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No. LXIII.

FOR FEBRUARY, 1860.

Art. I.—*Souvenirs et Correspondance tirés des papiers de Madame Récamier.* 2 Vols. Paris: Michel Levy.

It has been a constant subject of regret with men of the world in our own country, that the social habits of France in former times (namely, the establishment of social intercourse upon intellectual bases) should never have been introduced into England. From Horace Walpole to Lord Holland, you meet everywhere with the strong feeling of French superiority, as far as the organization of society is concerned. It is quite clear that we envy the French their *salons*, and that directly an Englishman ceases to be an irreclaimable "sporting character," or to be riveted to the mere drudgery of political life, he is ready at once to exclaim, "Why don't we talk like the French? why are we so utterly ignorant of what they term *la causerie?*"

Now, at the same time with this, may be observed in France the disposition to cast a regretful, retrograde glance upon society as it once existed in that country, and to say with a sigh, "The real genuine *salon* exists no longer—it is extinct." From the sadness with which Frenchmen speak of the decline and fall of *salon* life, and from the regret expressed by Englishmen whom we have been thought to regard as of superior intelligence, that no such thing could be established in our own country, we might reasonably infer that the Paris *salon* was a social institution of importance and undeniable worth.

That the "*salon*," such as it was constituted in France from Madame de Rambouillet down to Madame Récamier, was one of the chief springs whereby the political and social machine was set working, is not a fact to be disputed; and therefore the institution—"salon," is of importance. But from its *de facto* importance to its actual worth, and to the admission of its beneficial influence, there is some distance. We do not think it easy to exaggerate the mere importance of salon life, as it once was, in France. The questions that depend immediately upon it are no less than these: the superiority of domestic over social influences, and *vice versa;* the more or less active power of women in public affairs; the respect for intelligence, or the subserviency to wealth; the substitution of coterieism for public opinion, and several others we could name. Because all these questions bear upon the morals of a nation, and have mainly contributed to fashion the public life of France to what we now see, we maintain that *le salon*, as the term was understood some years back by our neighbours, is a thing of very great importance, and ought to be studied by all who wish to obtain an accurate knowledge of French civilization as it has been and is.

Whether our inability ever to found the *salon*-sovereignty in our own society be, or be not, to be regretted,—that, we take to belong to a different order of topics, and to be subject to a different system of discussion.

The first *salon* established in France (for in social life especially Paris is France) was that of Madame de Rambouillet in 1620; the last one was that of Madame Récamier. What precedes the former, and what follows the latter, are equally without action, and undeserving of note. The great Revolution of '89–'93 has passed between the two epochs, and has torn up out of the political soil all the roots wherefrom other nations draw their political existence. A crown has

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been shattered, a *noblesse* suppressed, and the most insane theories set up in lieu of the humbler devices of practical experience. Yet between the *Hotel Rambouillet* and the *Abbaye aux Bois* there is an astonishing likeness; and assuredly, if any considerable changes have been wrought by events upon the mass of the French race by the century and a half which extends from the middle of the seventeenth to the end of the nineteenth age, such changes have not told upon the two types of female supremacy denominated la Marquise de Rambouillet, and Madame Récamier. These two women are terribly alike,—terribly, for they ought to be so dissimilar. Both of them might have made their daily *toilette* in that bright apartment,

"Sacred to dress, and Beauty's pleasing cares,"

of which we are told in the fourteenth book of the *Iliad* as having been built with "skill divine" by Vulcan for Imperial Juno. They are no more simply, naturally, women than that comes to. Their home is in Olympus; and well might a witty Frenchman of the present day say, "You are trying now to make a saint out of Madame Récamier; but it is in vain. *Ce n'est pas une sainte, c'est une déesse.*" She is so—a goddess belonging to that mythology, where Catharine de Rambouillet is familiar to "immortals" under the name of *Arthenice.* And yet an entire society, a very world, had been overthrown from base to summit between these two, whose order of ideas remained so nearly identical, and the very graceful folds of whose vaporous *classical* veils enshroud their charms in like fashion, and all undisturbed by the fierce breath of that hurricane, the Revolution.

"My great desire," says the Duc de Montmorency in one of his tenderly serious letters to Madame Récamier, "is to see you conceive some weariness of all your parties (*un peu d'ennui de vos soirées*), and some distaste of a vast number of '*charming people.*' Is not that a cruel wish? yet it is far from my intention to do anything displeasing to you."

"*Un peu d'ennui de vos soirées!*" In those words lies the whole thing. It is just that "weariness" that French society never did feel. It went on from year to year, *satisfied* with its superficial existence, and not anxious for anything beyond it. It is a question, how far a nation, or an individual, can keep up in an equal proportion two different kinds of activity? how far any *intensity* of energy can be brought to bear upon two totally dissimilar pursuits? Now, a Frenchman usually shows as much vivacity with regard to his amusements as we devote of energy to positive business; and it has been justly enough remarked, that whilst Frenchmen discuss matters of art, for instance, with a large amount of earnestness, and even gravity, reserving all the constitutional levity of their natures for serious affairs, we, who give to public affairs all the energy that is in us, have small power left for the delicate appreciation of finer, lighter subjects. We probably are the most undiscriminating nation upon earth as to our amusements. We do not make them our study; we take them as they come; asking chiefly from them the largest amount of physical and mental relaxation that they can possibly afford to us. Our habitual mode of securing them is to *pay* for them; but we give them but little of our time, and none of our genuine selves. The French system is precisely the reverse. They fashion their diversions by contributing to the utmost perfection of the latter with all their might. Amusement is, and has always been, the business of a Frenchman; for the business that is *not* amusement has always been to him an insufferable bore. Work, hard work, the harder the better, comes natural to the Anglo Saxon race; they find an excitement in absolute labour that is unknown to any other set of men;—hence their persistent predilection for the roughest and most fatiguing of field sports;—whilst the French, on the contrary, and generally all communities of Latin origin, *escape* from toil at the first opportunity; and *not* having thrown their very souls and their very selves into the work, throw all that they are into the pleasure. Let this pleasure be of one species or of another, that is comparatively of little import; with one race it will be artistic, with another social—that is of no consequence; it is the fact of its being pleasure and not work that has to be noted. The French, who are *not* an artistic nation, and are utterly wanting in all the qualities that could make them so, are pre-eminently a social one: namely, a race for whom the pleasures of society, properly so called, were, up to a very late period, the one chief aim of existence. The consequence of this was, that what the French themselves term "*la vie des salons,*" when *salons* were in their splendour, was the one form under which, what *we* call *public life* was tolerable to a Frenchman. They never *voluntarily,* and of their own free will, made a nearer approach to it; and what an ambitious young Englishman achieves in Parliament, was achieved in France in the salon of some great *social authority.*

It would be far beyond the purpose of these pages to examine all the causes which

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have struck at the existence of social centres in France; but one of those which have irrevocably destroyed them, is the love of and the necessity for gain.

Speculation is the inevitable resource of those who worship gold and hate work. *All* France (and there is no exaggeration in the expression)—idolatrous of money as the representative of enjoyment, and more averse from toil than ever—has thrown itself insanely into speculation under every imaginable shape and form; and now the nation is incapacitated from taking any interest in what were its pursuits and amusements in other times. Gambling, of whatsoever species, is a curse to the gambler, and utterly absorbs and enslaves him, leaving no freedom of any description. Frenchmen have not replaced an idle and elegant by a toilsome life. They do not work more or harder than they were used to do, nor gain in wholesome labour a desire for such pleasures as merely relax.—No! they are not incapable of their former pursuits because they are devoted to more serious ones. They are incapable of them because they are less free, because their entire social and political system, since the great Revolution, binds them down to the dire necessity of gaining wherewithal to live upon, and that, their inborn laziness of nature not having in any degree been modified, they, as a national aggregate, and from the highest to the lowest ranks, prefer speculation to toil. They derive no satisfaction from the continuous efforts of their own energy, or from any assertion of will, but like rather to trust to the caprices of Fate. There is something irresistibly charming to the French mind in undeserved favours; and the easily-won wealth which, by *Bourse* transactions, falls to the lot of the "lucky" gambler, constitutes in France a sort of distinction, and proves the winner to be on good terms with Destiny. The French like the "wheel of Fortune" better than that rougher, harder, but surer "wheel," to which practical men know how to set their own "shoulders" when they are determined to get on in the world.

But this being the case, gambling being the most absorbing and enslaving of all pursuits, and all France being infected by the gambling fever, it is not very hard to see how the importance of salon life has ceased. It *has* ceased altogether; and a "*salon*," such as it existed even under the Restoration, for example, is, we should say, a thing of absolutely impossible existence now. At the time when *salons* flourished, we must do the society of France the justice to say, that it was, of all European societies, the one in which personal and intellectual superiority took the most decidedly the lead of wealth. Money really was powerless to achieve social consideration for any one in the *ancien regime;* and the people who founded the traditions of French social excellence were all free from any preoccupations of mere money-getting. From the moment when outward show parade, *le luxe*, as it is termed —has been imposed *as a duty* upon a society that is—whatever may be said—*not* richer but poorer than it formerly was, and upon a race more and more degenerate, morally and physically, every day, and less capable of transforming time and labour into gold, —from that moment the struggle was inevitable of [a whole nation against "Chance." What we would fain term the "Social Institutions" of France were overthrown; for that species of intercourse which is founded on extensive mental cultivation, and on delicacy of perception, inseparable both from habitual freedom of thought, cannot co-exist with a state of things in which every man is for ever rushing through life as through an overcrowded thoroughfare, pushing and being pushed, splashing and beings plashed — in which he would give all the poets, from Homer to Lamartine, for a "rise" of 20 cents, and subordinate the honour of his very country to the fluctuation of a "valeur publique." From the moment when "the Beautiful" grows to be a word literally void of sense, and when the "*Ideal*" awakens no more vibration than would the song of a nightingale upon an untanned cowhide,—from that moment, what is understood as "polite society" is at an end. Balls where no one dances, concerts where no one listens, crushes, routs,—excuses for the bringing together of a heterogeneous crowd,—all these are possible, but these are not "society;" and the meeting of well-educated and refined men and women, who derive delight from exchanging and comparing the impressions produced upon them by things of an intellectual order — the "communion of minds"—is destroyed, the power of appreciating it is gone.

Something else, too, to which we would almost rather not allude, is so natural a consequence of the restless condition to which a race must come which is engaged in a perpetual conflict with luck, that "society" is put upon the defensive, and has to barricade itself against the attacks of an out-door enemy it had been accustomed to despise. The "*Demi-monde*" drives the "*Monde*" into a corner, captures what might be its best ornaments, and whenever an encounter occurs, carries off the victory. With a race whose sole energies are exhausted by the

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feverish and ceaseless attempt to compel Fortune, self-forgetfulness is the synonym of relaxation. Hence the kind of immorality which is to the *galanterie* of the *ancien régime* what a Republic is to a Monarchy. The orgy is substituted for the salon; the *Dame aux Camélias* is put upon a pasteboard throne, but Madame Récamier is impossible.

Why it is that the *salon*, as an institution, was of such of difficult establishment in England that it may be said never to have been rightly achieved, will, we think, be made evident more than once in the course of the few pages we have devoted to the salon life of our neighbour; but it is as the representative of that life in its fullest expression, though in its last farewell splendours, that Madame Récamier seems to us pre-eminently to claim our notice. Madame Récamier is, to use an Americanism, a representative woman. In her was incarnate the civilization of a country and an age. She was a link between Past and Present, and clearly shows where the link dropped, where the chain lies for ever broken. She prolonged salon life far beyond the term of its natural existence in France; but *as* she prolonged it, it was the true semblance and image of what the once important reality had been. Madame Récamier's *salon* did not spring living out of the national life, but it perpetuated the memory of what had once exuberantly lived, and was a lingering part of bygone France, just as are the *Théatre Français* and the *Grand Opéra.* The comedies of Molière played by Mlle. Mars, or, later, the classical tragedies of Racine and Corneille, galvanised into *being* by Rachel, did not more thoroughly appertain to the traditions and to the social organization of the pre-revolutionary epoch than did the *Abbaye aux Bois.* Madame Récamier's *salon*, after the democratic bewilderment of the Revolution of '93, the military despotism of the Empire, and the pretentious and unpractical "Parliamentary" drama so absurdly performed by the Monarchy of July, was not a "revival," it was merely a *survival.* It endured till its equilibrium was disturbed; but when once it fell, nothing springing from it took its place. It was the last—it marked the irrevocable end of what had one been and could no more be..

