were written before, then Mr. Anderson should not have published them. They take the most superficial view of what is really changing the order of the world. We have no doubt at all but that they will give delight to a great many readers of the ordinary stamp, to whom an engine is an engine and nothing more, but we had hoped that Mr. Anderson was going to have written for a very different audience. We are sorry to speak in what may seem severe terms, but it is much better that Mr. Anderson should have the truth told him in plain language, than that he should be flattered into a false security as to his powers. We shall still hope, however, to speak very differently of his next work.

The energies of the English Dialect Society, since its headquarters were removed from Cambridge to Manchester, have certainly not slackened. For 1877 it has given us no less than five publications. One of these, Mr. Peacock's glossary of the provincialisms still in use in the wapentakes of Manley and Corringham, in the north-west corner of Lincolnshire, we have already noticed in a former number of this Review. We have now received another original glossary,¹⁶ also of great value. And first of all, let us make a few preliminary observations. We have in this Review constantly urged that no one person

¹⁴ "At the Court of King Edwin." A Drama. By William Leighton, Junior. London and Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.

¹⁵ "Songs of the Rail." By Alexander Anderson. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1878.

¹⁶ "A Glossary of Words used in Holderness, in the East Riding of Yorkshire." By Frederick Ross, F.R.H.S., Richard Stead, of the University of London, and Thomas Holderness. (English Dialect Society.) London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

can ever possibly exhaust the provincialisms of a district. In the task of collecting archaic words, co-operation is above all things needed. Careful comparison and constant revision are required. From the very nature of the work mistakes must occasionally arise, and can only be avoided by this method. We are glad therefore to see that the Holderness Glossary has had the benefit of three collectors, each of whom has taken a district. The advantages of such a plan are so very obvious that we need not further dwell on them. We can only hope that other members of the English Dialect Society will follow the good example set by the Holderness glossarists. Another great improvement is the addition of a skeleton map of the district, a feature which was first adopted by the late Dr. Dimsdale in his "Teesdale Glossary," a work which has, in a certain quarter, been most unjustly run down. The publication of the Holderness Glossary is of the utmost value. It is the last link, so to speak, of Yorkshire glossaries on the south, Mr. Robinson's "Whitby Glossary" and Mr. Aitkenson's "Cleveland Glossary" forming the chain on the north. We now therefore have only the middle section between Bridlington and Scarborough for the glossarist to finish, and then the whole great Yorkshire coast-line is completed. What a gain this will be to the philologist we need not point out. We trust Yorkshire glossarists will be found ready to complete the work which is so nearly finished. We will now turn to the Holderness Glossary. The workmanship throughout is good and solid. We have no foolish verbiage, and no silly derivations. The explanations are brief and to the point. Thus, under "canny," a world of information is conveyed by such a note as "The Cleveland people refer to the village of Ayton as canny Yatton, dear little Ayton." Again, under "rezzil," a weasel, we find a curious mistake explained. Marshall, it appears, had in his glossary of East Riding words by a misprint given "rezzele, wheezele." Mr. Halliwell, however, led astray by the printer's blunder, goes still wider of the mark, and gives us in his dictionary of archaic and provincial terms "rezzil, to wheese." Amongst other words which are well explained we may briefly mention, "lad of wax," "callet," "dumps," and "parlous," all of which are connected with Shakespeare. We feel a little bit doubtful, however, about the explanation which is given under "cheer" and "what cheer" in connection with the passages from Shakespeare and Spenser. As far as we have observed, in every case the explanations are most careful. One question, however, arises—have the three glossarists swept the district quite clean? From our knowledge of the north coast of Yorkshire we can hardly think so. If they have, then the north coast must be very much richer in archaic words and phrases than the south coast. We think that there must be still many more words to glean. To take one especial subject, are there no provincial names for the sea-birds along the south Yorkshire coast, as there are along the north? We shall hope, therefore, that the glossarists of Holderness will follow the example of the Whitby and Cleveland glossarists, and give us a supplement. In the meantime we most warmly thank them for their present labours, and trust that they will not rest from their

exertions until the whole store of archaic words in their district is garnered.

Of the other volumes of the English Dialect Society we must speak more briefly. Prince Lucien Bonaparte's essay¹⁷ on the dialects of eleven southern and south-western counties is of the highest interest. We should not, however, have thought that the time had arrived for their final classification. The English Dialect Society has a great deal of heavy work to do before their "delimitation," to use an expressive word of Prince Lucien Bonaparte's, can be finally adjusted. Still this essay goes far to settle many obscure points. The two maps which accompany the text will be of the highest use to the philologist. The English Dialect Society are most certainly under deep obligations to the Prince for his liberality in allowing them to be published.

Everything which Mr. Elworthy¹⁸ writes is worthy of consideration. He is, however, in the present work, a specialist, and it requires a specialist to criticise him. Probably he is the only person in the world who could criticise his own paper. We must, therefore, be content to wear "the foolish face of praise," and simply to recommend his remarks on dialectical sounds to all glossarists.

The last of the English Dialect Society's publications for 1877 is Mr. Nodal's completion of the "Bibliographical List of English Glossaries,"¹⁹ of which two parts, edited by Mr. Skeat, have already appeared. The present part is exceedingly comprehensive, and deals not only with Scottish and Irish glossaries, but gives us a supplement to the English list of provincial works, and catalogues of slang, and cant, and Americanisms. Mr. Nodal has evidently worked very hard and very conscientiously at his task, and though it might be possible to point out one or two small omissions, yet we can safely say that no book of importance has been left out. If, however, Mr. Nodal will turn back to a notice of Hotten's "Slang Dictionary," in a former number of this Review (No. lxxvii. July 1868, pp. 263, 264), he will see the reasons why we do not rate that work very highly. We may add, that there is in existence a very curious copy of the "Lexicon Balatronicum" (1811), full of memoranda and manuscript additions, evidently prepared with a view to a new edition. "Hell-Fire Dick," whom Mr. Nodal mentions as one of the authors, was, we believe, Dick Owen. The other compilers were William Soames, R. (?) Disney, and Dr. H. Clarke. We may further add, that the "Warwickshire Glossary," mentioned by Mr. Nodal at

¹⁷ "On the Dialects of Eleven Southern and South-Western Counties. With a New Classification of the English Dialects." By Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte. With Two Maps. (The English Dialect Society.) London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

¹⁸ "The Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset. Illustrated by Examples of the Common Phrases and Modes of Speech now in Use among the People." By F. T. Elworthy. (The English Dialect Society.) London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

¹⁹ "A Bibliographical List of the Works that have been Published, or are Known to Exist in MS., of the various Dialects of English." Compiled by Members of the English Dialect Society. Part III. Edited by J. H. Nodal. (English Dialect Society.) London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

p. 178, was compiled by Thomas Sharp, the well-known author of the "Dissertation on the Coventry Pageants," and was completed in 1839, and published by Halliwell in 1865. In conclusion, we have to thank not only Mr. Nodal for his extremely valuable bibliographical lists, but also Mr. W. Axon for the very full index, which gives the book a double value.

The "Catalogue of Books of the Glasgow Reading Club"²⁰ is itself a most readable little book. It is well arranged, well printed, and neatly got up. Just as you may tell a man by his library, so you may tell something of a reading club by its books. The little village library is under the control of the vicar, who takes care that "that infidel Darwin" is not seen on its shelves. Our town libraries have, however, outgrown the power of the Church. Here and there an attempt is got up to establish an index expurgatorius, but it generally fails. As far as we can judge by the present catalogue, the Glasgow Reading Club exercises a wise liberality in its choice of books. Darwin, Hæckel, Draper, Huxley, Tyndal, and the leading evolutionists, are all well represented. One exception only occurs. We cannot find the name of Herbert Spencer. Only one work of Bain is mentioned, and none of the philosophical writings of Grote. Sir Henry Maine, too, should not be wanting. The absence of one or two other books is conspicuous, such as Sidgwick's "Method of Ethics." We should have thought, too, that such works as Deutsch's "Literary Remains" and Willis's "Life of Spinoza" would have found plenty of readers in Glasgow. On the whole, however, the library of the Glasgow Reading Club is very much superior in the quality of its books to the generality of such libraries. The catalogue might be taken as a model. Perhaps it would be as well to separate Art and Science, and Philosophy and Theology. The classified index of subjects at the end is of the highest service. For want of this, most libraries are rendered for the majority of people absolutely valueless. The librarian of the Glasgow Reading Club most certainly deserves high credit for his little volume.

"The Statesman"²¹ was published in 1836, and the "Notes from Life" in 1847. A whole literary generation has passed away since these dates, and yet Sir Henry Taylor's essays read as fresh as ever, and will as certainly charm the more reflective minds of to-day as it did those of the past. Of how few modern essays can this be said. What a revolution has taken place in thought during the last forty years. And yet how little in these essays do we wish to change. They were written direct from experience, and for this reason they endure and preserve their freshness. And yet how little is Sir Henry Taylor's name known out of certain circles. How seldom is he quoted, at least by name. Yet many a one has established a reputation as a wit by simply repeating some of the happy sayings in those two collections.

²⁰ "A Catalogue of Books and Periodicals of the Glasgow Reading Club. To which are added an Index and Select List of Pseudonyms assumed by English Authors." Glasgow: Murray & Son. 1878.

²¹ "The Works of Sir Henry Taylor." Vol. IV. "Notes from Life: The Statesman." London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

A certain weekly paper, when it first started, lived, we might say gained its reputation, by passing off Sir Henry Taylor's good things as its own to an unsuspecting public. How happy Sir Henry Taylor is, how exquisitely felicitous his sentences are, and how his illustrations always hit the gold, the Mudie world of readers is entirely ignorant. Here is a sentence about confession, which in these High Church days is worth thinking over: "Confession is often a mere luxury of the conscience,—used as the epicures of Ancient Rome would use an emetic and a warm bath before they sat down to a feast" (p. 41). Here, again, is a piece of worldly wisdom neatly put: "There is one sort of adherent, not much to be prized, but still, perhaps, needful to be considered, whose services should be secured by a succession of small acknowledgments at reasonable intervals rather than by much at a time. The leech that is gorged hangs but loosely" (pp. 240, 241). In the epigrammatic brilliance of his style Sir Henry Taylor not unfrequently reminds us of Rochefoucauld. But it is not for his epigrams that we value Sir Henry Taylor, but for the good, sound, sober sense which underlies all that he writes. His advice is always eminently practical. Whether he is talking about money or marriage, or the choice of friends, he goes to the bottom of the matter. Perhaps the book which these essays most resemble in their ripe wisdom is "Friends in Council," or some of Sir Arthur Helps' own essays. In both writers we perceive the same knowledge of mankind drawn from the same source—experience; the same keen and cautious judgments upon men and things, perhaps a little sterner in Taylor than in Helps; the same faculty of humour which plays lamentably over the driest details of business, and the most wide knowledge of many different fields in literature. It is this rare combination of charms which give these essays their permanent place in literature. We know no better modern book to place in the hands of any young man just beginning life, nor any better for the middle-aged man to take up in the intervals of labour.

MISCELLANEA.

THE first consideration of the compilers of such a work as the "Encyclopædia Britannica"¹ should be to make it valuable for the purposes of reference, to convey as much information as possible, to be instructive even to pedantry, and to be dry rather than diffuse; and many of the articles in the volume before us fulfil these conditions. Mr. Stuart Poole's article on "Egypt" is really a model of what an Encyclopædia paper on the subject should be; at once exhaustive and concise, every line of value, the article should be read by all to whom Egypt at the present time has a national as well as an historic interest. Mr. James Sully's "Dream" is another example of the best class of paper. The various theories respecting dreams, from Aristotle to Herbert Spencer, and the later German speculations of Volker and others, are briefly and clearly expressed, and, with the skilful use of a multitude of valuable references, Mr. Sully makes his bull's hide enclose more ground than at first seemed possible. Mr. John Morley's short paper on "Diderot" comes with the authority that a complete knowledge of the subject, keen and true critical powers, and admirable literary style can give, but to us it seems scarcely sympathetic enough. Any display of enthusiasm would be out of place, of course, and unnecessary, but Mr. Morley has passed rather too much into the extreme of coldness. The "Paradoxe sur le Comédien" deserves more praise than Mr. Morley gives it, and in spite of his dictum that in Diderot's works "we find no masterpieces, but only thoughts for masterpieces," we should be inclined to apply this term to "Le Neveu de Rameau." True, Mr. Morley says, later on, "if there were any inevitable compulsion to name a masterpiece for Diderot, one must select this singular farce-drama." What inevitable compulsion is there not to call "Le Neveu de Rameau" a masterpiece? Of course much depends upon the way in which Mr. Morley may interpret the word "masterpiece." To our mind, a list of the great works of the eighteenth century should include "Le Neveu de Rameau."

Professor Jebb's "Demosthenes" gives us an idea what the unfinished window of his Aladdin's palace, "The Attic Orators," may one day be like. Mr. E. W. Gosse's "Denmark" is a valuable article, containing a great amount of information, historical and literary. His "Edda" is so good, that it is to be regretted that he could not have been allowed more space for the consideration of a subject at once interesting and little known. Mr. Gosse, however, makes the most of the limited space allotted to him, discoursing well and learnedly on a matter upon which many are ready to speak, but only a few have the knowledge that confers the right of speaking. We cannot,

¹ "The Encyclopædia Britannica." Vol. VII. Dea—Eld. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black.

however, coincide with Mr. Gosse in his implied depreciation of the "Nibelungenlied," seeming as it does to suggest a favourite theory of many writers, but with which we cannot agree—the theory that the earliest form of a legend or story must necessarily be the best because of its priority. One of the most frequent and weakest arguments brought against "The Idylls of the King" is that they are not exactly like Sir Thomas Mallory, the objectors forgetting that Sir Thomas Mallory was himself an adapter, and from that point of view a corrupter. The theory has been carried *ad absurdum* by some of its devotees, who condemn "Macbeth" for its inferiority to the old Chronicle of Holinshed's, whence Shakespeare took his subject.

Two great novelists, Charles Dickens and Alexandre Dumas, are treated in a very different manner, Mr. Minto's article on the English author being as good as Mr. Percy Fitzgerald's on the Frenchman is bad. We completely fail to understand why the subject should have been given to Mr. Percy Fitzgerald. The fact that he had already written a work in two volumes upon Dumas which showed him to be utterly unable to understand or appreciate the genius he had most unfortunately chosen to write about, can hardly be considered as sufficiently qualifying him for the present task. Mr. Minto contributes two other valuable and interesting articles upon "Dryden" and "Dekker." In the latter he draws an ingenious parallel between Dickens and Dekker. Mr. Minto might perhaps have dwelt a little more on the merits of "The Roaring Girl," which for light-hearted humour and joyous spirit of comedy is not surpassed among the lesser dramatists.

On the principle that the author of a book is always an authority on the subject, Professor Ward has been chosen to treat of the "Drama." The two portly volumes on this subject which he published some two years ago are here boiled down into some fifty pages, and contain in this condensed form most of the original merits and defects. There is a plentiful introduction of names, but the conclusions which the author draws from their consideration are not always satisfactory, especially with regard to the drama in England. His treatment of the Restoration dramatists is not happy, and amongst modern dramatists he omits the names of Robertson, who, as creator of that new dramatic school known as the "Teacup and Saucer," deserved mention, and Dr. Westland Marston, whose plays met in their day with considerable success. Why, too, does Professor Ward describe George Sand as "Georges Sand"? Amongst other interesting articles into which want of space prevents our entering we must mention Mr. George Saintsbury's "Defoe," Professor Jevon's "De Morgan," the "Dictionary" of the Rev. Ponsonby A. Lyons, the "Dürer" of Mr. Sidney Colvin, the "Drawing" of Mr. Philip Gilbert Hamerton, Dr. Wallace's "Descartes," Dr. Chambers's "Dietetics," and Professor Cheyne's "Deluge."

We have noticed some inaccuracies and omissions, chiefly, as usual, in the short articles, where they should least be tolerated. The article on "December" might have given the Saints' days, and should certainly have made some reference to Innocents' Day and the quaint customs peculiar thereto, upon which Clement Marot and Marguerite de

Navarre dilated. The article on "Casimir Delavigne," whom Theophile Gautier so aptly described as a man of talent, not of genius, is rather too long for its subject, and yet it does not mention one of his most important plays, "Louis XI." In the "De Louthembourg" allusion might have been made to the witticisms directed against the painter by Peter Pindar, who informed him that his reputation would rise—

"When Heaven so wills
To make brass skies and golden hills
With marble bullocks in grass pastures grazing."

Mr. Findlay's interesting article on "De Quincey" would have been improved by a mention of the fact that both Charles Baudelaire and Alfred de Musset translated the "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater." The article on "Eustache Deschamps," the French poet contemporary with Chaucer, should have mentioned his work on versification—a work as valuable for the information it gives upon early French verse-forms as Henri de Croy's "Art et Science de Rhethorique," or the less known "Jardin de Plaisance" of the early part of the sixteenth century. An article on the "Devil" which does not treat at all of compacts with the fiend, and has no allusion to the two great literary creations of the evil one, Milton's Satan and Goethe's Mephistopheles, or to Defoe's "History of the Devil," can hardly be considered complete or satisfactory. The article on "Diez," the Romance philologist, curiously omits to mention the French translations of his "Troubadours" and other works by F. De Roisin. Some allusion to Isaac Disraeli's disagreement with the Bevis Marks Synagogue, on his appointment as warden, would have been appropriate to the article on him. Dunlop, the author of the "History of Fiction," should not have been left out. The article on "Lord Eldon" should have mentioned his historical connection with Shelley, and would certainly have been pointed by the quotation of Fonblanque's saying, that it was never given to any one to do so much good as Lord Eldon prevented.

It would require as great a space as Mr. Jebb has taken for his subject to do full justice to the masterly manner in which he has compressed the salient features of Hellenic literature into the compass of some hundred and sixty small pages. Coming from such a writer, the "Primer of Greek Literature"² is, as may be imagined, no mere dry list of names and dates, tasteless and unattractive, but a work of critical value and authority. In barest justice to Messrs. Macmillan, it must be said that the series of Primers which they have started deserves the highest recommendation. Admirable alike in conception and execution, each of the volumes presents an amount of knowledge positively marvellous in proportion to its size, and in every instance the writer is thoroughly qualified to be the teacher. But we must consider Professor Jebb's volume as at present the highest effort of the series. "This sketch," says Professor Jebb, "is intended to serve as

² "A Primer of Greek Literature." By Professor R. C. Jebb. London: Macmillan & Co.

a framework into which those who read any of the Greek books, whether in the original or in English, may fit what they read." This is the aim and theory of all the Primers, but nowhere is it more happily carried out than in the present little volume. The reader is not only informed as to who wrote in the different epochs of Greek glory and Greek decay, but his attention is kept alive by thoughtful and cultured criticism, and his fancy stimulated by occasional and admirably chosen quotations, well calculated to wake in him the—

"Pan not dead,
Not wholly dead,"

that Mr. Austin Dobson sings of. We do not always agree with Professor Jebb; he is a little inclined to be iconoclastic with respect to Homer, and we miss somewhat of the enthusiasm for Aristophanes and Sappho which Mr. Symonds, for example, would have exhibited. We cannot help regretting that Mr. Jebb did not give a complete translation, in prose if not in the original metre, of Sappho's hymn to Aphrodita. In his account of Xenophon, whom Mr. Jebb specially delights in, and in such difficult subjects as the Tragedians, Plato and Aristotle, Mr. Jebb is exceptionally successful, considering the limits within which he works. We are surprised to find that in his list of English translations of Greek authors he does not include Chapman's "Homer."

Sir Alexander Grant can scarcely be said to have done as well for Aristotle in his volume of the "Ancient Classics for English Readers"³ as Professor Jebb in his Primer for the whole body of Greek literature; nor is the volume so fascinating as was its natural companion, the volume upon Plato by the Rev. Lucas Collins. But Sir Alexander Grant's thorough knowledge of his subject has enabled him to produce a very useful volume, which, if not greatly attractive for its own sake, is certainly serviceable as an introduction to the study of a classic author.

Mr. Grove has undertaken a good work in editing an English "Dictionary of Music and Musicians."⁴ It is strange that the age which produces a Dickens Dictionary has only now for the first time applied its classifying powers to music in any extended sense. Musical terms and phrases have had their special dictionaries, but there was no such work for the music-makers themselves in English, and in their absence the German lexicons and the huge but often inaccurate work of Fetis had to be resorted to. Mr. Grove proposes to fill this want in English reference literature, and to make his work a complete thesaurus of musical information. This being the case, we are at a loss to understand why the dictionary should be made only to go back as far as 1450. The chief result of this arbitrary arrangement is that a good work is thereby made sadly imperfect, and cannot take the high place now destined for some more complete musical dictionary. How can an

³ "Ancient Classics for English Readers." Aristotle. By Sir Alexander Grant. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons.

⁴ "A Dictionary of Music and Musicians." Edited by George Grove, D.C.L. Part I. A—Ballad. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

editor imagine such a work at all approaching to perfection which has to ignore the knowledge and practice of music among the Greeks and Romans, and must refuse any reference to Guido of Arezzo, or Adam de la Halle, whose "Robin et Marion" is one of the glories of the thirteenth century, if only for the charming song it contains, the "J'ai encor un tel paté," dear to all lovers of early French music? Still Mr. Grove's undertaking is full of merit. The list of contributors to the scheme includes many names of note and authority, not a few of which are laid under contribution for this first instalment. Dr. Grove himself gives an interesting article on the Prince Consort as a musician, and Mr. Hullah supplies a lengthy and erudite paper on the "Academie de Musique," while Dr. Hueffer shows by his articles on French composers that his musical knowledge and sound critical faculty are not confined to German music of the modern or any school, but extend over the whole range of the art. Certain defects and omissions in this part might have been avoided. Thus the derivation of "Aubade" through the Provençal from "Alba" should have been given, and there should have been some mention of Gay's opera "Achilles," and of the version of "Acis and Galatea" by Motteux, with music by John Eccles.

If there is a scarcity of musical dictionaries, there is no lack of dictionaries of painters, and there are not a few extant, all more or less meritorious. Mr. Daryl's little volume,⁵ however, thoroughly justifies its existence by its happy combination of many excellent qualities. The compiler has succeeded in compressing a vast amount of information into an exceedingly small space, which at the present time, when a deep knowledge of painters and painting is deemed essential to the æsthetic soul, should be received with sincere gratitude by those who would not wish to be behind the age in this respect. Indeed, any one blessed with a ready memory and a capacity for "cramming" might easily, with the aid of Mr. Daryl's handbook, get up a display of artistic knowledge sufficient to bewilder and astound the uninitiated, and to place him on a par with not a few art critics. Its value, however, in those honester purposes for which it is intended, is equally apparent. The list of painters is full and well brought down, so late a name as that of Henri Regnault being included, and the early pages are full of technical information about painting.