Juliette Bernard, the daughter of a notary of Lyons, and wife to a hatter's son of the same town, was, by a combination of circumstances, formed expressly for presiding over the last salon in a capital whose aristocracy had lost all its power, whilst preserving all its pretensions. Had Madame Récamier married a *grand seigneur*, or even a well-authenticated *gentilhomme*, she would have been too decidedly "*somebody*," to consent to follow the lead of the haughty class of people who chose to make her house their place of rendezvous. Now, no *salon* has ever become famous in France whose mistress was *predominant.* M. de Talleyrand distinctly told the Duchesse de Duras, in 1823, that she was by no means what the head of a salon ought to be, for that she was not half "passive" enough. There is a curious proof of how right he was, in the different *use* made of the same "*idol*" by Madame de Duras and Madame Récamier. The former lady was handsome, distinguished, higher-born could not be; she was still nearer to youth than age—"*elle était presque jeune encore*," to quote M. Villemain's ingenious words,—she was as evidently "somebody" as it was possible to be; and the high priest of her temple was M. de Châteaubriand, then in the zenith of his fame and influence; yet never did Madame la Duchesse de Duras succeed in establishing a *salon* that could be compared to that which was nominally *held* by Juliette Bernard Madame Récamier, the wife, and later widow, of the Lyons banker. The high priest of the temple, too, was the same; only, when he fell to the lot of his latest idolatress, he was *not* in the zenith of his fame or influence. But the *salon* of the *Abbaye aux Bois* was then infinitely superior to that of the Hotel de Duras. The devoted editor for the *Souvenirs* before us shall, in spite of her devotion to the memory of her aunt, give us herself the principal reason: "Madame Récamier," she observes,* "submitted to those around her upon intellectual matters (*dans l'ordre des choses de l'esprit, elle se subordonnait encore davantage*); happy in being able to reflect lofty thoughts, and feeling herself capable of inspiring them, she entirely refused all attempts at producing any work of her own. She disliked even to write a letter."

Here is the real secret: Madame Récamier's nature was a subordinate one; and such only have the pliancy that is requisite to put at their ease the various and often conflicting elements of which a *salon*, properly so called, is composed.

It was not her personal character alone that prevented Madame Récamier from any predominance, it was her social position also. She never would, in a natural and ordinary state of affairs, have found herself mixed up on a footing of equality with what remained of the once arrogant *Cour de Versailles.* Circumstances brought her into the intimacy of these people; but she was so perfectly "adopted" by them, because she could not by any possibility reign over them.

* *Souvenirs. Avant Propos*, p. iv.

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These obsolete distinctions, made doubly ridiculous by the lamentable and complete political inferiority of the French *noblesse*, were neverthless of such weight (nay, are so, up to the present hour!), that Madame Lenormand herself, alluding to her aunt's connection with the aristocratic society of France, comments upon the friendship for her of Madame de Boigne in these words: "Her birth, relationships, tastes, and family traditions, placed her far more *naturally* and more exclusively than Madame Récamier in the centres of Royalist opposition. . . . Madame Récamier liked everything in Madame de Boigne,—*even* that slight touch of *disdain* that made her kindness and approbation, where vouchsafed, more flattering."

We suppose that to a Frenchwoman, whose habits of life have familiarized her with such "distinctions" as are here pointed out, and who has been enabled to regard as "flattering" the "approbation" that pleasantly contrasts with "disdain," it would be an impossible task to make clear what are the feelings roused in the minds of British gentlemen and gentlewomen by such a passage as the one above quoted. But we maintain that that passage speaks volumes touching the whole social organization of France, and throws a strong light upon the incurable stolidity of the noblesse, the incurable subserviency of the middle classes, and upon the standing in society of Madame Récamier.

The most curious part of the latter's early existence is, to our mind, her juxtaposition to Bonaparte. It is strange that the two persons who are to tread the down-hill road of life hand in hand, and the most romantic portion of whose earthly career is to be found towards its close, are, both of them at its outset, brought face to face with the hero of the Italian campaign. M. de Châteaubriand is a mere youth when he finds himself glared upon, looked through, by the "deep, gray, watchful eyes of Napoleon," as *Eöthen* calls them. And those extraordinary eyes have power over him; fascinate, draw him on, and—through the *poetic* sense that is in him —subjugate him. "*Il n'eut pas été ce qu'il était si la muse n'eut été la*," exclaims the author of *René* of the young conqueror, whom he delighted to picture to himself as fascinated in turn by his own genius. Certain it is, that, whether the influence or not of "the muse" dictated the preoccupation of Bonaparte, preoccupied he *was* by M. de Châteaubriand; and *therefore*, too, when he has discovered his future diplomatist, and when the glaring gaze of the "gray, watchful eyes" has been received *en pleine poitrine* by the poet, the poet proclaims the hero "*un grand découvreur d'hommes!*" He likewise attributes a wondrous gift of "discrimination" to the despot, "for that he saw at once *what men* could only be called to the *highest* places—could only lead, never follow." The eulogistic strain sinks into a very different key, it is true, when the "great discoverer of men" has, instead of the "highest position," left the diplomate no position at all save that of an opposition chief, which he is forced to occupy as best he may; but however that may be, the coming together of Bonaparte and M. de Châteaubriand was no ordinary one; it was the shock of two poetic temperaments, and from the sudden contact, fire flashed forth.

The manner of Napoleon's first meeting with Madame Récamier was no less strange, and perhaps even more characteristic. But this time we have the stage-hero whole and entire, the man who studied Talma to the least as closely as he did Turenne, and who endured impatiently that his theatrical "effects" should be interfered with. We will give the account of this meeting as it stands in the editor's own words:—

"On the 10th of December 1797, the *Directoire* gave a species of triumphal *fête* for the reception and in honour of the vanquisher of Austria in Italy. The ceremony was to take place in the grand court of the Palace of the Luxembourg. At the extreme end of the court was an altar, *and a statue of Liberty;* at the foot of the altar were the five directors, *attired in full Roman costume;* lower down, the ministers, ambassadors, and all sorts of public functionaries were grouped together upon semicircular benches; whilst the crowd of persons invited found room as they might behind the officials. At every window of the Palace was a cluster of heads; and the adjacent courts, the garden, and streets leading to the Luxembourg were thronged with sight-seers. Madame Récamier and her mother seated themselves upon the *banquettes réservées*. Madame Récamier had never yet seen General Bonaparte; but she shared the enthusiasm which at that moment was universal, and she certainly was impressed in the liveliest manner by the prestige of a renown so sudden, and won at such an early age. Bonaparte appeared: he was at that time slight, thin, if not all but emaciated, and the outlines of his head and face had an extraordinary character of grandeur and firmness. He was surrounded by generals, and by his aides-de-camp. To a speech of M. de Talleyrand's (then Minister for Foreign Affairs) he only replied by a few, short, plain-spoken sentences, that were greeted by

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a burst of applause. From the seat she occupied, Madame Récamier could not distinguish the speaker's countenance. A feeling of curiosity, easy enough to understand, made her wish to have a good view of Bonaparte's features; taking advantage of a moment when Barras was engaged in making a long reply to the young general, she rose from her place, and stood up in order to see him better. But this movement, which suddenly also showed her to the whole assembly, attracted its attention towards herself. All eyes were fixed upon her, and a low but long-enduring murmur of admiration greeted the apparition. This murmur did not escape the notice of Bonaparte; he turned his head abruptly towards the point where the attention of the public was fixed, as though to ask at once what object could possibly divert from its contemplation of himself that worshipping crowd, whose idol he deemed that he exclusively was. He perceived a female figure robed in white, and a glance fell on Madame Récamier, the harshness whereof she was unable to bear; she resumed her seat as quickly as she could."

So! here we have all the irrepressible envy, all the uncontrollable meanness and greediness for applause, of the genuine "stage-player!"—of the man with whom self-exhibition is a passion at once and a trade, and who revels in the noise and show of reputed greatness far more than he derives any satisfaction from the consciousness of a great deed done. He has played through his part at Arcola and Lodi, chiefly, for that to do so was to insure the enacting of such scenes as we are here called upon to witness at home. He is destined to scale great heights in a fallen country, to domineer over men whom there is small honour (and this he knew!) in subduing; and he is luxuriating in a foretaste of all this, on that said 10th of December, 1797; he is sacrificed to by the pagan Barras, and anointed as it were in words by the still half-Christian ex-Bishop Talleyrand; he has at his feet all the corrupt tribe of law-givers and breakers, of whom he dimly guesses what he shall one day make; and more than all, —five directors in *full Roman costume* (!), whose mock citizenship of Rome his hand is soon to scatter to the winds. Nothing is omitted of what "scenic effect" requires: there is the "altar," commemorative, however, only of a profaned, proscribed, and utterly uncomprehended creed; and the statue of Liberty, in "whose name so much wrong" had been, and so much more was to be "done." Nothing could be better "got up" than the whole exhibition; and the leading actor, for whose benefit it was all arranged, was enjoying to the utmost that species of intoxication which with true histrionic natures ranks above *every* other sensation, when all at once there is a sudden interruption to all this rapture. Some one else is applauded! some one dares to stand between the great artist and *his public!* and then the "hero" turns round sharply upon his *rival*, becomes aware of the presence of a very young woman dressed in white, and with (again) the "gray, watchful eyes" (they flash with anger this time) looks down into subserviency, and drives away from these his own particular "boards," this impertinent, venturesome "*bella creatura bianca vestita.*" We can really fancy we see the whole scene, which for the thousandth time justifies the exclamation of the poor old Pope, Pius VII, at Fontainbleau: "*Commediante!*" is reported to have been the one word by which the Holy Father replied to all the vain phantasies, mad projects, and ungenerous insults that, in their first interview, the "modern Charlemagne" showered upon his captive.

The *second* interview of Bonaparte with Madame Récamier was of a different order. It took place two years after. Lucien Bonaparte, the First Consul's *republican* brother, had chosen to fall desperately in love with the beauty of the day, and, under pretence that her name was Juliet, to propose himself for the part of Romeo, and to write letters, which she showed to M. Récamier. Persistent discouragement ended by cooling Lucien's flame, and he remained upon cordial terms of innocent intimacy with the wealthy banker and his fair wife. In the winter of 1800, after the *coup d'etat* of the 18th Brumaire had restored to the French the utmost amount of that over-government which they bear so pleasantly, and for which they seem so fitted, the winter in Paris opened agreeably. Upon one occasion Lucien Bonaparte, then Minister of the Interior, gave a banquet and a concert to the First Consul. Madame Récamier was amongst the guests. As at the *fête triomphale* of the Luxembourg, Madame Récamier was attired all in white, with only a necklace and bracelets of pearls. The whole ceremony was pompous and theatrical as before, and as always, wherever a Bonaparte is connected with the business on hand; but we are relieved to find that there are positively no more "Roman costumes,"—this part of the pageant having been abolished when the last semblance of Republicanism was so cavalierly "thrown out at windows" by the "General-in-Chief of the army of Italy."

"Having on entering the rooms seated

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herself close to the chimney," says the editor of the work before us, "Madame Récamier remarked at a little distance a man whom she took for Joseph Bonaparte. As she often met Joseph at Madame de Staël's, she made him a sign of friendly recognition, which was responded to with eagerness, but with a certain slight air of surprise. At the same moment the lady became aware of her mistake, and saw it was the First Consul she had bowed to."

Madame Récamier was upon this occasion, as we are told, extremely struck by the expression of Bonaparte's countenance, which appeared to her quite different from what she had thought it upon the former occasion. She was this time impressed by the "gentleness" of his air. A moment or two after they had exchanged bows, Napoleon turned to speak with Fouché, who was at his elbow; and it was plain that their whispered words had the lovely Juliette for their object, for, whilst speaking, the eyes of the future despot never left Madame Récamier for an instant—an attention that may have been rather embarrassing to its object, we should presume. Here, too, comes the first *entrée en scene* of that vilest of all Napoleon's counsellors, Fouché; the man to whom, perhaps of all others, the perpetual mixture of crime and corruption came easiest. No sooner had his master released him, than Fouché glided up to the back of Madame Récamier's chair, and murmured pleasantly in her ear, "The First Consul finds you charming!"