Mr. Jennings's book⁶ is at once pleasing and disappointing. It is pleasing because it points out, in a lively and entertaining manner, how much of the English country may be seen, and how easily it may be enjoyed. It is disappointing because, being on the whole so good, it is not better; because at its best it is almost always spoiled by a certain vulgarity of style and manner to be best described as bumpiness. This is a blot upon what would otherwise be a pleasant

⁵ "The Picture Amateur's Handbook and Dictionary of Painters." By Philip Daryl, B.A. Crosby, Lockwood, & Co. 1878.

⁶ "Field-Paths and Green Lanes." By Louis J. Jennings. London: John Murray. 1877.

and creditable handbook to the green lanes which are so little known and might be so familiar, no Argonautic heroism being wanted for the task, but only a handbook, a pocket-compass, and occasional brief liberty. In one cardinal point we disagree with Mr. Jennings. He advises his readers always to walk by themselves. We are inclined to believe that the pleasures of country walks are doubled, and more than doubled, by companionship, and that the town Tityrus and the town Melibœus will—a kindred disposition being of course assumed—be happier in the divided holiday than if they went alone during the long day's walk, and that each will feel the value of a comrade's society when rest comes with the evening, and *majoresque cadunt altis de montibus umbræ*.

Every new science or new direction of scientific ideas is accompanied at first by an overweening enthusiasm on the part of its supporters and an unreasoning hostility on the part of its antagonists. This has been especially the case with that branch of the science of phonetics which has produced the spelling-reform movement. It is therefore with no little interest that we turned to see how Mr. Sweet dealt with the matter in his "Handbook to Phonetics."⁷ Those who wish to find the subject treated in a clear and impartial manner, though of course from the sympathetic point of view, will do well to read the valuable Appendix, in which he considers this important problem. It is, to begin with, a great relief to find that both he and Mr. Ellis have entirely discarded the idea of introducing any new forms of letters into our alphabet. Acting thus wisely in not interfering with the existing arrangements of printing and writing, they also show that their movement has passed out of the fanatic and iconoclastic stage, and has sobered down into a question deserving of serious study. The various modifications which our limited Roman alphabet does not permit of, they attain, not by creating new forms, but by simply turning the familiar vowels upside down when they wish for new symbols of sound. Whether we should ever get used to seeing *attempt* spelt "atəmt" is a matter for the future to decide. The early part of Mr. Sweet's book is a clear exposition of phonetics, and should prove an important addition to the knowledge of the science. Mr. Sweet does not seem to be aware that the phonetic principle has been applied to the teaching of French pronunciation by M. J. D. Gaillard in his "Lecture et Prononciation," and its English version, "French Orthoepy," and has been attended by very successful results.

• No one who can find pleasure in a book about boys, dogs, and country life, written in the fresh, healthy manner suitable to the subject, will be disappointed by Mr. Barkley's "My Boyhood."⁸ It is a thoroughly enjoyable narrative of the youth of a healthy, happy country boy, whose pleasures are the pastoral delights of swimming, riding, ratting,

⁷ "Handbook of Phonetics." By Henry Sweet. Clarendon Press Series London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

⁸ "My Boyhood." By H. C. Barkley. London: John Murray. 1877.

and bird-nesting, and whose dearest companions are dogs, ferrets, and a brother. In the course of his book, Mr. Barkley brings forward some strong arguments in support of the now almost forgotten—since illegal—custom of using dogs to draw carts—a custom, by the way, not yet extinct in some parts of the Continent. Still more revolutionary is his instruction to swimmers, that it is not in the least necessary or advantageous for them to plunge into the water head foremost, or indeed to wet the head at all before swimming or bathing.

“The National Portrait Gallery”⁹ contains some tolerably good likenesses, some portraits that can only be considered as caricatures, and some few which, to the ordinary observer, seem to have no resemblance to the individual whose name they bear. The portraits of Professor Fawcett and Professor Blackie belong to the first class; those of Mr. Charles Mathews and Cardinal Manning to the second; and those of Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain to the third. The portrait of James Martineau is the best in the volume. All these portraits are copied from photographs, but the likeness depends on the success of the reproduction.

“Chatterbox” and “The Prize”¹⁰ may be considered substantial proofs of the success of what may be called the journalistic literature of small children, and their many merits certainly deserve the success. Of the two, “Chatterbox” is the best.

Mrs. Garrett Anderson has well supplied the want often felt by medical students of a convenient system of tabulated registration for their clinical work.¹¹ Although the index does not, on account of its small size, profess completeness, it contains so much that its value will soon become evident to those making use of it. The principle upon which the index is arranged is highly to be commended.

Mr. Sneyd-Kynnersley proposes to “present the elementary parts of Greek and Latin syntax in a simple and attractive form, in such a manner that the one may be easily compared with the other.”¹² This is what he proposes, but unfortunately the nature of the two languages is not always suited to such disposition. Though the book is not valueless, it is rather too mechanical to prove of any great service.

Mr. Taylor has prepared a “Short Greek Syntax,”¹³ which by its usefulness and its cheapness—it is well got-up for ninepence—wins him and his publishers deserved commendation.

In Professor Kielhorn’s little pamphlet¹⁴ Sanscrit scholars will

⁹ “The National Portrait Gallery.” Fourth Series. London: Cassell, Petter, & Galpin.

¹⁰ “Chatterbox” for 1877. “The Prize” for 1877. London: W. W. Gardner.

¹¹ “The Student’s Pocket-Index.” By Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D. H. K. Lewis.

¹² “A Parallel Syntax, Greek and Latin.” By the Rev. H. W. Sneyd-Kynnersley. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1877.

¹³ “A Short Greek Syntax.” By P. W. Taylor, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

¹⁴ “Kātyāyana and Patanjali.” By F. Kielhorn, Bombay. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

find much that is worthy of study respecting the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana and the Mahābhāshya of Patanjali.

Of the "Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge," edited by Rud. Virchow and Fr. von Holtzendorff, we have received three pamphlets.

An account of the "Nibelungenlied," its origin and history, is not a novelty in literature, but any observations on the chief poem of the Norse-German epic cycle are always of interest, and Herr Hertz¹⁵ discourses about it in a clear and interesting style, suitable for the popular instruction that he aims at. Those who, as we suggested higher up, object to the "Nibelungenlied," as being a corruption of the Volsunga Saga and the Edda fragments would do well to recollect the probable Teutonic origin of the works they exalt so highly.

The object of this little pamphlet¹⁶ is to show that the true interpretation of the Platonic use of the word "love" is only what would be called, in Bulwerian style, "the true and the beautiful."

Dr. Schmidt¹⁷ investigates the gradual development of the senses, shows how that of smell has grown up slowly in the human race, as in children, how that of hearing has been affected by the different conditions under which men live, and how the distinguishing of colours has increased in delicacy as the world has grown, and speculates as to the possibility of still further development in these perceptions of which our time has as yet no idea.

We have also received three of the pamphlets devoted to "Deutsche Zeit- und Streit-Fragen."

Dr. Friedrich Kirchner¹⁸ finds fault with nearly everything in our time. He condemns alike Materialism, Sacerdotalism, and Pessimism. Littré, Manning, and Schopenhauer would be to him alike objectionable in their doctrines. He endeavours, therefore, to form a universal moral principle suited to our time, which seems to us to be little more than the solidarity of nations and the brotherhood of humanity all over again.

Dr. Wernich¹⁹ tells of the spread and the significance of the new and almost universal desire for education and what may be styled Western civilisation in Japan. The author sees some of the dangers and difficulties in this pouring of new wine into old bottles, but is on the whole thoroughly convinced that its good results far outweigh its drawbacks, and will prove permanent.

¹⁵ "Die Nibelungensage." Vortrag von Wilhelm Hertz. Berlin: Carl Habel. 1877.

¹⁶ "Die wissenschaftliche Bedeutung der Platonischen Liebe." Von Dr. Wilhelm Wiegand. Berlin: Carl Habel. 1877.

¹⁷ "Ueber die allmähliche Entwicklung des sinnlichen Unterscheidungsvermögens der Menschheit." Von Dr. H. Schmidt. Berlin: Carl Habel. 1877.

¹⁸ "Der Mangel eines allgemeinen Moralprinzips in unserer Zeit." Von Dr. Friedrich Kirchner. Berlin: Carl Habel. 1877.

¹⁹ "Ueber Ausbreitung und Bedeutung der neuen Culturbestrebungen in Japan." Von Dr. A. Wernich. Berlin: Carl Habel. 1877.

Herr Heinze²⁰ writes upon canals and reservoirs, showing what other countries have done in that way, and what Germany requires to do.

Dr. Helmholtz,²¹ in his address on assuming the office of director of the Friedrich-Wilhelms University at Berlin, discourses on the academic freedom of the German universities, and compares them with the scholastic institutions of other countries.

Professor Whitney's German Dictionary is, like all the educational works which bear his name, carefully and clearly arranged, and showing everywhere the mark of sound scholarship. The vocabulary is unusually large and varied. We should have liked a few more philosophical expressions, but it is impossible to put everything into a moderately sized volume. As it is, we know of no better dictionary²² for practical use. Professor Whitney acknowledges his obligations to Dr. A. H. Edgren for assistance in the compilation of the work.

²⁰ "Kanäle und Sammelbecken." Von Herr Heinze. Berlin: Carl Habel. 1877.

²¹ "Ueber die Akademische Freiheit der Deutschen Universitäten." Von Dr. Helmholtz. Berlin: August Hirschwald. 1878.

²² "A German and English Dictionary." By W. D. Whitney. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

INDIA AND OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

[The next article under this heading will include an account of affairs in South Africa and the Australian Colonies. The sketch of the events of Lord Lytton's Administration, commenced in our last, is continued here, but space compels us to defer the consideration of Finance and Public Works policy, and of some minor questions.]

IF the events of the war in Europe were hardly followed in India with that intelligent interest which followed them in England, they produced an even deeper impression on large sections of the native population. In the imagination of the most ignorant villager the Russ folk are the traditional enemies—possibly are destined to be the successful rivals—of the Sahib folk. We need not stop to inquire how far the stories of organised Russian intrigue in Hindustan have a foundation in fact. They are accused of having avenged the disgraces of the Crimean War by abetting the atrocities of the Indian Mutiny. At this moment there are sober observers of the currents of native life who assert that they have an agent in every bazaar, whose duty it is to disseminate rumours unfavourable to British prestige, and fan the flickering flame of disloyalty. We need not assume that the Russian Government cherishes any designs which justify the feelings of natives and of many Europeans on the subject. The pacific assurances of the Czar and his ministers may be safer indications of the national policy than the vaporing of officers weary of inaction at Samarcand, or the threatening language of a press irritated by English opposition to Panslavic pretensions. Nor need we fear that our moral and material position in India is less safe than that of Russia in Central Asia, or that we could not, in the event of invasion, rely on the devotion of our native army. What is to be feared is the disquieting influence of Russian advance. Certain it is that the trading caravans that pass between India and the countries of Central Asia, and the letters sent by persons residing in Central Asia to their friends and relatives in India, place the regions under Russian rule and influence *en rapport* with those under British rule. India has in all ages been the field in which the adventurers of less favoured climes have sought their fortunes, and

the number of persons in influential positions—even in high Government employ—who have family connections in Persia, Cabul, and Turkestan is considerable. Through these channels news—often grotesquely inaccurate—and what is far more important, broad waves of popular feeling and opinion are transmitted to India. The Government of India often gets its first information of events of importance happening outside its territory from the untraceable rumours of the bazaar. The proposal to establish consuls in Central Asia as a barrier to Russian progress was deservedly ridiculed, but an organised system of procuring intelligence would supply those well-ascertained premises the want of which renders our foreign policy shifty and unstable. We do not, of course, suggest an ostensibly official agency. It would be inefficient, and would lead to certain embarrassment. But men of intelligence may be authorised to report unofficially. Such employment would be congenial to many natives who now waste their energies in the petty intrigues of our courts, and if the remuneration were ample, the element of danger would but add to the attractions of the career. The French and Russian systems of secret police suggest the means by which absolute fidelity may be secured. The gradual extension of Russian conquests in Asia, and the quiescent attitude assumed by England, have naturally led the rulers of the intervening states to court the friendship of the power from which they have much to fear, rather than that of the power from which they have little to fear, and even less to hope. Russian influence in Persia was shown by the neutrality of that Musulman state in the death struggle between the forces of Slavonic Christianity and Islam, and by the projected exchange of territory on the southern shores of the Caspian. We have the authority of the Government of India for asserting that the unfriendly demeanour of the Amir of Afghanistan was due to Russian influence at Cabul. We can easily imagine the nature of the arguments brought to bear on his mind by the Muscovite envoy. England was powerless to defend Turkey, that old ally for which it had once made such sacrifices. While it felt its position in India so insecure that it dared not attempt anything beyond the frontier, the eagles of Russia were still advancing. The rulers of Bokhara and of Khiva had resisted in vain. The seat of Asiatic supremacy had been transferred from the Ganges to the Oxus. If the Amir trusted to his English alliance to save his kingdom from absorption, he was reminded that, like Turkey, he would be deserted in the crisis of his fate. And even if England did intervene, what result could he hope for?—to retain a nominal sovereignty like Sindia or the Nizam, or to be deposed like the rulers of the Sikhs or the Amirs of Sind? We may be sure that the graciousness of

Russian rule was contrasted with the meddling, worrying spirit of British administration. While Russia, content with military supremacy and commercial monopoly, left to their new subjects their old institutions and their old ways of thought, the English were engaged in constant efforts to "reform" native society according to European notions, and to substitute English for indigenous institutions. But if the Amir heartily helped Russia he might hope for something more than independence. The immediate design of Russia was, no doubt, by disquieting British India to paralyse English action in favour of Turkey. He was therefore urged to reject the English overtures for more friendly relations. He was promised protection from the results of English resentment, and when the good time came for adding India to the Russian Empire, a share in the conquered territory. If our occupation of Khelat refuted the Russian assertions as to our want of enterprise, it confirmed their warnings as to our aggressive spirit. The Amir remained in a state of sulky indecision. He collected indeed an army, whether for aggressive or defensive purposes it is impossible to say. Nor can we say whether his subsequent inactivity was due to the removal of his suspicions as to our designs or to the counter preparations on our side. Since we last wrote the controversy as to frontier policy has been revived by letters in the "Times" from Lord Lawrence, Lord Napier and Ettrick, and other statesmen and soldiers. We believe that no argument other than those we then sketched has been adduced. Lord Lawrence urges that by remaining on the Indian side of the passes we should be near our base of supplies, and could easily by rail throw our troops in large masses at any threatened point. But apparently in the opinion of purely military critics this advantage—so far as it exists—is not as great as an anticipatory command of the passes would give us. But it is further urged that the passes may without difficulty be seized when the aggressive designs of Russia on Afghanistan are apparent, and that in the meanwhile the occupation of points beyond our frontier occasions unnecessary expense, and that even a temporary occupation involves an expenditure and leads to the growth of interests which in time will render it very difficult to retire. These considerations seem to have great weight with the Government of India, for it has explicitly declared that the occupation of Khelat is temporary, and designed solely for the protection of trade over the Bolan Pass, and the prevention of fresh outbreak of civil war in Biluchistan. No permanent fortifications have been erected, and the troops will be withdrawn as soon as it appears safe to do so. If this be a frank statement of policy, the advocate of inactivity must regret that the

measure was decided on at a time and under circumstances which made it appear a triumph of the party of advance, while the advocates of advance can point out that whatever may have been the occasion of interference, the occupation of Quettah incidentally led to the results they predicted and desired. Troops might have been quartered in other places to keep the Bolan Pass open and prevent civil strife. But Quettah alone threatened Candahar and Herat, the key of Afghanistan. Every one interested, the Amir of Cabul, the Russian press, the Indian public, believed it to be a measure of precautionary advance. Many are still found to urge that Lord Lytton as Viceroy has not forgotten his diplomatic training, and point to instances in which his utterances have wanted that frankness which generally characterises the utterances of British statesmen. And if implicit faith be claimed for the declarations of the Home Government, it is answered that a leading member of that Government announced that the British fleet was sent to Constantinople "for the protection of British subjects residing there." Whatever may have been the motive of the step, the warlike rumours which followed it have since died away. Relations with the Khan of Khelat continue to be friendly. Relations with the Amir of Cabul are not unfriendly. The pass Afridis submitted. They had in vain appealed for help to Cabul, and for sanction to their enterprise to the Akhund of Swat—that pontiff prince of the frontier, who, amid the dreary hills whither he had come years before, a solitary recluse, to breathe away his life in devotion, died in the fulness of years and honour not long before the head of Catholic Christendom, whose influence and career was so like in many points to his, passed away from the troubles he had so vainly striven with, amid the treasures with which the art of so many ages and so many climes has enriched the Vatican. The Jowakis (a tribe inhabiting the spur of mountains which projects eastward of the Kohat Pass into British territory) made a longer and more stubborn resistance. The system of blockade having failed, a strong force under General Keyes entered their territory, defeated the enemy in several engagements, burnt their villages and destroyed their strongholds. The country was subdued, but the enemy escaped into neutral territory, whither the scruples of the Government did not allow the troops to follow them. Deputations from the tribe had indeed come in to treat for terms. The humour of these cut-throat mountaineers was shown in the proposal that their claims against the British for the injury done to them by the expedition should be admitted as a set-off to the claims of the British against them for the loss sustained by their raids. Their sense of honour was shown by their refusal to the last

to surrender the leaders in the outrages which had rendered the expedition necessary. They have lately submitted to all the demands of the Government. They are to surrender arms, pay the fine claimed, and banish from their country the leaders of the raids.

In the meanwhile, the village of another Afridi leader, who had been the principal instigator of a raid on the Swat Canal last year, was surprised, the guilty chief killed, and several of his associates captured. Thus, before the close of the cold weather, which opened with such gloomy rumours, peace has been restored to the frontier. At a grand durbar, held to receive the submission of the Jowakis, the assembled border chiefs have been warned that the Government will no longer tolerate the indifference they show in assisting Government to maintain peace. It must be remembered that what are called the subsidies given to these tribes are in reality allowances for the responsible performance of police duties which it would be impossible for Government to undertake. Unless we follow Lord Lawrence's advice, and make the Indus our western limit, this system of subsidies must be maintained, or our conquests pushed perpetually westward. The question of frontier administration is still unsettled. Lord Lytton's scheme, which we briefly sketched in our last issue, has been fully explained in his recently published minute. He despairs of maintaining order by spasmodic exhibitions of military force. They are, in the first place, expensive, and, as punitive measures, they are as barbarous as the outrages they are intended to chastise. But they are also ineffectual, for the evacuation of the country is regarded by the mountaineers as a triumph, and they can always fire the last shot. He would trust rather to the personal influence of upright and able English administrators, and the agency of a strong regular border police. The value of personal influence is so much disregarded by Government in the internal administration of India, that it is encouraging to find it so emphatically recognised by the Viceroy. But it is to be feared that the wild mountaineers of the border have hardly yet reached the stage of civilisation in which it would bear immediate fruit. Lord Lytton points out that the object of any change must be to secure (1) unity of action, (2) the exercise of direct and effective control by the supreme government. Combating the proposal to solve the difficulty by uniting Scinde to the Panjab, he says that the "Government of the frontier" means not so much the internal administration of the frontier districts, as the conduct of our relations with the frontier tribes, and the independent states beyond our frontier. One paragraph omitted in the published minute is understood to illustrate this by a reference to Russian influence in those states. The great questions arising out of this

situation are questions not directed nor susceptible of direction by the Panjab Government. The Viceroy directs the foreign department, not merely as head of the Government of India, but personally as head of the department itself. Under the present system, however, the Viceroy has to fulfil the most delicate and important of his duties, not through agents of his own selection, but through officers selected for him by the Panjab Government, responsible to that Government for the performance of other duties, and looking to it for advancement. The system, he says emphatically, has been to him a source of grievous embarrassment. The Panjab Government has virtually become the Foreign Office, and a Foreign Office more inconveniently situated or organised could not be devised. The trans-Indus districts of Scinde and the Panjab are separated from the cis-Indus portions of those provinces geographically, historically, by race, by institutions, and by customs. They would therefore, as regards internal administration, be appropriately formed into a distinct government. Lord Lytton proposes to make them a separate province under a Chief Commissioner, who should be directly under the orders of the Government of India, and combine all functions, political, revenue, and judicial. The present frontier forces should be amalgamated, and while the local nature of this new force should be maintained, it should be placed under the direct control of the Commander-in-Chief.

The withdrawal of political power would be so damaging a blow to the prestige of the Panjab Government, that much opposition was offered to the scheme by the officials of that province. Although after twenty-five years of rule the country beyond our border is still so disaffected that no Englishman dare enter, much less explore it—though minor measures of retaliation culminate every few years in a regular military expedition, it was alleged that the system had “hitherto worked well.” A favourite Indian fallacy, which assumes that governments are entities, with qualities independent of the personal qualities of the incumbents, was made use of to show that relations with Cabul could be managed more dexterously, and district officials beyond the Indus controlled more effectually, by a lieutenant-governor at Lahore than by a Chief Commissioner at Peshawar. Panjab interests are well represented in the Council of the Secretary of State, and the result was a compromise, which deprived the Panjab of the privileges it valued, without conferring on the supreme Government the exclusive control it declared to be the sole justification of change. The scheme of the Secretary of State is to station a Commissioner-in-Chief at Peshawar, in direct communication with the supreme Government. A Commissioner subordinate to the Commissioner-in-Chief is to be stationed at Jacobabad. While all communications

from and to the Government would pass through the hands of the Commissioner-in-Chief, his special charge would be relations with Cabul and the tribes on the Cabul frontier, while the Commissioner at Jacobabad is to manage relations with Biluchistan and the Beloochee tribes. The Government of the Panjab (to which Scinde would practically be annexed) would be held responsible for the civil administration. The local officers would be appointed by the supreme Government, and would be responsible to it as regards their political functions, but would be responsible to the Panjab Government as regards the internal administration. Lord Lytton can best expose the defects of this system of divided allegiance by attempting to work it. This is not the only recent evidence that the perfect accord which was once supposed to exist between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy no longer exists, and that Lord Lytton is as little willing as his predecessors to follow the initiative of the India Office in important political measures.