They certainly had an off-hand way of doing these things at that time; and bashfulness scarcely seems to have constituted one of the qualities of even a professed prude, as was Madame Récamier. The editor of these "*Souvenirs*" distinctly states, that "the respectful and evidently admiring attention paid to her upon this evening, by the man whose glory was beginning to fill the world, predisposed her to judge him favourably;" and she records above all, the superiority of his "simplicity" over Lucien's pompous and "theatrical airs." There is undoubtedly "simplicity" sufficient in his first words to a lady he had never addressed before. Bowing gracefully, he said with a smile, and in by no means a low tone, "I too should like to go to Clichy." * Rather a free and easy *entrée en matiere*, as we might perhaps conceive! but thought on the contrary, graceful in the extreme, and full of a delightful "simplicity" there where it took place in reality.

* *Souvenirs*, Livre i. p. 37. "Clichy" was the name of the villa at the gates of Paris where M. and Madame Récamier received their friends.

Dinner was announced. The First Consul rose, and not offering his arm to any lady, passed on to the dining-room alone, and at the head of his guests; thus already assuming the airs and etiquette of royalty. After the same fashion, he seated himself at table; his mother, Madame Letitia, taking the chair at his right hand. The chair on the left hand remained vacant. As Madame Récamier walked into the *salle à manger*, Madame Bacciocchi whispered to her something she did not hear; and the fair Juliette seated herself several removes below Bonaparte, who, after looking round at the assembled guests with undisguised ill-humour, beckoned to Garat, the celebrated singer, saying sharply, "*Eh! bien, Garat, mettez vous là.*" Garat took the chair to the left of the First Consul; and when the very hurried repast was over, which Napoleon's rapid way of devouring what he ate inflicted upon whomsoever had the honour of eating with him, he approached *la belle Juliette*, and abruptly enough asked, "why she had not taken the seat by his side?" "I should not have presumed to do so," answered she; to which, "It *was your place*," was the rejoinder; Madame Bacciocchi justifying herself in her brother's eyes by eagerly adding: "That was what I tried to make you understand as we went to dinner!"

Later in the evening there was music; and Garat, the idol of the place and of the time, sang air after air from Gluck's operas, to the enthusiastic applause of every one present. Madame Récamier, who really loved music, was absorbed by her admiration of Garat's singing,—not, however, so entirely so as to prevent her from appreciating Napoleon's admiration of herself; "for," says her biographer, "as she every now and then raised her eyes, she found those of Bonaparte persistently fixed upon her, their gaze riveted to her features, with a determination that *in the end* made her feel a certain degree of embarrassment; and when the concert was over, he came up to her, remarking, that 'she *really* cared for music.' He would have resumed the conversation; but Lucien came up, and it was broken off."

We confess that our want of familiarity with the tone of fashionable manners in France at the period we are treating of, induces us to think, that the fair Juliette's sense of embarrassment at the Dictator's "persistent" attentions was somewhat long in manifesting itself; and when the admiring editor of her "*Souvenirs*" *does* chronicle the fact of her being "*in the end*" (though only in a "certain degree") "embarrassed," we are strongly tempted to cry, "*Enfin!*" and

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speculate upon how much less it might take to bewilder and confuse an Englishwoman of seventeen or eighteen, as was then Madame Récamier's age.

This meeting at Lucien's house is the circumstance to which we shall find Fouché alluding later, in the course of a wondrous negotiation entrusted to him by his master, and in which the morals and manners of the epoch, and of the Napoleonian court, are shown in the strongest possible light. This is the one solitary interview with the ruler of France which, four years after, Madame Récamier is assured that formidable potentate has been pleased "never to forget."

Meanwhile, when this one interview was over, and the effect of Madame Récamier's beauty upon the First Consul had ceased to be immediate, the First Consul seems to have easily enough made upon his mind to worry and annoy Madame Récamier in her most intimate *entourage*. There is even, as it appears to us, a species of mean and jealous satisfaction felt by Bonaparte and by his nearest relatives in any kind of alarm, or of persecution inflicted on the person who failed to be sufficiently dazzled by the autocrat's marked attentions. In 1802, two years after the concert at Lucien's house, M. Bernard, Madame Récamier's father, who had been made *Administrateur des Postes*, was arrested, and thrown into prison. We have the story of the arrest in Madame Récamier's own words. Madame Bacciocchi, who, whatever she might think of *la belle Juliette's* want of discrimination as far as her illustrious brother was concerned, liked extremely the society she was used to meet at the Chateau de Clichy, Madame Bacciocchi had begged Madame Récamier to make her know M. de La Harpe, in the way of a literary *lion*. M. de La Harpe was accordingly invited to Clichy, had been presented to the First Consul's sister, and the guests were about to sit down to table, when Madame Bernard (the mother of Madame Récamier) received a letter, and having glanced at its contents, screamed, and fainted away. Her husband, M. Bernard, was arrested!

Now, to be just, we must allow, that if ever any one deserved to be punished, M. Bernard seems to us to have been that individual. His daughter, coolly enough, as we conceive, states the case thus:—"In the autumn of that year (1802), a very active Royalist correspondence gave the Consular Government no end of trouble and anxiety. Pamphlets, too, in the same shade of opinion, were circulated all over the south of France, without any one being able to discover how they escaped the watchfulness of the authorities. The latter were a long time without suspecting that the connivance of a public functionary—of one of the very heads, indeed, of the postal administration—was the cause of all. The whole of these communications passed under the cover of my father's name!"

Without expecting that a woman, and a Frenchwoman, should judge of this kind of proceeding with the rigid straightforwardness that men in England would apply to it, or desiring, even, that a daughter should view her father's conduct in its worst light, we cannot refrain from saying, that if Madame Récamier made up her mind to leave a written record of this circumstance, we could have wished the tone of it to have been somewhat different. Here, again, is one of the forms assumed in France by *dishonesty;* one of the evils brought about by the unstable condition of public affairs, which are now delivered over to the anarchical rule of the mob, now compressed into the grasp of one self-chosen tyrant. The moral sense of the nation is so perverted, the genuine notion of right and wrong is so absent from the national mind, that courage and deceit are actually confounded, and a mere act of treachery is applauded as an act of resistance. From the Revolution and the first Empire, down to the present day, Frenchmen have shown less and less eagerness to protest, but they have shown more and more readiness to betray; and, unfortunately, party spirit has invariably admired a base, as it ought only to admire a bold action. "I am with the Emperor only *nominally*," exclaimed a too famous Royalist *marquis*, two or three years ago, on being made a senator. "My opinions are unchanged, and in heart I am with you." Berryer was the person thus addressed. He shook his head, and haughtily replied, "God defend us from such friends as are traitors to both parties at once!" But this is not sufficiently understood in France; and here we have a case in point, in the conduct of M. Bernard. He is an honest, honourable man; Madame Récamier the most honest-hearted woman in France, as her admirers devoutly believe. Yet neither M. Bernard nor Madame Récamier feel *rightly* upon this question. Bonaparte is an oppressor, a tyrant, the scourge of France! Well and good. So think these people who are sincere Royalists, and so think we, who are free-born Britons; but they never arrive at the conviction, that whilst it is right and proper to oppose and protest against your enemy, and to encounter all risks in order to overthrow, it is forbidden to *betray* him. They do not see that a political opinion is a thing to be sacrificed to; that it is a

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luxury, and like other luxuries, must be bought and *paid for;* and that those who are morally too poor to pay for it to the last farthing, must do without it. Failing the heroic qualities (to which no one is obliged), they can, at all events, practise the one virtue, to which all who *serve* are held, namely, *honesty.* It is here they show that deplorable perversion of the moral sense, of which so many successive revolutions have, alas! made a chief characteristic of the French race. They *profit* by a government which they expect to be applauded for hating; they take the one master's *pay*, and try to secure his adversary's praises; incapable of consenting to be obscurely honest—honest "*sans phrases*"—they would fain set up for being devoted partisans; and, as has been truly said of them, *ils veulent avoir de l'héroisme au rabqis.*"

We are glad to have found that half a century ago this one form of corruption was already known in France; for we confess to having been somewhat converted to the notion, that the want of a genuine distinction between what *is right* and what *is wrong* was a vice peculiar to contemporary Frenchmen. Well, here then we see M. Bernard consenting to receive from a government he hates a goodly annual income, and at the same time doing all he can—in the very exercise, too, of the functions for which he receives payment—to subvert that government, hoping thereby so to satisfy his future employers that his reward from them shall be insured! We submit that this constitutes a manner of misdemeanour for which a ruler less self-willed, less tyrannical even, than Napoleon might be excused if he proved himself severe.

For the Royalist party, of course, Madame Récamier's father was a "victim;" and we have so far no desire to dispute with them about terms. M. Bernard is in prison, and must be got out of it, or his beautiful daughter will die of grief. Madame Bacciocchi is in that daughter's company at the moment the news of the arrest and imprisonment is known. *La belle Juliette* flies to the First Consul's sister, and naturally enough tells her she counts upon her for protection. But the First Consul's sister does not seem at all disposed to act as Providence to *la belle Juliette;* and she merely answers, with (according to Madame Récamier's own version) "considerable hesitation," that the first step to take is, in her opinion, "to see Fouché!" Here we have the connecting link of the chain, which we fancy we see running from the dinner at Lucien's in 1800, to a scene we shall describe presently, and the date of which is 1804. Madame Récamier's own impulse had been to see at once the First Consul; but Elisa Bonaparte says, "No! you must see Fouché!" It is true she adds that if, after that, her fair friend needs her good offices, she shall be ready to oblige her. "I would not be discouraged," continues Madame Récamier, "by the coldness of her air and tone, but I asked her where I could see her in the course of the evening? 'In my box at the Theatre Français,' was the reply, 'where I am going to join my sister Pauline.'"

Such a place of rendezvous to a woman who is in fear for her own father's life! and so like one of the frail, yet thoroughly unfeminine females of this race!—so like what the German language now universally designates by the title of "the *Napoleonides!*"

Yet, nothing daunted, Madame Récamier must go through all this, or await the worst. She goes to Fouché, who certainly does not understate the gravity of the case, but who unhesitatingly advocates the visit to the First Consul. Then Madame Récamier resolves to apply to Madame Bacciocchi, and drives to the *Theatre Français.* Naturally enough her manner is full of emotion, and she can bethink her of but few oratorical precautions. Pauline and Elisa Bonaparte, however, are wrapt up in the business going on upon the stage; and, unwillingly diverted from her inspection of the helmet worn by Lafont in the part of Achilles (and which she declares "becomes him very ill!"), Elisa brings to the petitioner's knowledge somewhat sharply, that she will not be at her service "till the tragedy has come to its end!"

Another person, however, is in the box; and this is Bernadotte, who evidently waxes angry at what is being done. He bends down to the ear of Elisa, and says, that her friend (?) looks so ill and harassed, that, if she will give him the permission, he will drive her home in his carriage, and go himself to the First Consul about her father. Madame Bacciocchi consents "*avec empressement,*" enchanted to escape from any trouble in the affair; and Madame Récamier is taken home by Bernadotte, who does immediately after repair to the First Consul. Whether Napoleon liked this visit as much as he would have like the other, is, we think, problematical; but Bernadotte's was a great influence just then, and M. Bernard was saved. Perhaps Madame Récamier was no less so than M. Bernard. This we leave to the appreciation of the readers of her "*Souvenirs.*"

Rather more than two years after this incident (in the spring of 1805), a proof was

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given of how little Madame Récamier had been in reality lost sight of at the Imperial Court. Fouché requested her to receive him at Clichy. It was not a time when any one would have refused to be civil to Fouché, and Madame Récamier replied to the demand by an invitation to breakfast for the next day. M. Récamier was in town and the *Minister de la Police* was alone with the beautiful Juliette. The *début* of the most dreaded of all Napoleon's emissaries was a cautious one; he was full of zeal for Madame Récamier, and besought her to moderate the tone of opposition that was the reigning one at her house. He instanced the Duchesse de Chevreuse, who had been forced, in order to purchase the tranquillity of her family, to accept a place of *Dame du palais*, and ended by these words: "The Emperor, since the day he saw you for the first time, has never forgotten, never lost sight of you; be prudent, don't annoy or irritate him."

From this moment Fouché's visits became frequent. Beginning warily, by the advice to the rich banker's wife to "ask for a post in the household," all this diplomacy ended at last in the announcement that "*sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi*" meant to "*name*" Madame Récamier to a position about the Empress Josephine's own person! Amongst other pleasant portions of the Police Minister's discourse was an Idyllic description of what the attachment of Napoleon would be, "if he ever became attached to a woman who was worthy of him!" and then there came the old Syren song of temptation, seeking to hide sin under the mask of charity. There was much made of the "incalculable good" that a "pure, high-minded" favourite could do.

Probably Madame Récamier's character was too gentle a one to admit of even the most legitimate indignation; or perhaps, indeed, the times made indignation too unsafe, unless for such natures as are attracted by danger, and find relief in the very commission of a proudly generous imprudence. Of anything of this sort we discover no trace in Madame Récamier; and to our British notions, the negotiation with the Emperor's infamous agent appears to have lasted over long. The Ministre de la Police was several times received at Clichy; Caroline Bonaparte, taking the place of Elisa, who seems to have been a trifle sulky at her former failure, built no end of castles in the air at the expense of Josephine and of M. Récamier; and *la belle Juliette* occupied Caroline's box at the *Theatre Français* upon more than one occasion, when *Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi*, from the opposite side of the house, rendered her so conspicuous by his incessant practice of staring at her, that the entire crowd of surrounding courtiers made up their minds as to what her influence was soon to be; and when all this had been continuing for a certain period, there remained nothing for it but to ask the opinion of M. Récamier himself, upon the best way of getting out the whole affair!!

When came the announcement of the imperial nomination to a place of *Dame du Palais*, then—the alternative being between honor and disgrace—Madame Récamier, reduced at length to adopt a positive decision, refused. The refusal was ill taken by Fouché, who chose to recognise in it nothing beyond the anti-Imperialist influences exercised upon Madame Récamier by her Royalist friends. Above all, he singled out Mathieu de Montmorency for the object of his fiercest resentment. *He* it was, he exclaimed, who had "prepared, counselled, planned this *insult* to the Emperor;" and with an outburst of fury against every member of what he termed "nobiliary caste," of whom Napoleon, he said, was "fatally fond," the future Duc d'Otranto retreated from Clichy, where he never returned more, and where in our opinion, he had already come too much.

This circumstance, however, whilst it clearly marked out Madame Récamier's position in society, separating her irrevocably from the Government and official set, made her of course the necessary object of suspicion and ill will. From this time, her house was naturally enough set down as a centre of opposition, and she herself became, voluntarily or involuntarily, a species of female *chef de parti*—one of the representatives of an opinion, of a *cause*.

By nature never was a woman less fitted for such a part; but, as we have said, Madame Récamier was, throughout life, secondary and subservient; and whatever importance she obtained in the society of her time and of her country, was obtained through her friends, through what surrounded her exteriorly, not through any force that resided in herself. Madame de Staël and Mathieu de Montmorency at one period, and Châteaubriand at another, constituted the power and influence of Madame Récamier; and because she was attractive to those who opposed him, Napoleon feared, and, up to a certain point, persecuted her.

Taken together, we know of few publications that throw a stronger light on the marvellous meannesses of which the first Napoleon was capable than do these *Souvenirs* of Madame Récamier and Villemain's *Essai sur Châteaubriand.** We see in both these

* See the August No. of this *Review*, for the year 1858.

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works to what miserably minute details of persecution the Potentate who hesitated whether he should most liken himself to Alexander or to Trajan, could descend. We find him spelling over private denunciations of the man to whom he had confided a diplomatic mission, flying into melo-dramatic rages, and threatening to "massacre on the steps of his palace" the writer who had indulged in some disagreeable allusion to him;* condescending to exercise his wit at the expense of his enemy's portrait; and chafing with vexation at the idea that, in his "capital of Paris," foreigners could show any curiosity concerning a lady whose personal charms had made her celebrated throughout Europe. These "*Souvenirs*" of Madame Récamier are the chronicle of Napoleon's littlenesses; and are useful in showing how inconceivably but naturally *narrow* was the mind that framed such formidable projects against the peace of the whole world. It *is* satisfactory to know to what infinitely small devices the invader of Russia could stoop; and there is a morality in the ease with which every gnat-sting could irritate this giant. The glory vanishes when we see from how little it can shield its possessor; and wrong appears shorn of what too many people thought its splendour, when we find it coupled with suspicions and fears that would best befit a police spy anxious for promotion.

"You give me a cruel certainty of fame," wrote Madame de Staël to Bonaparte in 1803. "My exile insures me a page in your history!" This was the case with many an almost obscure individual, whose name was rendered famous by a despot's apprehension. With Madame Récamier the multiplied examples of the alarm she caused the most absolute ruler of the epoch, are often really ludicrous. We have the Prince of Bavaria (afterwards King Louis) petitioning for an audience through Madame de Bondy, and suggesting that he might come to the *Abbaye aux Bois*, not to see its mistress, but under pretence of seeing only her portrait. Then there is the Prince of Wirtemberg, who contrives to become acquainted with *la belle Juliette* at a masked ball, and to take from her finger a ring, which, a few days later, he is induced to restore to its owner. To say the truth, the *bal masqué de l'opera* would appear to have been the neutral ground chosen by those who wished to gratify their curiosity without imperilling their safety, and to make the acquaintance of Madame Récamier without losing Bonaparte's good graces. We find from the *Souvenirs* before us, that another *intrigue de bal masqué* lasted through an entire winter with M. de Metternich. This was in the year 1810. The Emperor, having discovered that on one occasion three of his ministers had called upon Madame Récamier at the same moment, sharply asked one of them, "Since when the Council was held at Madame Récamier's house?" He had precisely the same dislike to the presence in her *salon* "of any members of the diplomatic corps; yet most of these, on first arriving, wished to be presented there. M. de Metternich, then First Secretary of the Austrian Embassy, was somewhat more circumspect. The relationship between his Government and the Empire was so extremely delicate, that he feared to add a personal offence to graver political complications."

In plain English, M. de Metternich was as little distinguished for his boldness or independence of spirit as are the large majority of his colleagues in diplomacy. He was extremely curious to make acquaintance with Madame Récamier, but did not venture to satisfy his curiosity openly, so had recourse to the *bal masqué de l'opera*, after causing to be brought to Madame Récamier's knowledge his reasons for not being able ostensibly to frequent her house. Now, says the biographer of *la belle Juliette*, "as M. de Metternich was very amiable, and had a great reputation, she, too, was desirous of knowing him, and used, during an entire season, to meet him at the masked balls." When the "season" was ended, however, it had seemed so very pleasant to the Austrian diplomate, that he determined to find a way of reconciling his pleasure with his interest, and persuaded Madame Récamier to consent to his paying his respects to her at hours when other visitors were not likely to meet him. "He went habitually to see her, but only in the mornings;—he met no one, and thus avoided the *susceptibilities* of the Imperial Police!"

And so with the hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz (brother of Queen Louisa of Prussia): the mysterious *causeries* of the *bal masqué* lead him, like M. de Metternich, to being secretly received "out of visiting hours" by Madame Récamier; and, indeed, upon the occasion of his first visit, he was very nearly seized by a watchful concierge, who seeing him after nightfall escape across the courtyard towards the house without giving any name, eagerly followed His Royal Highness, came up with him in the entrance-hall, and laid hands upon him, as he opened the drawing-room door—prince and porter thus making simultaneously the most ludicrous *entrée* imaginable into the presence of the astonished mistress of the house.

And so with the most of the "*hauts et*

* M. Villemain's *Essai sur Châteaubriand.*

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puissants Seigneurs," who, by their conduct to Bonaparte during his prosperity, did themselves the very worst service that has been done to legitimate Royalty in modern times: they all avowed the same desire to be received by the reigning beauty of the day, but all evinced precisely the same intention to shirk the consequences of so doing. That Napoleon showed himself miserably little in his behaviour towards the two or three women who stood at the head of the Royalist opposition in France, there can be absolutely no doubt; but the foreign princes, and delegates of princes, who allowed him to dictate to them in what was, after all, a matter of private and personal conduct, saved him from the charge of monopolizing all meanness. It must be premised that Napoleon had seldom expressed himself more resolutely in any case; and such small sovereigns as held to his friendship may well have thought twice before becoming the habitual associates of a person whom "to visit," had said the Emperor, "was to be declared his own personal enemy."*

This enmity was, in truth, not shown in the minuter details of social life only—it had a severely practical influence on the fortunes and credit of M. Récamier; and we think we can trace to the revengeful spirit of the unaccepted suitor of 1804, the order to the Bank of France in 1806, not to prevent the ruin of *la belle Juliette's* husband by a loan of one million of francs. A pitiful piece of spite, surely, but wondrously in keeping with the character of the personage.

On a certain Saturday in the autumn of 1806, M. Récamier had driven out from Paris to Clichy, to acquaint his child-wife with the fact that, by a combination of circumstances, he foresaw a probability of stoppage of payment by his house—a probability that, indeed, could only be averted by the agreement of the Bank of France to advance the sum of a million of francs.

Madame Récamier was at this period not quite eighteen, and upon her was immediately placed by her quinquagenarian husband all the responsibility of the situation, as far as social "appearances" went. M. Récamier feeling himself quite unable to support the burthen of his impending ruin, Madame Récamier undertook to do the honours that day to a large party of persons who had been invited to dine at her house, and whom it was thought advisable not to put off, in order to avoid giving any alarm as to the financial condition of *la maison Récamier*. As to the head of the firm, the editor of the *Souvenirs* admits that he was "more dead than alive," and quite determined only to mix in his friend's society in case the Imperial answer to the proposition of a loan should be favourable; from which we infer that, whatever the difference of manners, and perhaps morals, the difference between the character of Frenchmen then and now was not so great as might be supposed. Loans by the Bank of France, upon the terms offered by M. Récamier, were events of everyday occurrenee, but not equally so the fact of the *master* descending to prevent them from private pique. Forty-eight hours from the moment when M. Récamier told his wife of his impending disasters, those disasters were public, and his bank had stopped payment. From this moment the renown of *la belle Juliette* reached its climax.

It has been the custom for all Madame Recamier's panegyrists to demand, somewhat authoritatively, the admiration of the world for her conduct at this trying juncture of her life; and our first impulse is to go with them, and admire without reserve. But, upon narrower examination, we think there are a few qualifying remarks to be made, which, without diminishing the high-mindedness shown by Madame Récamier at this crisis, perhaps make her perfect disinterestedness more doubtful. There are minds tempted equally by celebrity as by wealth, and we suspect our heroine's to have been of this temper. We do not say the tempting medium is not a far more avowable and nobler one in the former than in the latter case, but we are inclined to suppose the amount of selfishness pretty nearly equal in both. It is undeniable, that from the moment she had added what her admirers denominated the "halo of misfortune" to her other charms, Madame Récamier had achieved a distinction that nothing could henceforward impair. Now, we have already tried to show that her business in life was precisely to "achieve" distinction; and she did most laboriously and successfully "achieve" rather than have it "thrust upon" her. No sooner is Madame Récamier "ruined," than we have Madame de Staël, with her usual exaggeration, exclaiming that now she knows what the word envy means! "Certainly," writes Corinne, "you may be said to have lost something; but if I could ever envy what I so much love, I would give all I possess to be you!" And when the Duc d'Abrantes joins the Emperor in Germany, and begins telling him in detail all the "pomp and circumstance" of a failure which places Madame Récamier on a pedestal in Paris society, Napoleon sharply interrupts him with the words: "Why, they could not make a greater fuss about

* *Souvenirs*, p. 90.

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the widow of a marshall who should have died on the battle-field!"