While it was still doubtful whether General Keyes's large force would compel the Jowakis to submission, a mere handful of police and soldiers had inflicted punishment on the Nagas—a hill tribe of the eastern frontier—for raids into Cachar. The past year has thus been one of wars and rumours of wars. No one feared an immediate invasion of India by Russia. But it was known that if war broke out in Europe between the two countries, Russia would attempt to divert the troops of Great Britain from Europe by harassing, by intrigue and show of force, India and the Colonies. Musulman feeling, too, was deeply affected by the dangers which threatened Turkey, and the transitory successes it achieved. It is useless to inquire whether the Musulmans of India formally own allegiance to the Sultan as Caliph of Islam. In practice and feeling they acknowledge it. Large and enthusiastic meetings were held in the principal cities of India, and resolutions passed calling on England to maintain the treaty rights of Turkey. The genuineness of the feeling is shown by the largeness of the collections made for the Turkish cause. Happily the Government permitted but did not encourage these meetings. The Turkish envoy to Cabul was treated in his progress through India with the respect due to such an official. In spite of the gloomy predictions of the English politicians who believe in the solidarity of Islam, and the vehement appeals addressed by Indian Musulmans to the Government, we are not aware that any public meeting has been held to denounce the policy of neutrality, which meant practically the desertion of Turkey, or that the loyalty of Musulmans to the Empire has been affected by the disregard shown to their wishes. If Turkey submits willingly to

the Russian protectorate, and identifies its cause with Russia's, we should perhaps, in case of war with Russia, have less of the goodwill of the Indian Musulmans. But the truth is, there is as little international sympathy between Mohammedans as between Christians. Persia, a Musulman state ruled by a Turki prince, is to share in the spoils of Turkish dismemberment. The Amir of Cabul sullenly refused to move against Russia. No war save one purely of religion is likely to marshal the Musulmans, or even one of their two great sects, in one line. And a pure war of religion is never likely to be waged. The star of Islam is in the descendant. In the West, Russia has all but annihilated the Ottoman power. In the East, a vast Chinese army, slowly marching and halting on the way to grow their crops, has at last taken Aksu and Turfan—two strongholds of the Musulman kingdom of Kashgar, which in our time the Atalik Ghazi created. It is reported to have captured even the town of Kashgar. The Russian Governor of Turkestan is said to have encouraged and assisted their advance. The Atalik Ghazi, whose genius under happier circumstances might have given a new direction to the destinies of Asia, died last year, of disappointment, it is reported, at the threatened disaster. As an illustration of the degree in which the information of the Government of India as to foreign occurrences is defective, we may mention that up to a very recent date the Government had no certain intelligence as to the Chinese advance, and that news of the fall of Kashgar has reached India from St. Petersburg. Yet the Atalik Ghazi was our faithful ally. We had sent to his court several important missions, and many Russophobists looked on his success as a fatal barrier to Russian progress. A disputed succession will probably remove the remaining difficulties in the way of the Chinese, and very soon the Russians and they will be neighbours in Central Asia, as they already are on the shores of the Pacific. We are not of those who regard with indifference the advantage Russia would have from the possession of Constantinople and Armenia of obstructing our road to the East, and securing for themselves a new route by the Persian Gulf. But while the remotest contingencies affecting the realisation of Russia's designs against India are freely discussed, it is curious that no one stops to inquire what internal political weakness the growth of its territory, and even of its civilisation, will develop, what rivals it is likely to encounter before it can match itself with us, what other fields of conquest may seem easier and more alluring to it than the territories we hold with so determined a grasp. China is not less rich and fertile than India. The mountain range which separates the Russian dominions from the recovered Chinese province of Eastern Turkestan presents no such difficulties to an

invading force as the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush. There is no zone of neutral or possibly hostile states to be propitiated or subdued before the range is reached. Pretexts for interference can easily be found. Already "the population of Kuldja have petitioned for the incorporation of their county into the Russian Empire, because they fear that atrocities may take place in the event of Kuldja's retrocession to China." Once the Chinese are expelled, a Russian army can cross the desert to China Proper as easily as the Chinese crossed it for the reconquest of Kashgar. Against such an enemy as Russia the Chinese Government—whatever be the efforts they have of late made to utilise the military inventions of the West—will prove as powerless as that of Turkey. The interest of other European nations and of the United States of America is confined to the sea-board. Conquests in the unknown regions of the West, far from arousing their jealousy, will probably attract as little notice as the encroachments of Russia on the North. The use to which it has put its recent acquisitions there, and the danger which will result to British commerce and colonial repose in the event of war will be noticed farther on. The Chinese in their advance westward seem to have reproduced, after the lapse of centuries, the wholesale massacres and unsparing devastation of Chengiz Khan and Timur. It will be a turning-point in history when the long series of unrecorded agonies, of which Central Asia has been the scene, ends in the triumph of a more civilised over a less civilised people, and the flood of conquest, which has hitherto poured from the East to the West, will be thrown back from the West to the East.

We return to the effect on India of the imminence of war—a subject from which we have been so often tempted to digress. The army would be called upon, in case of war, to preserve the peace of India, and possibly to send a portion of its strength to augment the expeditionary force in Europe. As to the European army in India we have little to say, save that the short service system, however useful it may be in creating a reserve at home, drafts soldiers to India at an age which all experience shows to be too young for health and efficiency, and withdraws them just as they have become acclimatised. The cost of transport, too, is a heavy drain upon the Indian exchequer. Many plans have been proposed to obviate the evil—including a revival of the local army—but owing to War Office enthusiasm for the rapid formation of a reserve, none have been approved of. India has most unfairly to bear its portion of the charges arising from the new system of compulsory retirement of officers, but this is rather a financial than a military question.

The condition of the native army has been a subject of much con-

tróversy since Sir Henry Havelock (who in his younger days saw much Indian service) denounced it as "rotten from head to foot." The French, we believe, were the first to subject native soldiers to European discipline. In our earliest regiments, European officers were often subordinate to natives. But with the growth of our power grew our feeling of contempt for the subject race. Even in the liberal and enlightened Civil Service it has been found inexpedient to put Covenanted English servants under the orders of a Covenanted native. Before the Mutiny, native regiments were officered on what is called the "regular system," *i.e.*, there was a full complement of European officers. In the arrangements which followed, the increased proportion of European troops rendered it necessary to officer the native regiments in a more economical way. In 1876 there were only from five to seven European officers attached to each regiment. The staff and commanding officers were Europeans—the Company officers were natives. The complaint was not merely that the Europeans were too few, but that they were often bad. They were appointed from the staff corps, and the ablest men used their regiment only as a stepping-stone to civil employ. The staff corps itself was fed from European regiments, and by the attractions it offered tempted the young officers from taking any real interest in regimental work. Thus the staff corps destroyed the *esprit de corps* of European regiments as civil employ spoilt the *esprit de corps* of native regiments. If want of interest in their work was the fault of the younger officers, senility was the fault of the older. There was such a block of promotion that men seldom got the command of a regiment till they were too old to exercise it. The number of what were called "adjutants' regiments" was deplorably large. The name, we hope, explains itself. The native officers were generally men who had risen from the ranks—men who had little influence over the rank and file, and differed from them only in the show of courtesy to which they were entitled from the Europeans. For this state of things the usual Anglo-Indian apology was offered. It worked well. "The army," said Lord G. Hamilton, "was never in a more efficient state." It elicited the highest commendation from H.R.H. the Prince of Wales—no mean authority on review appearances. It was admitted, indeed, by those who advocated change, that for mere purposes of parade the existing organisation was satisfactory. It was in action it would fail. The European officers would soon be exhausted, and the natives would not be able to take their place. The Mutiny showed how worthless were the most highly disciplined Asiatic soldiers when not led by Europeans. To this the defenders of the existing system (for of

course there were many to defend it, from interest, or association, or love of economy, or dislike to change) replied by referring to the brilliant service rendered by native troops in campaigns so trying as the Umbeyla, the Abyssinian, the Chinese war. But it appeared that in all the cases cited either the want of Europeans was severely felt, or the leader of the expedition had insisted on supplying the deficiency by drafts from European or from other native regiments. Of course in a war which required the exercise of our whole military strength, such expedients would be impossible. And in no case can natives be led efficiently by officers who do not know them, and whom they do not know. Were many native regiments in the field, the want of officers would have to be supplied by weakening the strength of European regiments, and the officers thus appointed would probably not be able to understand or speak the language of the Sepoys. On the other hand, it was urged that though the quality of the native officers was not satisfactory, it might be improved, and though Europeans would possibly be more efficient leaders, mere efficiency might be purchased at too dear a price. A native service would be far more economical. It would provide a career for the ambition of native gentlemen, and thus remove one of the dangers and reproaches of our rule. It would form a connecting link between the European officers and the Sepoys. The argument as to economy is, in the present condition of Indian finance, irresistible, though it may be argued that a smaller number of efficient regiments would be more economical than a larger number of inefficient. But it is not easy to see how the native gentlemen are to be tempted into the army. They are, say some, to be put on a footing of social equality with Europeans. Now social equality implies social intercourse, and however desirable it may be that this should exist, it is clear that whilst natives and Europeans adhere to their present standards of morals and manners it cannot exist. It is clearly undesirable that Europeans should adopt the native standard. It is clearly impossible to induce the native to adopt the European. And mere difference of usages is as serious a barrier as differences of ideas. Some of the members of the Prince of Wales's suite are understood to have taken pains on their return to publish their impression that the gulf which admittedly exists between Europeans and natives is kept open by the prejudice of the former. That many Europeans in India are overbearing and unjust to natives, and feel towards them an unreasonable antipathy, is only too true; but the large number of zealous and kindly officials who, under every circumstance of discouragement, devote their energies, and often sacrifice their lives to the attempt to raise natives to that ideal of which they are conscious

Europeans and natives alike fall short, have felt just indignation at the unfair judgment pronounced on them by persons who, however excellent their sentiments, were utterly ignorant of the conditions with which officials in India have to deal.

Again, if only the lower grades are open to natives, what inducement will there be to native gentlemen to join? And if they are admitted to the highest, how is the practical difficulty of the repugnance of Europeans to serve under natives, to be overcome? As it is not yet considered expedient to make over the executive civil charge of a district to natives, we presume it can hardly be seriously proposed to form a regiment of exclusively native officers. Again, if natives are admitted to the same rank as Europeans, are they to draw the same pay? If no, there will be no real equality; if yes, there will be no economy in the change.

Lord Napier, who was Commander-in-Chief at the time, deprecated any change. But the opinion of all the officers who had held divisional commands since the Mutiny was said to be unfavourable to the existing system. Lord Northbrook had proposed that the pay of the sepoys should be increased, the status of the native officers improved, and two additional European officers added to each regiment. Steps—not, however, very decided steps—have been taken in each of these directions. Reforms will be gradual. A retirement scheme for the Indian Army, similar to that for the English, will probably remove most of the inefficient seniors, and an increasing number of direct appointments will be made from Sandhurst. Happily the experience of the Mutiny shows us that when the need arises, civilians and non-official Englishmen are easily converted into soldiers and leaders.

The numerical disproportion between the armies which Russia and England could bring into the field, has suggested the employment of Indian troops in Europe. The traditional objection to crossing the sea is not felt by the best part of our native soldiers, the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, or any class of Musulmans. In the case of troops which are so thoroughly subject to European discipline and control, it is hardly necessary to notice an objection which is apparently an inappropriate application of Lord Chatham's denunciation of the employment of American Indians. We would not exaggerate the political advantages of developing a feeling of comradeship and solidarity between natives and Englishmen. The native soldier is faithful to his salt and to nothing more. He fights for a leader—not for a cause. But if Tommy Atkins and Haidar Baksh are partners in the sufferings and glory of a campaign, it is certain that the classes they represent will in India understand and like each other better. The government of an alien race will be less irksome if there be any point

of contact between the class of the rulers and the ruled. But the principal advantage would undoubtedly be the almost limitless power of expansion of military resources we should thus gain. The native will probably be always inferior to the European in the open field. Like the Turks he fights best behind earthworks. Even in time of peace, native troops would furnish cheap garrisons for the Mediterranean fortresses. The climate would suit him at least as well as it does Europeans. They would learn, especially the officers, what are the real resources and power of England, and our prestige, on which so much depends, must certainly be enhanced, not diminished, when more accurate knowledge on this point exists among men of influence in India. When Jang Bahadur was asked why, at the darkest hour of our fortunes, he never wavered in his allegiance, he simply said that he had stood on London Bridge. The nations of Europe, too, would see that we could draw soldiers from a wider field than that of these little isles, and the theory of English impotence, if it exists, would be exploded. We need hardly insist upon the increased efficiency the Indian army would gain from this extended employment. But it must be admitted that serious practical difficulties exist. Natives are unwilling to remain long at a distance from their families. European garrison appliances would hardly suit their modes of life. Besides traders, the less reputable constituents of a cantonment bazaar would probably follow the regiments, and the Indian or half-caste population that would be likely to spring up would hardly be a desirable addition to that of the place.

Efforts are being made to force on the attention of Government the necessity of giving every European in India an opportunity of becoming an efficient rifle volunteer. The spontaneous attempts made at volunteer organisation have been hitherto limited, and, we fear, unsuccessful. But if it were made the duty of officials to encourage such organisations—if Government supplied the weapons and uniform and instructors, if it even offered a small pecuniary reward for efficiency, a force might at a small expenditure be raised which would enable Government at critical junctures to remove with safety the regular troops from districts where they should otherwise be retained. The duties proposed would furnish a healthy outlet to the patriotic feelings of the lower orders of Englishmen and Eurasians in India, which at present find vent in that contemptuous demeanour to natives which we have referred to as one of the perils to our rule. It would furnish, too, pleasant employment for those hours of leisure which weigh so heavily upon men who have none of the resources of culture, and which is so often devoted to riotous excess.

The condition of the Indian marine service has attracted atten-

tion. Russia has made use of its command of the Amoor river and the ports near its mouth to form a marine depot, and construct a fleet which, though far inferior in strength to that at the disposal of Government in the Indian Ocean and neighbouring seas, seems specially designed, in the event of war, to harass with impunity our commerce and descend on the almost defenceless ports of India and the Australian colonies. The vessels constituting the Indian marine were under no central control. They were not technically war vessels, and were therefore not subject to the Mutiny Act. And as they were not trading vessels, the Merchant Shipping Act did not apply to them. In August last the whole of the marine establishments afloat and on shore then employed under the several Governments and provinces of India were amalgamated into one imperial service, entirely under the control of the supreme Government of India. An Act of Parliament is to be passed to provide for the maintenance of discipline in "Her Majesty's Indian Marine," and we believe great additions will be made to its strength.

We need not describe at length the features, some gorgeous, some grotesque, of the imperial assemblage held at Delhi on the 1st January 1877 to proclaim Her Majesty's assumption of the title of Empress. The conception was no doubt Lord Lytton's own. From an artistic, perhaps we ought to say, from a theatrical point of view, the pageant was a success. Its political advantages were less obvious. Lord Lytton has by this time sufficiently revised his poetical inspirations by the light of Indian experience to feel that natives, though they may delight in, are not conciliated by, mere spectacles, especially when the part they are invited to take in them involves inconvenience and possible humiliation. We have won power in India by acts, not shows. In these we can never compete with the powers we have supplanted. The honours distributed with so lavish and reckless a hand inspired the recipients less with gratitude than with a sense of their own importance. The withholdal of the substantial rewards expected by others filled them with disgust. Sindia, when informed that the fortress of Gwalior was not to be restored to him, showed his disappointment with clownish insolence, and hardly deigned to accept from the hands of the Viceroy the badge of honour conferred on him by the Empress to whom he had come to do homage. On such occasions the most rigid attention to etiquette and precedent does not always prevent heartburnings as to the degrees of precedence awarded. The arrangements of the assembly were in great part controlled by members of the Viceroy's staff, who had no Indian experience, and the mistakes made were in consequence even more numerous than in ordinary durbars. The

levees were indiscriminate crushes. The details of ceremonial, however suggestive to European sentiment, were often unmeaning and sometimes ridiculous to native eyes. A gesture of the Viceroy's, for instance, which, it was afterwards explained, was intended as an invitation to the assembly to resume their seats was mistaken for the salutation an inferior makes to a superior. Yet, whatever were the mistakes in the execution of the plan, it was certainly expedient that the dependent princes of India should thus by their presence assent to the formal definition of their status as mere vassals of the crown. The review which followed no doubt gave the lesson an impressiveness its mere recital would have wanted. Sindia may apparently show with impunity, as he has lately, his sense of his dignity by withholding from the English Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal the customary marks of respect, but he is not likely to forget the look of the imperial battalions. The effect on the people of the assembly at Delhi and the minor assemblies throughout the country must have been simply bewildering. To them Government was a vague entity, far removed from contact with their daily life, and represented only by the officials with whom they had to deal. The assumption of the new title was meant to define, not to change, the status of the paramount power. The mere fact that Oriental scholars are still at strife as to the proper translation of the terms "Queen" and "Empress" shows how little the distinction was appreciable to natives. Eastern princes have often celebrated their own successes by the assumption of fanciful titles, but we are not aware that they have ever made the assumption an occasion for general rejoicing. The fervid imagination of Lord Lytton out-Orientalised Orientals. But both he and the Home Government were understood to entertain far more reasonable plans for conciliating the goodwill of the natives. The assembly, it was believed, would hear him announce a comprehensive scheme for the employment of natives in high administrative posts. So much misapprehension exists in England on this subject, that it is worth while to state briefly the facts. The administration of civil justice is almost entirely in the hands of natives. Native magistrates are, we believe, as numerous as European, and exercise precisely the same judicial powers. There have been native judges in the High Court. The executive control of districts and the higher executive posts have hitherto been reserved for Englishmen, but there is no reason why, in the Regulation provinces, natives who are appointed to the Covenanted Civil Service by competition should not in due course obtain charge of districts. But, speaking generally, all the higher administrative, and nearly all the highest judicial, posts are reserved for Englishmen, and, as a

rule, for Englishmen who are members of the Covenanted Civil Service, appointed in England by annual competition. The number of administrators in India is so small compared to the population, that were all the posts now held by Europeans to be given forthwith to natives, the number of aspirants for employ would be hardly appreciably diminished. And the amount paid as pensions in this country from the revenues of India is so small in comparison with other unavoidable home charges (interest on the debt, dividends to railway shareholders, purchase of stores, &c.), that the allegations as to the impoverishment of India owing to the employ of aliens seem of little force. The real native grievance is that *the chance* of distinction in the public service is denied to them. The very corruption of the native systems of government gave scope to the ambition of every one. All the powerful native states of to-day were founded by adventurers. No man of energy and daring who had confidence in his genius and his lucky star need despair. The risks were great; but the fall of one intriguer opened out a way for another, and the interest of the game was kept up. Those times have changed. Settled rule and law keeps the energy of officials in channels which native officials of the old type would disdain. The only class of men to whom we can offer high employ must be men who resemble Englishmen rather than their own countrymen. No concessions can remove the antipathy with which men regard our rule who sigh for the old days of mad adventure and limitless intrigue. We have not to satisfy but to direct the aspirations of the people. The best way to fit them for governing themselves is in the first instance to govern them *well*. The security and efficiency of our rule must be the first consideration, and must govern the choice of instruments. Every one will acknowledge that there are many natives who in integrity and ability are not inferior to the best European. The difficulty is to devise a means of selecting them. Competition, which works well in England, gives in India chiefly Bengalee Baboos, men often of acute intelligence and keen sense of duty, but defective in physical energy and moral force. Such men would be more unpopular as rulers of Hindustanis and Panjabis than the most unsympathetic European. It is undoubtedly desirable to associate with ourselves in the higher administration members of families of influence. But men fitted by education and loyal sentiment are not easily to be found. We cannot forget how severe a strain their fidelity may some day have to bear, how amenable they would be to disloyal influences which would only harden the fibre of an English administrator, and how disastrous would be the results if they proved traitors. It cannot seriously be proposed to make over certain districts or

departments of administration exclusively to natives. Yet the difficulty of organising a mixed service is obvious. If natives have learned to rule, Englishmen have still to learn to obey. As the very highest posts can never be surrendered, the theoretical grievance of exclusion will always remain. Elsewhere in this Review we have sketched the outlines of a reform which would ultimately give natives a fair share of authority and influence. We need therefore here only add, that the fears or expectations as to the Viceroy's action were disappointed—that he recognises as at present incompatible the fulfilment of the pledges of Government to the Civil Service on the one hand, and to the natives on the other. A few native gentlemen of high character and English culture have been appointed to offices—chiefly judicial—higher than those hitherto held by Europeans, and it is believed that, while the number of appointments to the Civil Service made in England will be diminished, a corresponding number of nominations will be made in India.

While the future of the Covenanted Civil Service in India seemed still doubtful, the system of competition and subsequent training in England was being modified. There was no question of reverting to the old practice of nomination, but it seemed to Lord Salisbury—after consideration of the somewhat discordant opinions which had been elicited in India from officials of all grades and degrees of experience—that, by selecting candidates at an earlier age, and subjecting them to special discipline, better material could be secured, and the absence of *esprit de corps* in the service generally, and of social tone in individual members—defects which have brought undeserved discredit on the principle of competition—could be cured. When the service was first thrown open to competition, it was hoped that men who had distinguished themselves at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge would be induced to elect an Indian career. Whether they would have proved as useful public servants as men of less scholastic culture may be doubted, but at all events the expectation has not been realised. Every year the number of University men has diminished, and the pupils of the so-called crammers have increased in the lists of successful competitors. Many of the vices attributed to cramming are really, we believe, due to the defects of the scheme of examination and the want of common sense in the examiners. If the actual facts of the case were recognised—namely, that boys of ordinary capacity (and the prospects of the service would not tempt boys of extraordinary), if they are to succeed, must commence special reading many years before they compete—if a curriculum were laid down which would be in itself an education—the competition would be a test not merely of endurance and aptitude, but of solid attainments.

Civil Service crammers and University coaches have the same methods and the same end. The only difference is, that for the University examinations the subjects are better defined, and the books the student ought to read are at least ascertainable, whereas in the Civil Service competition ("to give no unfair advantage to any particular system of training," the Commissioners would say), the subjects are so wide and vague, that in practice the examinations are confined to the driest elements. Thus an eminently unfair advantage is given to the particular system of training which Civil Service competition has called into existence. The arts of a crammer are twofold—one useful to make the men work; one pernicious (while examinations are conducted as they are), to make them limit their reading to books and subjects which pay. If, on the one hand, the crammers are unjustly decried, on the other they often claim as the fruit of their system what really they have had only an accidental connection with. Men of superfluous talent often waste their energies (from a crammer's point of view) in the general studies of a university or public school. They may, perhaps, owe their success in the competition to the few months of preparation with the crammer, but if in after-life they show the fruit of culture, this is due to the schoolmaster, not the tutor. Lord Salisbury, to give public schools a chance, has reduced the limits of age for competition from seventeen to nineteen, and has brought the subjects of examination into closer correspondence with the teaching of a public school. The Cambridge rather than the Oxford ideal of education has been adopted. The chief sufferers by the change will be the Scotch and Irish universities, and the successful candidates will in future be, for the most part, men who have been specially prepared from boyhood for the competition. This, no doubt, is in some respects an advantage, as it will bring into the service those who have already Indian connections, but we should be glad to see a more liberal scheme of examination adopted, so that it may not merely test capacity, but ensure real education. So much for selection. As to training, indirect compulsion has been employed to secure two years' residence at Oxford, Cambridge, or Dublin, subsequent to the open competition. Periodical examinations in jurisprudence, Indian law, Indian languages and history, and political economy, will be held by the Commissioners in London: £150 a year will be allowed to the selected candidates who reside at a university which satisfies the Secretary of State that it has made provision for their studies and discipline. Only the three we have named are at all likely to do so. Balliol College, Oxford—true to its liberal traditions—has invited a certain number of the candidates to become members. The University is increasing its staff of readers in Indian subjects. If it provides

a good library and a staff of native munshis (whose stipends would not equal that of one professor), it will have done all that is really essential. So much depends on the physical fitness of Civil servants, that we trust the medical test will in future be made more strict. Exceptional soundness should be the qualification—not absence of exceptional delicacy. Marks may be given for “good constitution,” and riding made a subject at least for the probationary examinations. Excessive study—the weak point of the competitive system—would thus be discouraged. Healthy men and generally good-tempered men—and temper even more than intelligence is necessary to the discharge of a Civilian’s duties—would thus be obtained. The interests of English schools should be less considered than that of India; though, of course, if the former be neglected, the best source of supply will be cut off.