The "envy" of Madame de Staël, and the indignant acknowledgment of the "effect" she produces by the Emperor!—we would fain not be thought hypercritical; but we do imagine that, for a French woman, all this may be more than equivalent for the mere power of giving fine dinners, wearing fine clothes, and driving about in fine carriages. There is here an amount of "*famosity*," to use the French word, for which the sacrifice of mere riches might be thought far from too dear a price. But now that we have shown ourselves what some may think severely just to the individual, let us show a larger justice to the time, and say at once how far superior it proved itself to the present moment by the very fact that its applause was won by the apparent disdain of mere worldly wealth. Half a century ago, in France, fame was secured to whomever took up a conspicuous stand against tyranny, and the preference of fame to fortune was a means of achieving position and social influence. This, we say, constitutes the superiority of that over the present time; for at the present time, in France, Madame Récamier would have been forced either to obtain, by no matter what means, the "million" necessary to her husband's credit from the Bank, or to abandon all idea of achieving distinction. The dinners, the chateaux, the equipages, the material luxuries purchased by gold, are now the representatives of social influence; and were a Madame Récamier in our time to dream of commanding fame by despising these, she would be voted a fool for her pains, and would find no "Corinne" to "envy" her, nor would the "effect" made by her cause any Duc d'Abrantes to merit a rebuke from his angry master by his account of it.

After the Restoration, and under the régime of the Monarchy of July, Madame Récamier's position changes. She then represents the social traditions of past times, and becomes a species of type of bygone customs and ceremonies. As the importance of salon life grew to be less and less in France, so was the importance of Madame Récamier's individual salon increased, as being the last. Under the Restoration, Madame Récamier was eclipsed by the Duchesse de Duras and the Marquise de Montcalm, and the Duchesse de Dino (presiding over M. de Talleyrand's receptions); but under Louis Philippe's reign the *Abbaye aux Bois* took rank equally, to say the very least, with the salons of Mesdames de Boigne or de Castellane. Some will contend that it was superior to either, as being more purely social, and less dependent on the political element.

Madame Récamier had, by some strange chance, succeeded to the fair and amiable Duchesse de Duras in the good-will of M. de Châteaubriand; and he now established himself at the chimney-piece of the *Abbay, aux Bois*, furnishing the idol for the temple, the divinity without which no solid or permanent system of salon-worship can ever be organized in France. In every other respect, save only in the adoration of M. de Châteaubriand, the *Abbaye aux Bois* might be regarded as neutral ground, and this it was that chiefly gave it a right to its exclusively social supremacy. You might be a Legitimist, or an Orleanist, or a Republican even, yet be perfectly well received at Madame Récamier's, so long as you were convinced that M. de Châteaubriand was the one greatest literary genius of the age, and that all the troubles of the French nation were the consequence of his not having had his own way in politics. The principal object of the receptions at Madame Récamier's was the fusion between literature and "society,"—a thing which formed the basis of French social intercourse under the old monarchy, and which had come to be nearly impossible, since the democratic theories of the Revolution had left no social superiorities standing. To its credit be it said, French society was the immediate result of the fusion we have mentioned; when at its zenith, it was intellectual. From Madame de Rambouillet downwards, the respect for human intelligence, the homage paid to the works of human thought, were the distinguishing traits of those who most aspired to be considered as the leaders of society in France. But then it must be remarked that the purely intellectual sphere was never transgressed; and when the entire social edifice was overthrown and built up anew, *la société*, with its purely intellectual traditions, became unpractical, and gradually grew to be a simple curiosity, an *objét de luxe*, an anachronism. From the moment that society in France was composed of a small number of antagonistic cliques, and that in the educated classes the division was made between those who did something and those who did nothing (the latter arrogating to themselves the sole right of being called *gens du monde*), from that moment salon supremacy was virtually at an end. The power of salons in France was the produce of mutual esteem; the esteem of the great writer or *savant* for the *Grand Seigneur*, and of the Grand Seigneur for the *savant* or the writer. Neither exists now; and while the high-born of contemporary France affect undisguised dis-

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dain for whosoever is guilty of any intellectual labour, the man of mere intelligence seems to ridicule, but in reality envies, the man of birth,—thus, by his very envy, admitting the superiority of his antagonist.

This brings us to the point from which we started; namely, to the fact of the regrets so frequently expressed by highly educated Englishmen upon the difficulty experienced in establishing salon influence in England. We take it not to be a difficulty, but an impossibility, and we are by no means disposed to deplore it. Salon influence is, we believe, incompatible with the practical duties of a hard-working, self-governing, business like race. One broad distinction should certainly be made between the English and the French in this respect; while the French were so proud of the organization of their society, they were pre-eminently an intellectual, idealistic race. We have always been (under one form or another) an almost exclusively political race. Englishmen work too earnestly, throw themselves too vehemently into action, ever to be talkers par excellence. When they talk, it is to obtain some end; whereas the very perfection of *la causerie* is to promote an elegant interchange of ideas without any object being too ardently pursued. The French consecrated a large portion of what they would perhaps call their energies into the work of talking of what other people did; we have always been more or less busy governing ourselves. A salon was the arena of a French gentleman; Parliament is, sooner or later, that of the English one. The two are incompatible. From the hour when any country becomes, or thinks it becomes parliamentary, salon life is really at an end. This is what we have to observe in the case of Madame Récamier. The institution died with her, because the elements of salon life in France had become extinct. Whether, since that period, the attempts made by the French race to substitute public for merely polite life have been altogether successful? whether they have really established anything better suited to them than the salon influence which helped to form so many intellectual superiorities under the *ancien régime?*—this might be matter for long protracted study and discussion. But such as the men of modern France are, whether for good or for evil, we believe them to be now past deriving any benefit or any pleasure from the elegances of salon life. Madame Récamier's *Souvenirs* have interest, as it seems to us, from their being the record of the last French salon, of the last of a social species of institution that endowed France with brilliant renown throughout the world, but which, at the same time, we cannot regret was never, *could* never, be established amongst ourselves.

ART. II.—*The Military Opinions of General Sir John Fox Burgoyne, Bart., G.C.B.* Collected and Edited by Captain the Hon. GEORGE WROTTESLEY, Royal Engineers, A.D.C.

THE first session of the present, and the last session of the late Parliament, were alike remarkable for the unanimity which prevailed amongst their members on the important subject of national defence; nor was it surprising that the nation should have been at length aroused from its apathy, when France was seen springing to arms at the sound of the trumpet, prepared, at a moment's notice, by land and sea, to enter upon a war, the duration of which few were bold enough to make an attempt at guessing. A few angry words, spoken at a court reception, by a sovereign, whose establishments were ostensibly kept upon a peace footing, created surprise and alarm throughout Europe; but it was scarcely anticipated, at the time, that, before eight months had elapsed, the Emperor who had thus spoken would be returning in triumph to his capital, surrounded by captured banners and cannon, and by the bronzed troops who won them, in three pitched battles and three combats, from an enemy who accepted a peace at the cost of a captured province.

The uncertainty in which events thus appear to be shrouded, makes it incumbent upon England to be, at least, as ready in her means of defence as her neighbours are in offensive preparations; but when the English people began to look about them, they found, that notwithstanding the millions they had annually been spending on naval and military establishments, their house was not in order, and that it would require a large outlay in money, and a considerable amount of time, before this could be effected. Whilst giving the late Ministry full credit for their exertions, we believe this was a question upon which they must have felt there was no choice open to them; for the spirit of the country was thoroughly aroused, and no Government would have remained a week in office, which was unwilling to incur the responsibility of placing the national defences upon an efficient footing. It is, of course, very unpleasant to be compelled to attend to such matters, and it is still more

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so when we are called upon to pay for them; but the unkindest cut of all is, when we are told we must pay all the more, in the long run, on account of previous economy; and when it appears that our gratitude to the economists of the day had been quite thrown away, and that, after all, while we were clipping at estimates, and pruning down Chancellors of the Exchequer, we were doing so to our own ultimate loss.

We cannot say, however, that we have not had sufficient warning on the subject for several years past; and amongst the earliest of those who wrote, was the author of the various essays comprising the volume, professing to contain the "Military Opinions of General Sir John Fox Burgoyne." There is in the work so much that relates to matters which continue to occupy people's minds, that we believe, notwithstanding its disjointed nature, it is one which will be carefully studied. The views of an officer who served in Egypt, the Peninsula, America, and the Crimea, in a service which gave him peculiar advantages for studying such subjects as the defences of a country, and various points connected with the organization and administration of the army, are entitled to weight; and although the work now before us contains but a portion of the essays which have emanated from the writer, it gives evidence of a life spent in the pursuit of military knowledge, both practically and theoretically—of oportunities made the most of—and of an ardent love for his profession.

Entering the army in 1798, as a second lieutenant, in the corps of Royal Engineers, a branch of the British service at that time occupying an unimportant position, Sir John Burgoyne has served in it continuously to the present time, holding, when enabled by his rank to do so, most important positions. Director of an attack at both sieges of Badajos and at that of Ciudad Rodrigo, and commanding engineer at the sieges of Salamanca forts and of Burgos, he succeeded to the command of the Engineers at the siege of St. Sebastian, upon the death of Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Fletcher; and at the close of the Peninsular war, Lieut.-Colonel Burgoyne accompanied the flower of the army on its ill-fated expedition to New Orleans, and was thus shut out from participation in the final triumphs of his great chief and master. He subsequently held important commands in his profession, and was placed at the head of the corps of Engineers in 1845, from the duties of which he was soon temporarily called away to Ireland, to assist, during the famine, in carrying on the great work of relief in that country. On the threatened rupture with Russia, he again withdrew from his duties as Inspector General of Fortifications, and proceeded on special service to Turkey; but very shortly after his return, he was again ordered out, to join the army at Varna, from whence he accompanied it to its landing at Old Fort, and remained to share with it the privations of that terrible winter, lending his advice and counsels in that great struggle, the history of which, though much has been written thereon, is but little known.

Before closing this short notice of his military career, we may be permitted to remark, that a very erroneous idea existed, and still exists amongst a few, regarding the nature of Sir John Burgoyne's employment in this campaign. He was supposed by many to have been sent out as the Chief Engineer of the army; but such we believe not to have been the case. We are not aware, of course, of the precise nature of the instructions given to him; but the more correct statement respecting his position in the army would be, that he was an adviser to the Commander-in-chief. That he was not second in command, though from his seniority he was entitled to be such, if from no other cause, was well known; whilst his high rank, as well as his age, would have precluded him from filling the more subordinate post of Commanding Engineer.

We have, in this imperfect sketch, alluded but slightly to the civil duties upon which Sir John Burgoyne has been employed, wishing to confine ourselves as much as possible to the character in which he comes before us—as writer of the essays now for the first time collected together under his name. It will also scarcely come within our present limits to enter into any review of Sir John Burgoyne's administration of the office of Inspector-General of Fortifications. He had filled his present post under such men as Wellington, George Murray, Anglesea, Hardinge, and Raglan; and he was highly esteemed, and his advice valued, by all of them. Of late years, however, during the changes of organization which the War Office and Horse Guards have gone through, and which do not yet appear to have been completed, Sir John Burgoyne's name has been less prominently brought before the public in military matters. We must apologize for devoting so much of our space to the author before entering upon his book; but it is necessary to do so, in order to acknowledge the authority with which he can discuss subjects now of the deepest importance and interest.

Captain Wrottesley has arranged these

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essays in three distinct parts. The first part, treating of National Defences, is decidedly of the greatest interest, especially at the present moment; the second relates to the events of the war with Russia; and the third is made up of several essays and papers, written from time to time upon a variety of military subjects, during the greater part of Sir John Burgoyne's professional career.

The latter comprises considerably the largest partion of the work; and though to the non-professional reader it may be the least attractive, yet, when examined by military men, it will be found stored with valuable and practical information. Of course, in a progressive age (and in military matters, we believe that we have at last drifted into progression), there is much relating to detail, which has undergone great change since the remarks were penned; but great principles—and of these Sir John Burgoyne seems to be a master—still remain pretty much as before, as no agent has yet been fully developed in warfare, which will make a thorough revolution in the whole principle of the art, like that caused by the introduction of gunpowder, and, in later years, by steam. We recommend to all our readers, and especially to our military ones, an equally careful persual of the three divisions we have alluded to; for in each of them are to be found important truths brought forward in a striking manner, opening up wide fields for study; and some of them fraught with practical instruction, to which we should be glad to see effect given. The book contains evidence of the writer being at heart a thorough soldier; and of his possessing that thorough knowledge of soldiers which experience alone can impart.