The apprehensions as to the nature of the reforms the Viceroy was to announce in the imperial assemblage was due to his action in the now historic Fuller case. The visit of the Prince of Wales was supposed to have furnished evidence that Englishmen treated natives with brutal violence, and that English magistrates denied redress to the injured persons. Lord Lytton went out with a praiseworthy resolve to see justice done. Unfortunately, he allowed sentiment to override his judgment in the first instance that presented itself. The details were so fully discussed in England that we need not repeat them here. The magistrate’s finding on the facts is admitted to have been a fair one. The offence of which he convicted the accused was the only one of which on the facts he could legally convict. The adequacy of the sentence is the only point open to discussion. Clearly the magistrate ought not to have incurred graver censure in this case than in one between natives, only, unless the inadequate punishment (if we assume that it was inadequate) was suggested by bias of race or social feeling. Now all the facts are adverse to such a supposition. Mr. Fuller, the defendant, was a Eurasian—not a European—pleader, a class with which English magistrates have no greater sympathy than with respectable native pleaders. Mr. Leeds, the magistrate, was known as one of the ablest and most zealous judicial officers of the N.W.P., and as one of the warmest advocates of the equal rights of natives. Yet the Viceroy, disregarding the opinions of the High Court and local Government, won himself a cheap character for courageous generosity by censuring the High Court and punishing the magistrate for not having convicted the accused of an offence which the law did not warrant, or committed for trial, a procedure the law did not direct. The cause Lord Lytton had at heart was prejudiced, not advanced, by this palpable injustice, and the authority of magistrates—an essential

element in successful administration—was everywhere lessened. The Duke of Buckingham's later action in the Weld case was perhaps more justifiable, but the public disgrace of officials for orders given in good faith from a sense of duty spread a sense of insecurity through the public service. The Secretary of State in his despatch in the Fuller case opened for the Viceroy a door of escape from the absurdity of his legal position, but, wisely perhaps, considering that the abstract question of the upholdal of native equality was supposed to be involved, did not reverse his orders.

Lord Lytton, no doubt, with his present experience, would not repeat his early attempts to conciliate native goodwill. They seem to have borne little fruit. While we have every reason to hope that, with the development of industry and civilisation, the classes who appreciate the blessings of security which our rule confers grow larger day by day, there has never been a time since the Mutiny in which the indications of discontent and disaffection have been more open and frequent than the present. We have spoken of the undisguised ill-humour—we may almost say, the insolence—of Sindia. Sir Salar Jung, regent of the Nizam's territory—so long the friend of England, and but lately the object of English hospitality—has either grievously sinned or is grievously ill-treated by the Indian Foreign Office. In the dispute as to the attendance of the young Nizam on the Prince of Wales, he had most Englishmen on his side, and won an easy diplomatic victory over the Resident at Hyderabad—perhaps we ought to say over Lord Northbrook, of whose policy the Resident was but the instrument. Encouraged by the personal favour shown to him by the Prince, he came to England, and it is said obtained permission from the Home Government to re-open the question of the restoration to Hyderabad of the Berar districts, which were ceded to the English in default of payment of the amount due for the contingent. The presentation of the statement of the grounds on which the retrocession was claimed, either aroused or was made an occasion for exhibiting the displeasure of the Calcutta Foreign Office. He was compelled to accept a coadjutor minister, who was distasteful and actively hostile to him, and to dismiss his English secretary, Mr. Oliphant. The power of insisting on the latter step was derived from the time when French influence rivalled ours in the native states, and it has never been exercised, we believe, since the French power perished. So violent a measure gives colour to the reports which pervade India that Government believes that Sir Salar Jung has become infected with the disaffection which, more than in any other native state, exists in Hyderabad, and has attempted to form combinations for action against imperial interests.

A new Act for regulating the import and possession of arms was passed with every circumstance of urgency. In the large towns the complaints made by the most enlightened and respectable natives as to the *exploitation* of India by England, and the impoverishment resulting from the employment of European troops and officials, grow louder and louder. The very benefits we confer are made an occasion of reproach. We have rescued the country from the worst calamities of famine. We propose to take steps for preventing and alleviating them in future. Yet the additional taxation necessary for this purpose is being denounced at large and influential meetings held at the great commercial centres. This, of course, is an evidence of discontent, not disaffection. We cannot hope to educate the people for self-government without feeling in advance some symptoms of dissatisfaction with bureaucratic despotism; and if our only desire had been to make our rule popular and stable, we should have adopted the civil policy of our native predecessors, and kept the blessings and discomforts of civilisation to ourselves. A far more alarming symptom is the license of the native press. Native editors are generally officials who have been dismissed for misconduct, or pleaders who have been struck off the rolls of the courts. Very few papers have a large circulation, but within narrow circles they are eagerly read. The matter is generally of the most offensive kind—attacks on local officials or grandees, and puerile ravings against Government. Of news, in the English sense, there is little. The object of the libel is generally to extort money; and of the sedition, to gratify the restless intolerance of an alien rule. No definite line of treason is suggested, and both writers and readers would probably be very unwilling to run any serious risk. It would be gross injustice to the vernacular papers not to add, that many are respectably conducted, and that though full justice is seldom done to the intentions of English rulers, their style of criticism is such as no wise Government would attempt to amend by legislation. Antipathy is shown rather to the individual Englishman than to the general spirit of the English administration. Indeed, the complaints of shortcomings indicate how high is the ideal the writers have conceived, and what vast powers they are willing to concede to the State. A paper of average respectability is rather weak, maundering, and misinformed than seditious. The results of such a general examination of the Indian press as Dr. J. Birdwood has lately made must qualify the unfavourable opinion based on extracts of exceptional virulence. Many of the complaints and criticisms are such as most thoughtful Englishmen in India will echo. Most of the excerpts lately telegraphed by the

Calcutta correspondent of the "Times" to justify the passing of the Gagging Act will seem to English readers not to transgress the limits of fair discussion. But this we must attribute rather to the correspondent's injudicious selection than to want of more striking material. At the last revision of the Indian Penal Code clauses were introduced for the more effective punishment of seditious libel. But their very stringency has rendered them inoperative. For some time past the growing tone of disaffection has been a subject of newspaper discussion for Anglo-Indians, and for frequent remark in the public utterances of the highest officials. It has been proposed to establish an official "Moniteur" for supplying to native readers correct information as to occurrences and the intentions of Government—to adopt a system of *communiqués*, and thus at once diffuse correct and counteract the effects of incorrect intelligence. Native gentlemen have been publicly appealed to by the Viceroy to use their social influence to discourage and stamp out the pest. But none of these palliatives have appeared sufficient. A measure for practically subjecting the vernacular press to a censorship has been introduced into the Indian Council—unexpectedly we cannot say—but certainly without due notice—and has been passed as urgent. Under the provisions of this Act, a magistrate or commissioner of police can, with the approval of the local government, call upon an editor to enter into a bond not to permit the publication of objectionable articles, and if he refuse, can require him to submit for approval before publication the matter of his paper. Thus the unrestrained liberty of the press which has so long existed in India has ceased to exist. This blow to an institution which we have come to regard as characteristic of English principles of government will be a subject of the deepest regret and concern to the friends of liberty, and we doubt not that popular pressure will be put on the Secretary of State to induce him to exercise his veto. In the absence of specific arguments, the great justification of the measure is the fact that it was passed as urgent by the unanimous voice of the Council—a body which, though consisting in great part of officials, comprises as many upholders of even the abstract principles of English freedom as any English consultative body. If it be objected that it applies only to vernacular papers, and that thus a fresh badge of English supremacy is displayed, it may be replied, that as liberty had to be interfered with, it was desirable to minimise the interference. A more practical answer is that English papers would not tolerate it. The "Spectator" alleges that the law can be evaded by printing on thin paper, and sending in covered envelopes through the post. No doubt no legislation can quite prevent

the dissemination of seditious pamphlets, but eyes less unnaturally acute than those of the "Spectator" will easily see the advantage gained by controlling their regular publication. A more reasonable objection is that Government must either carry its interference to an intolerable extent, or appear to sanction opinions it disapproves of. The courts will complain that their jurisdiction has—as in the Fuller case, and the Bombay Revenue Jurisdiction Bill—been disregarded. We trust that, in the determination of the question, regard will be had rather to the political requirements of India than to any abstract principle. The necessity of protecting native officials and residents from liability to libellous attacks—attacks from which native ideas of honour prevent them from seeking protection in courts of justice—has served as a convenient pretext for the measure. But the immediately impelling cause is, no doubt, the knowledge that in the present state of the country the papers may be made the means for organising the sedition which now exists, diffused, but inorganic. The state of feeling is no doubt due in great part to the rumours of European war and the frontier troubles, but Lord Lytton's too obvious desire for conciliation has, we think, rendered the public mind expectant of change. Orientals are apt to mistake moderation for weakness.

The phenomena of nature have been as troubled as those of politics. Towards the end of 1876 a storm-wave devastated the islands at the mouth of the Meghna, in Eastern Bengal, and the country for six miles inland. At the lowest estimate 60,000 persons perished, while hunger and pestilence preyed on the survivors.

While the energies of the supreme Government were absorbed in the empty show of the imperial assemblage, the Governments of Bombay and Madras were confronting the first distress, which was afterwards to grow into a famine unparalleled for extent and severity in the annals of India. We have not space to sketch its history in detail. Much has been said, and justly said, in excuse for the mistakes of both the Viceroy and the subordinate Governments. If the horrors of Orissa proved the necessity of timely measures of relief, the extravagance of Bengal proved the necessity of caution. It is generally impossible to estimate with anything like correctness the extent of the failure of crops, or—even a more important point—the amount of hoarded grain in the country, and the probability of the hoards being utilised. The steps taken in Bombay to deal with the distress there have been reviewed in our last number. In Madras the works selected as relief works were petty, scattered, and of little permanent utility. The system of supervision was lax and ineffi-

cient. While the resources of Government were frittered away, relief did not really reach the mass of those who needed relief. Before the autumn the Madras Government acknowledged that over 500,000 persons had perished. The interference of the supreme Government in Madras was, no doubt, necessary and justifiable. But its own action from the beginning was dilatory, vacillating, and in many instances inconsistent with its previous or subsequent declarations of policy. When the failure of the spring crops of 1877 roused it into action, Sir Richard Temple, who, as Lieutenant-Governor, was responsible for the policy of the Bengal famine administration, was deputed to inspect and report on the famine districts, and confer with and advise the local Governments. In the instructions given him for his guidance, the supreme Government admitted that "the task of saving life, irrespective of cost, was beyond its power, and that to relieve all the constantly recurring famines of India on the scale adopted in Behar three years before must inevitably lead to national bankruptcy." The people were therefore to be collected on large relief works—a strict labour test should be applied—wages should be only such as would give a bare subsistence. Gratuitous relief should be given only in cases of extreme necessity. "Even for the preservation of life," says the despatch, "it is obvious that limits are imposed by the facts with which we have to deal." Now the supreme Government had previously refused to sanction the large and useful works proposed by the Bombay Government. One of these, a short line of railway, would, if it had been completed in time, have obviated the necessity of carrying grain coming to Madras from Northern India first *down* the Western Ghats to Bombay, and then *up* the Western Ghats *from* Bombay. Again, the Bombay Government, interpreting the language of the despatch in the sense the public generally attached to it, issued orders that "if an individual refused to perform work which he was capable of doing, on the terms fixed by Government, no relief should be afforded him at the public expense." Thereupon the supreme Government, having had time to reconsider and regret the harshness of the principle it had laid down, expressed surprise that its instructions should have been so inexplicably misunderstood. Government probably felt itself acting on the old maxim of setting a thief to catch a thief when it sent Sir R. Temple to check the tendency to extravagance. He objected to the food-wage given, and proposed to substitute for it what soon became known as the pound-a-day ration. Notwithstanding the ardent opposition of the Madras Sanitary Commissioner, the supreme Government decided to sanction its introduction. The

result of inquiries which have been conducted since is that while a pound of grain a day is sufficient to support life in a healthy man, it is insufficient for those who came to the relief works in a state of exhaustion. In the conflict of professional opinion, it is impossible to decide how much of the excessive mortality from illness that attended and followed the famine was due to the low scale of diet adopted.

In September (when the failure of the autumn rains threatened the continuance in an intensified form of the distress), the Viceroy himself visited the famine districts. Much of the inefficiency of the Madras administration was felt to be due to the circuitous system of correspondence, and the friction on points of detail, as well as principle, between the Governor and Viceroy. It was, therefore, arranged at a conference between the two, that all famine questions coming before the Madras Government should be disposed of by the Governor alone. General Kennedy, who, having controlled the Bombay relief system, had the confidence of the Viceroy, was deputed to Madras as personal assistant of the Governor. The action of the local administration in laying in reserve stocks of grain had undoubtedly discouraged private enterprise in procuring supplies. The Duke of Buckingham therefore agreed to abstain from importing, or in any way interfering with private trade, but reserved the power of buying a supply of seed grain, if that were necessary. A large system of useful public works, under the supervision of the Public Works Department, was to be the backbone of relief, all other forms of relief being subsidiary to the main scheme. The works selected need not be such as were deemed directly remunerative. Gratuitous relief should be, as far as possible, temporary, and should be subsidiary to the main object of getting the distressed people to the works or back to their homes. Village relief, other than casual relief to famine-stricken travellers, should be confined to resident villagers who were house-ridden or otherwise incapable of labour. Relief wages were to be uniform, the restrictions as to food rates were removed, the relief kitchens were to be closed, and petty local relief works stopped. Large gangs of labourers were thus drafted away from the small works under civil supervision to great railway works. Special relief employments suitable to destitute artisans and persons of high caste were devised. The selection of works was left to the Governor and the administrative staff of officers was enormously reinforced from the resources of the Empire.

The system adopted for Madras was made general throughout the country, and had the gloomy forecasts of the time been fulfilled,

the new phase of the famine would have found Government ready for its responsibilities. But if there ever be a question of bestowing famine honours, we trust that the mismanagement of the early stage will not pass unregarded. In August, before leaving Simla, the Viceroy recorded a minute in which he set forth the principles at which Government had arrived. Its policy was to facilitate transport, and not to interfere with private trade so long as private trade was active; to give sanction to useful public works, to the destitute labour, and to the helpless poor gratuitous relief when the pressure was extreme; "to avert deaths by starvation at the lowest cost compatible with prevention of wholesale destruction of human life. The Government was resolved to avert death by starvation by all means practically within the resources of the state." Works such as canals, roads, railways, and tramways for the transport of grain were to be undertaken.

Before the Viceroy's visit the Duke of Buckingham had made that appeal to English charity which received so splendid a response. A meeting had been summoned for the same purpose in Calcutta, but at the express request of the Viceroy had not been held. After his conference with the Duke, Lord Lytton explained his objections to the proposed appeal and the conditions on which he sanctioned it. The Madras Government had undertaken to give food and attendance either in relief camps or kitchens to famine-stricken people who could not work, and it distributed relief in the shape of a money dole to nearly half a million of people at their villages. In order to do this the whole available organisation had been strained to the utmost, and it was impossible to place it at the disposal of an irresponsible committee. The Viceroy was unwilling to ask for public subscriptions in order to supplement the Government expenditure on the same lines, for the same ends, and by the same organisation as that of Government. It would be necessary ultimately to impose taxation to meet the expenses of the famine, and it was therefore unfair to appeal to the people of India for subscriptions for the very objects for which they would in any case be taxed. It appeared, however, that in Madras the funds collected were to be devoted to special objects not coming within the scope of Government relief, *e.g.*, the relief of those who were not so far reduced as to apply for Government assistance, and the support of orphans and destitute children not reached by Government agency. For such purposes the Viceroy desired that every encouragement should be given to spontaneous charitable effort.

Though famine still lingers in some of the districts affected, the

great agony has passed away. We may usefully review some of its lessons. 1. The machinery of the private grain trade of India is so delicate, and adapts itself so easily to fresh requirements, that Government interference can, as a rule, produce only harm. Government should confine its activity to procuring and diffusing information, and securing easy means of transit. Only in cases where the difficulties to be encountered make the risk too great for private ventures and free competition should Government attempt to throw in grain supplies. 2. Where the number of distressed persons is great, the only effectual organisation is that of the Public Works Department. Civil officers should assist the efforts of the professional agency by the local influence and information which, under a reformed system of district administration, would in theory as well as in fact be at their disposal. 3. The scheme of having a large number of local works ready to be undertaken in each district, however plausible, is not feasible. In any one district famines are of such rare occurrence that it would be absurd to postpone the execution of works of the highest utility till they occur. Works of secondary utility would be mere waste, and as they would in most cases require the employment of skilled labour (at famine rates of pay), in addition to the mass of unskilled, they would entail considerable expense not necessary for mere relief at the time Government could least afford it. It would be impossible, too, to have compact bodies of relief labourers large enough for the professional supervision and the complete organisation we have mentioned as necessary. A famine caused by drought means not only dearth of food but want of water and loss of beasts of burden. The relief centres must therefore be near the great lines of communication, and labourers must be brought to the relief rather than relief to the labourers. 4. A strict labour test must be imposed, and gratuitous relief given in only the most extreme cases. The pay given must not be higher than that which will support healthy existence, but it must be high enough to prevent such physical deterioration as will cause subsequent loss of life or lessen the productive energy of the people. Relief operations must neither be "a vast picnic," like those Sir Richard Temple conducted in Bengal, nor a slow system of starvation such as he was accused of proposing for Madras. The strikes and riots which in many cases followed the reduction of the rate in Bombay and Madras prove, not that the new rate was too low, but that the first rate was too high. It may seem a small thing to err on the side of generosity, but it must be remembered that the additional expense to Government would be represented not by the additional

pay to each of the really destitute, but of the entire pay given to those who but for the small increment would have depended on their own resources.

The interest in England as to the disposal of the Mansion-House Relief Fund is disproportionate to the enthusiasm with which it was subscribed. The attempt to establish a separate agency failed almost from the outset, and the local machinery of distribution was that of Government officials, supplemented by the private aid which Government would have secured had it, and not private charity, supplied the funds. The action of officials was, of course, embarrassed by having two controlling authorities instead of one, and by being forced to keep up a show of distinction in the administration of the funds put at their disposal by each. When the appeal for help was first made, the Madras committee expected to receive about twenty lakhs (£200,000), and it proposed to devote this sum to the relief of cases of actual suffering which did not satisfy the Government tests. The total collections amounted to eighty lakhs, and the committee decided to apply the surplus to (1) the provision of seed grain and bullocks for cultivators who had lost the means of purchasing; (2) the re-thatching of houses; (3) the establishment of day-nurseries for the children of the destitute poor; and (4) the establishment of orphanages. The results of the execution of the original plan are most satisfactory. The allowances made in large towns to servants, labourers, and the lower ranks of Government employés have prevented much suffering. The advantages of day-nurseries, too, are obvious. The expenditure for both purposes in Madras town was £12,000, and 3 per cent. of the population was relieved. We may fairly ask whether, in a country where there is no poor-law, and seasons of want are exceptional, the money might not have been furnished by local charity or from municipal funds. As to the other ends proposed by the committee, we can only remark, that if the distress was so great as has been represented, the fund, large as it was, would have been inadequate to relieve it in any sensible degree. Supposing only 5 per cent. of the population required relief, the allowance to the most afflicted district would have given only about Rs.10 a head. Now to work a plough in the stiff soil of these regions requires at least three pair of oxen, and the price of a pair in ordinary seasons is about Rs.75. Remembering the ghastly stories which made the appeal to English sympathy so fruitful, we would naturally expect to hear that the land was, when rain had fallen, a verdant wilderness of weeds, and that despairing crowds clamoured for help from the exhausted resources of the committee. Instead of this, from all sides

came reports that the area of cultivation was larger than in previous years. We find the committee forcing its advances on reluctant and protesting district officials. The famine returns explain this. The population of the distressed districts is twenty-three millions. The numbers relieved have never exceeded three millions. That is, 80 per cent. have been independent of Government help. This is not all. They have also been almost independent of imported food, for the total imports to Madras during the famine months amounted to sufficient food for only 25 per cent. of the population. The country had even greater grain resources than these statistics indicate. When cultivation was resumed in September great numbers of labourers left the relief works. Though Government had announced that the *scarcity* would continue till January or February, prices immediately fell. The reason was that the wealthy farmers had resumed grain wages from the stores they had kept in reserve. The loss of cattle was undoubtedly great, but a large proportion were useless animals, which, but for Hindu prejudices, would have been destroyed as public nuisances long before. If the relief came too late to prevent the wholesale loss of life which official mismanagement allowed in the early stages of the famine, it came too late also to remove the incentive to effort. The judicious system finally adopted by Government encouraged self-reliance. When the season for ploughing came, "bullocks were lent round; there were cases of men yoking themselves to the plough." It is clear that the relief the committee proposed to give could be given, and ought to be given, only in exceptional cases, and that if the selection were capricious the effect would be demoralising. The procedure was such as we would expect in a body of trustees who had funds they were anxious to spend. The Mysore Committee proposed to devote funds to enabling agricultural labourers to take up ownerless fields, and thus raise themselves to the status of cultivators. The Madras Committee thought it unsatisfactory that a sub-committee had not spent its allotment. Indiscreet sympathisers of missionaries (the value of whose services have naturally given them a position of influence) have publicly declared that the value of the orphanages is to save the little ones, not from hunger, but from ignorance of religious truth. The effect of the fund, on the whole, has been to do for the distressed districts what Government or local charity ought in any case to have done, and in addition something which might safely have been left to the people themselves to do. The direct end in view might have been attained with less waste of effort by remitting the sum to the Government of India as a "Benevolence" from the

people of England. But it must be admitted that an appeal from a committee apparently independent of Government had an effect which no appeal from Government could have had. If the Indian revenues have gained, English charities have suffered. Yet the coldest economist cannot regret that England has shown on so splendid a scale the sympathy it feels for India; nor can the soberest politician deny that the display has added strength to our rule.

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