The first article, is the statement prepared in 1846 upon our military condition at that period, which originated the celebrated letter from the Duke of Wellington; the publication of which, had the Duke lived to the present time, he would probably have ceased to consider in the light of an indiscretion. Sir John Burgoyne has lived to see the fruit of that letter slowly yet very slowly indeed, but surely, ripening by the increased interest given to subjects of National Defence, and by the greater readiness of the nation to follow out the general system which is advocated in every paper in this portion of the work,—namely, that of rendering our peace establishments more efficient in warlike organization, so as to be more easily raised to a war footing when necessary. And though we are sure he much regretted the publicity given to the Duke's letter at the time, we are equally sure, that a man of Sir John Burgoyne's clear-headedness and sagacity, must have soon foreseen, that the words of the great man who so long led our armies to victory, and who was well known for the accuracy of his statements, would not fall upon a wholly barren soil; and that, sooner or later, this nation, remarkable as it is for intelligence and sound sense, would act upon them.

We are not disposed to agree with the editor in the opinion expressed at the foot of the first page, that there is very much difference between the facts which called forth this paper, and those which now exist, at least not as regards the stability of our relations with France. And with reference to the difficulty of procuring seamen, alluded to at pp. 13, 14, it remains to be seen, whether we have yet arrived at any satisfactory mode of effectively manning our fleet. The great fact likewise remains, that there exists still the same desire on the part of the French army for constant active employment, and for the acquisition of glory; and that, by a large portion of it, England is still looked upon as the stage on which to make the most favourable display of their prowess. The augmentation of the French navy to such an extent as to be able to cope with that of England, is, as alluded to by Sir John Burgoyne at p. 13, still a favourite project with the ruler of the French nation; and the spirit which prevails amongst French naval officers, is to strain every nerve to promote the naval superiority of France to such a degree, as to emulate that superiority which she must fairly be allowed to possess both in the numbers and organization of her army.

Sir John Burgoyne endeavours, in this article, to confine himself as much as possible to the state of our military defences; but his observations regarding naval operations, pp. 13 to 18, are well-grounded, and useful for present application, as showing the possibility of losing superiority in the Channel for a short period, and what might be the consequences of such a disaster. It should be recollected that, whatever the danger was in that respect in 1846, it is now greatly increased, first, by the augmentation of the French navy, since that year, having been out of all proportion to that of ours; and, secondly, from the great advantage which the application of steam has given to the French for cases of sudden emergency. The latter is by far the most important consideration, because it enables them to turn their previous inferiority to us into a positive superiority. Their inferiority was attributable to their naval reserves,

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being formed by conscription out of a non-seafaring population; whilst ours consisted, excluding coast-guard, in the seamen of our merchant navy; and so long as the question was one of seamanship, there could be but little doubt on which side the advantage lay. But with the aid of steam, for carrying out any sudden, rapid, and secret movement, the object of which might be either the invasion of this country, or the overwhelming of one of its fleets by a more powerful force, their conscripts having been exercised in the drill and practice of great guns before being marched on board ship, would, when mingled with a small portion of sailors, possess a superiority over our excellent seamen, but wholly inexperienced gunners. We do not wish it to be imagined, however, that the application of steam to naval warfare will ever enable the French to claim a *permanent* superiority at sea; on the contrary, we believe that, in case of a breaking out of hostilities between the two nations, any such advantage would be of quite a temporary nature; and there is no doubt but that, in proportion as war continued, our resources would come more and more into play, and our ancient superiority reassert itself. This would arise from our greater resources in coal, from our superior power of manufacturing machinery, and from the wider field open to us for procuring engineers and firemen from our steam mercantile marine and other sources. Add to this the great experience and practical knowledge possessed by our seamen, which would assist us in husbanding our steam resources, be of considerable service both during and after an action, in refitting, and we think that there is every reason to be satisfied that, in the long run in a war with France, our naval position would still be maintained.

Sir John Burgoyne brought to notice, in this paper, the exceedingly small proportion of regular troops available at the time for the defence of the country; he pointed out their want of knowledge of "the art of war," and the defective organization of some of those departments upon whose efficiency in a campaign the very existence of an army depends. He also remarked upon an extraordinary deficiency in artillery, and the absolute uselessness of our fortresses as then existing. The total want of organization of our reserves did not escape his observation, and the necessity of maintaining a sufficient quantity of the *matériel* of war attracted his attention. Respecting the amount of troops required for the defence of England alone, a subject which, in consequence of the vast drain upon our army for India, is one of increasing importance, we would urge, that although the force of bayonets, sabres, and guns now maintained is perhaps sufficient for the protection of this country in time of peace, and for keeping up our reliefs abroad, yet those numbers should be wholly composed of regular troops. If, therefore, there is no reasonable expectation of greatly reducing the force at present serving in India, steps should be taken for replacing the militia regiments now embodied, by battalions of the line, as soon as the men can be raised.

We are next led to the consideration of the opinions expressed in this and in subsequent papers, respecting the militia and volunteer forces of the country. With some of Sir John Burgoyne's remarks on these subjects we do not agree, and others are now out of date; the system which prevailed regarding our militia at the time he wrote, and which he so much deprecated, having been considerably changed. In his observations, pp. 97, 98, after examining the efficiency of the militia under various circumstances attending on their enrolment, the conclusion he forms, is that militia is worth but "one-half, or at most two-thirds of an equal force of the line." We confess ourselves to be among those who look upon this as "undervaluing the militia," and we think that the experience of the last few years may have somewhat changed the writer's estimate of this very important element of our national defence. It is possible that he may have, in a great measure, grounded his opinions upon the state of our militia during, and subsequent to, the last French war; and if he did so, we can understand their being extremely erroneous when applied to the militia of the present day. In the first place, the service was then compulsory, and not a favourite one at a time when our regular troops were every day acquiring distinction and renown on their well-contested battle-fields; neither did it contain, as at present, amongst its officers many gentlemen who had had the advantage of previous service in the regular army. Lastly, its regiments were avowedly used as nurseries for those of the line, and were consequently inefficient on account of the frequent thinning of their ranks, and a want of *esprit-de-corps*, which must ever be the result of such a system. We do not question the wisdom of this arrangement at the time, or indeed whenever difficulties are experienced in recruiting with sufficient rapidity for an army carrying on a war in a foreign country; but the militia Sir John Burgoyne deals with is that which is supposed to be called out for the immediate defence of the

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country against invasion — a body with which no man in his senses would dream of adopting such a course, when the efficiency of every battalion, whether of line or militia, would be a matter of paramount importance. We believe that the only cause of militia regiments, after having been a year or two embodied, remaining inferior to those of the line, arises from the feeling of uncertainty regarding their period of service, which the nature of that service must engender; and we are confident that if one of our English, Irish, or Scotch militia regiments, now more than two years embodied, were turned over at their own request to the line, and ordered to take their place in brigade beside another line regiment in the field, there would be no difference whatever found in the fighting or general campaigning qualities of the two corps. It is to be regretted that nowhere in the volume have opinions regarding the training of disembodied militia been expressed. This subject is one requiring the most careful consideration, and we are convinced that the system at present followed is not such as to ensure the greatest amount of efficiency which might be obtained while having a due regard to economy and public convenience. It is well known that a costly headquarter staff is maintained during the disembodiment of the various regiments; this staff should be kept in an efficient state, and there is no reason why its service might not be made available for drilling recruits of the regiments during any period of the year, both at the headquarter station, and also in the various districts and villages, so as to interfere as little as possible with their ordinary avocations. This arrangement would be attended with but little expense to the country, and would enable the period allowed for annual training to be devoted to the more advanced stages of drill. Such training should be attended by the whole of the men belonging to each corps, and should be extended for a longer period than at present. Unless a change be made in both these respects, we fear that the money voted for the disembodied militia service will continue to bring but a small practical return to the country. We are convinced, likewise, that it would tend greatly to increase the efficiency of the militia force, if, besides the annual training, a system were adopted of embodying each regiment in rotation for such a period as would enable it to be thoroughly disciplined. This might be done once in ten years; but the arrangement should not interfere with the number of regular troops retained in this country, but simply be one for rendering the service of this, our most important reserve, really useful on an emergency.

Looking at volunteers as a force of great, but of less importance, in a military point of view, than the militia, we are not prepared wholly to agree with Sir John Burgoyne in his estimation of its value. It is, however, somewhat remarkable to compare a few of his suggestions for its organization, with the system which has lately been adopted for this purpose. But probably his most valuable recommendation is that in which he advocates (p. 106) as "the principal and most useful application of volunteer corps," their being trained to the exercise of great guns, so as to assist in manning coast batteries; and in this way we are inclined to believe that artillerymen would prove as valuable to the country in case of invasion as the rifle corps, which branch of the service is evidently the favourite one in the present volunteer movement. Still the enrolment of companies, and even smaller bodies of practised riflemen, to form a second reserve force (the militia being the first), which might be used in skirmishing and as light infantry, or for other duties requiring superior intelligence or knowledge of the country, will, if a permanent measure, be the most important addition to our defensive arrangements.

In depreciating a volunteer system, we believe that Sir John Burgoyne alludes chiefly to the plan of maintaining regiments and large bodies, such as were formed during the last French war, when "the king reviewed sixty battalions in Hyde Park" (p. 29), which, in his opinion, would be of small value when opposed to regular troops. The volunteer system now authorized is, however, wholly different. Sir John Burgoyne holds, however, too low an opinion of volunteers under any system of organization; and with the recollection of what was affected in the American war by a volunteer army, and in La Vendée by a similar description of force, against regular troops, we are at a loss to account for the observation at pp. 121, 122, that "there is no instance on record of a populace, however superior in numbers, successfully opposing an organized army, except by a very prolonged desultory warfare." History contains frequent instances in which volunteers have been successful against regular troops, not only in prolonged warfare, but in actions and campaigns. As to one observation, we must express our total dissent; being convinced that if ever a demand were made for the services of volunteers in this

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country, the remark at p. 104, predicting a vast amount of absenteeism, would prove wholly incorrect. The arrangements now making are, however, in too early a stage of formation to enable us to arrive at a just conclusion as to the real value of our volunteers; but the nation must be cautious, when estimating its means of defence, not to allow the enthusiasm of the moment to give this element more consideration than it is really worth.

It is to be regretted that the editor of this volume has not attached the date to each of the essays collected in it. To that on the military condition of Great Britain he has given us this information, but in those on naval gunnery and floating defences, he gives us no assistance for judging how far the opinions they contain on certain points, were expressed before they could have been tested by trial or practical experience in the field. We imagine, however, from various observations, that these papers were written prior to 1854, from which time the adoption of steam as a propelling power for all-sized ships of war, and the general use of the rifle musket in the army, may be said to have commenced. If such be the case, it is remarkable how clearly the writer foresaw the enormous advantages which must attend upon the latter of these changes, and how, unbiassed by prejudices which existed in the minds of other officers who had seen battles won by the old musket in the hands of our soldiers, his judgment was able to find a counter-argument for every objection brought against the adoption of the rifle as an arm for all infantry. It was not long, probably, before he witnessed the fulfilment of his predictions, in the slaughter inflicted by our soldiers, with even inferior weapons of this description, at Inkermann; and it is almost superfluous to point out how his opinion is now shared by every officer in the army. By none, we believe, was it more decidediy held than by the late Commander-in-Chief, Lord Hardinge, to whose exertions the army is principally indebted for the system of rifle instruction, now followed with incalculable advantage under the watchful supervision of his successor.

In remarking upon the more general introduction of steam into our navy, the maintenance "of a class of men-of-war where the amount of armament shall be made completely subservient to speed," is strongly urged—ships, which "will form the flying squadrons, and like cavalry and light troops in the field, will act as the look-out, and be formidable skirmishers." We are afraid that this admirable suggestion still remains to be acted upon, and that in vessels of great speed, superior in that respect to the best ships of our mercantile navy, we are still deficient. This is a want which might easily and speedily be supplied, considering the facilities we possess for the construction of such vessels in our private dockyards. When pointing out (p. 79) the advantages which would be gained, by having a certain number of these steamers, that which would be of the most importance in case of a war with France is omitted. We are supplied, however, with a hint on this subject at pp. 16, 17, in the remarks upon the movements of the French fleet, their powers of eluding our own, of preventing a junction between our Channel and Mediterranean squadrons, and of obtaining a temporary command of the Channel; and it is to prevent such a disaster, as the latter of these contingencies might prove, that this nation should be prepared with a sufficient number of the light-armed steam cruisers, of unparalleled speed, to which we have alluded.

In his remarks on Floating Defences, after pointing out the importance of floating batteries as auxiliary means of defence for harbours, Sir John Burgoyne condemns strongly the adoption of block ships for such a purpose. The objections which he brings against them are, we believe, now acknowledged; and the most important one appears at the present moment to be, their absorption of men-of-war's men, at the very time when the services of the latter in sea-going ships would be most necessary. After considering various substitutes, he arrives at one, which has the appearance of originality, and is free from the objections brought against other such modes of defence. It is that of having vessels constructed solely as batteries, having their motive power, consisting of tug steamers, separated from them, "as a field-piece is from its limber." Any such arrangement would be an important addition to the defence of our commercial harbours, towards which large sums are now annually provided. These batteries, if strongly cased with iron plates, impervious to shot or shell, not only as a means for preservation, but for giving confidence to irregular troops, might be served by volunteer artillery; their anchorage might be fixed in the most commanding positions, whilst, to avoid interference with traffic, they might be withdrawn from their moorings till required for the exercise of the gunners, or for actual warfare. Other measures of floating defence are adverted to, but as they all might

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easily be overcome by an active and intelligent enemy, we forbear any further allusion to them.

The article upon Army Estimates and Military Establishments is well worth perusal, though we think a great deal more might have been made of the subject. Sir John Burgoyne gives evidence, through his writings, of a capacity to foresee events to a remarkable degree, and we are consequently not surprised to find him, in an essay written but two years ago, bemoaning the reductions of the period. He does so in no wasteful or extravagant spirit, but with the good sense of a man wishing to avoid the fatal error of being "penny wise and pound foolish;" and he is fully sensible of the importance of exercising economy in every branch of state expenditure. "It is not here," he says, at p. 129, "the desire to advocate profusion, or an indiscriminate compliance with every demand made. Let economy, and a limitation to that which is strictly necessary, be rigidly enforced; but let the expenditure be with reference to the real wants of the service, and not to a given sum, which, right or wrong, it must be made to fit." This opinion is but in keeping with the spirit of what he previously remarked at p. 50: "Nor would I advocate any species of extravagance of outlay;—first, fixing upon the necessity of a case, let the most rigid economy be observed in making the required provision; let the smallest means, and those the least costly, be provided, so that it be adequate, but do not let the matter be treated as a question of expenditure in the abstract, without reference to the vast importance of the object, which is no less than to prevent the certainty of great sacrifices in our foreign possessions and commerce, and the possible loss of our very existence as a nation."

In stating, however, that "of all items of expenditure, that for the military service is the one of all others that should not be lightly reduced," the writer is hardly consistent with the spirit of his remarks in other essays, regarding the importance attending upon the adequate support of our naval establishments, and the difficulty of procuring seamen. For our own part, we should rather see the army placed on a footing like that of the United States, and containing in its ranks no more than sufficient men to provide garrisons for our fortified places at home and abroad, than see the navy reduced by one ship below what is necessary for the maintenance of our independence and dignity as a nation; and we must wholly dissent from what appears to be, at p. 137, the expression of a dangerous doctrine, when, in stating the objects for which reserves of soldiers should be kept up at home, Sir John Burgoyne concludes, by holding out as one of those objects, their being "available for aggressive operations." We do not mean to say that, if attacked, we should maintain a wholly defensive warfare. With our *fleets*, we should hope to see a contrary course adopted; but we are earnest advocates for reserving our *army* to defensive operations, until such time as it may be our misfortune to be drawn into offensive wars, by land as well as by sea, for political purposes; but it is not the policy of England to keep up great military establishments to prepare for such events, which must be met as they best can, with the force which circumstances may at the time enable us to provide.

In estimating the annual expenses of our military establishments with a view to their efficiency and to our own safety, the leading points for our consideration Sir John Burgoyne considers are, first, regular forces; secondly, reserves; thirdly, *matériel;* fourthly, fortifications. We should be glad to think that the money spent on these, the most important heads of expenditure, formed the whole amount of our army estimates. It is, however, well known, that large sums are swallowed up in other contingencies attendant upon military establishments; but in no other country, we believe, is this the case in so large a proportion as in our own. Let those, therefore, whose duty it is to reduce estimates, consider well how far they can bring their reductions to bear upon such matters before they trench upon the more important items of expenditure which we have enumerated, the reduction of which should be carried out by adopting an economical system of administration, and not by reducing numbers of men, amounts of stores and supplies, or extent of fortifications, below what is necessary for the safety of the country. To that more economical administration we trust the attention of the War Minister will be directed, and we have no fear that the efficiency of our army or the security of the nation will be endangered by any reforms in expenditure which he may deem it his duty to introduce. We quote Mr. Sidney Herbert's own words to prove that he is fully alive to our requirements, and we rejoiced, when reading them, to perceive that there was the prospect of a more enlightened era of military administration than the country has yet had the good fortune to experience. In his speech of the 29th of July 1850, on the motion that the expenses for completing our defensive works

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be met by a special fund, independent of the annual vote of Parliament, Mr. Sidney Herbert said, "Your army, if small, ought to be the best equipped, best armed, and best trained army in the world, and no effort on the part of the authorities ought to be omitted to produce that result; but amongst those effects . . . there ought to be provided that apparatus for defence which mere flesh and blood cannot alone supply. It is cheaper to build fortifications than to depend upon the manœuvrings of an army in the field." He then proceeded to show in the abstract that the cost of fortifications is small as compared with that of men, and to acknowledge frankly our deficiency in that respect, and the importance he attaches to the subject.

Admitting the great importance of the completion of those few fortified posts which it is the duty of England to maintain, we would urge, both as a measure of economy and as one which would in many ways benefit the army, that, as far as practicable, the troops should be made available for their construction. As to the economy of such a proceeding, we are quite ready to allow, that so great a saving as might at first appear probable would not be effected by the substitution of the military for the civil labourer, notwithstanding that the pay of the latter is more than double that of the former. But we are not prepared to admit, as some have urged, that there would be no saving whatever, inasmuch as the only real superiority which should exist on the part of the navvy over the soldier, as a labourer, is that resulting from a more habitually exercised strength and skill. Allowance must also be made for the necessity, on the part of the soldier, for devoting a portion of his time to military duties and exercises. We grant that there must always be these differences in favour of civil labour; but with regard to the former of them, it would, by time and constant exercise, be considerably diminished; and as to the latter, we would observe that discipline, regularity of attendance, organization, absence of strikes, and ready obedience to superiors, should tell a good deal to the advantage of military labour in making up for any loss of time consequent upon drill or other military employment. What we cannot, however, admit as a plea against its use, is, that because the British soldier dislikes such work, and is proverbially idle when so employed, we should make no use of his services for such purposes. The charge of idleness is frequently brought forward by Sir J. Burgoyne, and from what we can judge, he appears, after many years of trial, to have yielded to the pressure, and, as far as soldiers of the line are concerned, thinks it is almost hopeless to expect much from them. There is a great deal urged against the expediency of making soldiers work, which is attributed to prejudice. Some commanding officers disapprove of it, because they suppose that it wears out the men's clothes; others, because they fancy it gives the men a stoop; others say it makes them irregular in quarters and unsteady on parade. The inferior officers adopt the same tone, and when necessity compels the employment of military labour they do not look after their men; and we find the whole thing looked down upon, considered to be no part of a soldier's duty, voted a bore. The disastrous results of such a system (which we shall have occasion again to allude to) may be found in the records of every siege operation which the army has ever undertaken, from the days of Marlborough to our own; thousands of lives have been its victims, and we dare not attempt to form an estimate of the money unnecessarily lavished in consequence of it. Why then not break through the prejudice at once, and insist upon both officers and soldiers being made to labour in the defence of their country, and consider such occupation as much a part of their duty as to fight on a similar occasion?

To meet the objections which prejudice urges against such a course of action, we are brought to consideration of the second reason for which we advocated the employment of troops upon works of defence,—viz., the improvement of the soldiers themselves. We maintain that the sanitary state of the army would be much benefited by it. Idleness has much to say to any unusual amount of unhealthiness, which has been found to exist among the men; and as an illustration of this, we believe that we are not wrong in asserting, that the corps of Engineers, whose members are in constant employment, is the most healthy body in the service. If work wears out men's clothes, we would only beg commanding officers to recollect, that working pay is given mainly for the purpose of enabling the men to supply any deficiency in this respect, and not to be spent in the ale-house,—thereby rendering them irregular in quarters. We will allow that, perhaps, some work will occasionally make them round-shouldered; but, we would ask, whether the use of the pick and shovel, rammer and barrow, will not expand the chest, strengthen the arms and legs, and develop every muscle in the body,—thus making each individual, physically, a finer man and a stouter soldier?

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The eye of the martinet might, perhaps, detect some difference occasionally; but in a once well-drilled, and always well-disciplined regiment, we are convinced that there need be no looseness or unsteadiness on parade, nor, indeed, anything which would, in the slightest degree, injure its fighting qualities, but rather the reverse. It may be urged, that the rifle practice might thus be injured, the excellence of which is now the *desideratum* with the infantry soldier. This would be the case, very possibly, were the men to work daily from Monday till Saturday, for twenty-one years; but when we make allowance for the period spent in acquiring a knowledge of the rifle—for the changes of regiment to stations where no work would be required—for a weekly drill-day, and for the time devoted to annual rifle practice,—we have no hesitation in giving it as our opinion that no injury would arise, from this cause, to that most important portion of a soldier's duty. Lastly, the great object would be obtained, of teaching and accustoming the soldier to the use of implements which, in time of actual warfare, are frequently of far more importance, for a season, than the musket and bayonet. The system we advocate is, of course, carried out everywhere by our Engineer troops, and is also, to a small extent, practised by the line in those colonies where large works are prosecuted, and where civil labour and contracts are difficult to obtain. But in this country it has hitherto been neglected; though we cannot conceive why civil and military labour might not be combined, and why, in constructing fortifications, the earthworks should not be thrown up by soldiers, while those portions of the work requiring skilled labour are contracted for. It should, however, be established, before the introduction of such a system, that to work is a military duty, and that idleness or inattention is a military crime, and one to be visited by immediate punishment. We have dwelt somewhat long upon this subject, and must plead as our excuse, our conviction of its vast importance.

The extent and expense of our Staff, and of the Civil Departments of the army, are subjects of too minute detail to enter much into here. It is notorious that the former service is the most sought after of any in the army,—chiefly, we hope, because officers have a pride in holding situations of trust and responsibility, which may lead to distinction, and to fill which creditably, calls for superior acquirements. But it is also well known that, with few exceptions, staff appointments are better paid, and their duties in time of peace are far less severe, than regimental ones; and they are in some instances sought after by men anxious to avoid the irksomeness of regimental life. This should not be the case; and though we do not believe that in either of these departments, officers are too highly paid, yet it is worth consideration, how far economy of expenditure on this head might be effected, by a reduction in numbers, and an assignment to each individual of an adequate amount of work.

We turn now from the first portion of the work, to that which has reference entirely to the events of the late Russian war, and which, with the exception of the two first articles, is confined to the allied operations in the Crimea. In the first article, a critique upon a yacht voyage in the Baltic, Sir John Burgoyne seizes the opportunity to state his opinions upon what appears, from various remarks throughout the volume, to be a favourite subject with him,—the relative merits of ships and shore batteries. This question was very much discussed, when a fleet was sent to the Baltic, which half the world expected would level the fortifications of Cronstadt, and which the other half felt convinced would be sunk, should any such attempt be made. We confess to having held the latter opinion; and therefore substantially agree with the view taken of this controversy by Sir John Burgoyne. We cannot see how an officer, who had witnessed the gallant but ineffectual attempts of the allied fleets before Sevastopol, on the 17th October 1854, and who must have carefully studied the history of the unparalleled siege of Gibraltar in 1780–1–2–3, could form any other conclusion, in comparing the merits of wooden with those of stone walls. Still, we trust that no feeling of over-confidence in the latter will ever induce our Engineers to oppose stone batteries with exposed revetments, to the action of shipping, in situations where earthen ones can by any possibility be established.

The memoranda written upon the course of defensive operations which was advocated at an early period of the war between Russia and Turkey, and before war with England had been actually declared, induces us to believe that the writer could have had no conception of the magnitude of the assistance which the allies had determined to render to their "sick" friend. Sir John Burgoyne's scheme for the defence of Constantinople, securing at the same time the Sea of Marmora and the Black Sea to the allied fleets, is well conceived. It is one which almost any other nation but the Turkish, holding possession of Constantinople, would at once adopt for the permanent de-

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fence of the capital; yet the lines of Gallipoli is the only portion of the project as yet executed. We know not by whom the retention of a portion of our army to garrison them, even after the invasion of the Crimea had taken place, was advocated; but we fancy it was felt to be an over cautious proceeding at the time. It is, however, too late now to discuss to what advantage these troops might have been turned had they been sent to the Crimea at an earlier period, or how far their presence might have lessened the sufferings of the army during the subsequent winter.

The reader might perhaps expect to find a good deal, not known before, about the siege and campaign generally, on perusing the headings of the various articles comprising the remainder of this portion of the work. If such be the case, he will be disappointed, as the articles are extremely guarded, and contain little or nothing which throw any actual new light upon the operations of the siege. This probably arises in a great measure from the fact, that until the history of the siege had been published under the sanction of the British Government, Sir John Burgoyne was unable to furnish information upon various points which still remain uncleared up, without a violation of that confidence which he from his position at the time, and share in the general operations of the army, probably enjoyed with its leaders. When the work to which we have alluded is given to the public,* we have no doubt but that it will contain Sir John Burgoyne's officially expressed views respecting the general plan of operations.

From the paper entitled, "Observations on the present circumstances of the allied army before Sevastopol," we gain indeed an inkling as to his opinion upon the true point of attack. It is stated, at page 185, that "so soon as the result of the battle of Inkermann opened the field for an extension in front of the most favourable side for attack by the tower of Malakoff, . . . it became necessary, *as was maintained on the part of the British General*, to carry into execution an extension of the attacks, so as to embrace the front of the tower of Malakoff;" but from the sentence following, we are led to infer that this was not a part of the "original project." That Sir John Burgoyne was opposed to any immediate assault of the place, without previously landing the battering train, and undertaking siege operations, is clearly shown; and in the subsequent critique upon the defence of Sevastopol, he implies his disbelief that the opinion on the subject attributed to the late Sir George Cathcart was ever held by that officer. As far as can be gathered from what is before us of the views of Sir John Burgoyne upon the campaign generally, it would appear that he approved of the siege having been given to the south side; that he considered the Malakoff as the key of the place, and as the proper point of attack; that he approved of the continuance of the siege till the fall of the town, in opposition to the plan of the Emperor Napoleon, which was in favour of taking the field in such force as to make the siege an object of secondary importance, if not of wholly abandoning it; and that, when the enemy had been driven from the south side, he was in favour of the army then undertaking operations somewhat of the nature of those suggested by the Emperor. The last opinion, though not expressly stated to have been his, we are led to infer was such, from the tone adopted at the close of his critique upon the imperial project. We have not, however, sufficient materials before us for entering into any controversy upon the subject of the conduct of the siege, or the general plan of operations; which, after all that has been written and said upon the matter, we think should be allowed to rest until some fresh and authentic information has been afforded to the public. This can only now be done by publishing the official record of the siege; and if such a work be ever written, we hope it will be one in which the truth is not slurred over from a mistaken desire to conceal our own shortcomings, or lest an imaginary offence might be given to our late allies in the campaign.

In his treatment of the M'Neil-Tulloch report, Sir John Burgoyne endeavours to make the best of the case for the army, by showing the disadvantages which it laboured under, by attributing much to the want of organization of its transport, and by pointing out that, after all, we were not very much worse off than our allies. This was a large and important subject to have touched upon, and we admit to our disappointment in finding that it has been lightly treated. It might fairly have been expected that Sir John Burgoyne would have drawn some comparison between the condition of the army with which he served in the Peninsula and that in the Crimea, and that he would have given some opinion as to the relative merits of the arrangements made for carrying on the winter operations in both cases.

* Written previous to the publication of the Journals of Proceedings connected with the Siege of Sevastopol. 4 vols. 4to. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longman, and Roberts.

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We cannot believe but that a man possessing the prudence and judgment with which Sir J. Burgoyne is evidently gifted, must have formed stronger opinions than we find anywhere expressed in this volume, upon the absence of administrative ability in officers who, from their position on the staff and in the Civil Departments of the army, were responsible for its general administration. But this deficiency is one which pervades our whole military system, and arises chiefly, we believe, from the circumstance that administrative qualities are little cultivated amongst our officers, and are by them much undervalued.

The expediency of having two wholly distinct governing departments in the army, is a question which much concerns its efficiency, and has of late been much discussed. Is is obvious that, according to the constitution of this country, where financial authority rests there must also be the superior controlling power; and yet there is this peculiarity in our military affairs, that positive command is exercised by a military officer holding an appointment to which no responsibility to Parliament is attached. We should be sorry to see a divided *responsibility* in the army, but we know no feasible way of getting rid of the divided *authority* which at present exists. It is an evil, we believe, but it is one which, being necessary according to the constitution of our army, should be diminished by every possible means. This can best be done, not by amalgamating the War Office with the Horse Guards, as many have proposed, but by so working those departments, that their actions may be *en accord*, and that there may be less likelihood of jealousy or disagreement between the governing or controlling body, and that which regulates military discipline. We might hope that, under some such arrangement, the country would be less likely again to witness misfortunes such as those which were attendant upon the blunders of administration during the first winter of the Crimean campaign, or the reckless expenditure of public money which was adopted as the only means of avoiding them during the following one. We might hope, also, that during peace, the army departments would be vastly benefited by a reduction of much needless routine and circumlocution in the performance of their duties.

The Essays collected in the third division of the volume are principally written upon subjects of military detail, and will be studied with interest by military men. To their attention we would specially commend the writer's remarks upon the various details of siege operations, and especially those headed "British soldiers in the trenches, and military labour," at pp. 286 and 298, in which the writer's views upon the indifference of our troops as soldier-workmen, even in presence of the enemy, are plainly set forth. It is well known that the late Duke of Wellington was fully aware of this evil, and issued severe condemnatory orders upon the subject. That such things should have happened is a disgrace to an army, and that such will happen again must be evident, unless some radical change in our system be effected before a British army again takes the field.

The remarks upon the importance of an efficient Engineer Department, p. 313, and the two following papers, open a wide field for inquiry as to the extent to which it would be advisable to employ this force, and maintain its strength in time of peace. In time of war there is no doubt but that its proportion to other branches of the service should be at least equal to that of Continental armies. The reverse, however, has always been the case; and it is in a great degree to this circumstance, rather than to any want of skill on the part of the Engineers or Artillery, or to any want of bravery on the part of the Infantry, that we may attribute blunders, failures, and waste of life, in the carrying on of siege operations by the British army.

The articles upon the defects of organization in our service, and upon British cavalry, pp. 413, 433, contain sound practical opinions, formed after witnessing the whole working of our military system during the Russian war. In them, while doing ample justice to the discipline and gallantry of our cavalry force, Sir John Burgoyne points out its deficiency as a body, owing to the total absence of the lighter element in its composition, and the serious defect in the service arising from a want of affection on the part of the soldier for his horse. This latter evil we agree with the writer in looking upon as a national peculiarity, and therefore more difficult to be remedied than the former one, to which we have adverted: it is not, however, less important, and both combine to prevent the British cavalry from holding the highest place in the cavalry of European armies.

We cannot close a volume which we have perused with interest and much instruction, without expressing our dissent from the spirit of the article containing the writer's views upon the educational test as applied to the army. They are at variance with the received opinions of the day, which have decided in favour of the application of that test to entrance and promotion, and latterly to

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the obtaining of staff appointments. We may assume that Sir John Burgoyne disapproves of any examination on matters connected with *general education;* but we can hardly believe, from the tenor of the opinions expressed throughout this volume, that he would object to its application in purely professional matters as a test for promotion; but whether this be the case or not, we have no means of deciding, as he is strangely silent upon the subject. It appears that his objection to an educational test, is founded upon the idea, that a young man intended for the army would be, under ordinary circumstances, as well educated as those members of his family brought up for other professions. From this opinion we wholly disagree. A boy, who, before the introduction of the present system, was intended for the army, received a certain amount of education either at home or at a school; and as the means of his parents were at times exceedingly small, so the instruction at times was extremely insufficient. It was known besides, in all cases, by both master and pupil, that after the scarlet coat was donned nothing further would be required in the way of education, and that so long as an officer could sign his name to a report, made out for him, or was willing to be responsible for the correctness of his pay-sergeant's figures, all would go smoothly. But how great the difference in other professions! In two of them at least, the church and the bar, school was of necessity succeeded by the University; in the medical profession, education was and is progressive almost till the day that practice ceases; in the navy, scientific acquirements, as well as practical ones, were the test for promotion to the grade of commissioned officer, and no clerk would have been taken into a public office or house of business who was not an intelligent and well-educated young man. We would ask, then, any person possessing a reasonable amount of knowledge of human nature, whether, under these circumstances, it is likely that youths entering the army from sixteen to twenty, would, as a general rule, be as well instructed in the leading elements of a gentleman's education prior to the receiving of their commissions, as those who, knowing that they had a further test to go through, would, as boys, have had their elementary instruction more carefully looked after; and whether, having entered a profession requiring no further stimulus towards education, the generality of young men would be apt to pursue their studies, or take up those with which they had formed no previous acquaintance? We are ready to admit that exceptions did occur, and that accomplished men were to be found in the army; but such cases arose principally from the voluntary cultivation of previously formed tastes.

Sir John Burgoyne's arguments against the system of competitive examination are, we think, so weak, as to be of little value. He brings forward the case of promotion from the ranks as an example of its inappropriateness, demanding how, if high education in an officer be necessary, is such promotion to be justified? This observation would apply if it were intended that officers should, as a general rule, rise from the ranks, and that the exceptional cases should be, the appointment of gentlemen to commissions. But the system is precisely the contrary; and we see no reason why the educational test should interfere with isolated cases of promotion from the ranks, considering the extent to which non-commissioned officers are now educated, and how few in proportion to the number of officers in the army such cases would be. Sir John Burgoyne would prefer as an officer, a smart, active boy who could swim, play cricket, and take part in all athletic exercises, to a mere bookworm. So should we; but we are pretty sure that the former would turn out no dunce, and that if he were required to be decently educated he would not be one whit the worse in the various points enumerated. Sir John asks what use there is in an officer "possessing a minute knowledge of history, of his being able to read the classics, and having much knowledge of modern languages, although some acquaintance with the latter will be doubtless of advantage to him?" To the latter portion of the sentence we give our entire assent, but is not the educational test from which the writer dissents, the only means by which the public can secure this advantage to officers generally? As regards the former portion, we believe that there are very few persons indeed who have a minute knowledge of history, and such a knowledge certainly never need be required of military men; but that amount of acquaintance with history, geography, and modern languages (the latter needing not to be extended beyond one European tongue), which is possessed by, and is essential to every gentleman in civilized society, should, without question, be insisted upon in our army. These acquirements, if not associated with high mathematical attainments, which are perfectly unnecessary for the mass of cavalry and infantry officers, will never have the effect of excluding from the service young men of active bodily habits and energy of character, which, with general intelligence, Sir John Burgoyne holds to be

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the necessary qualifications of a regimental officer. As to insisting upon examinations on subjects of a non-professional character being made a test for *promotion*, we believe that such a system would be injudicious. Examinations should certainly take place, but they should be restricted to professional matters alone; and as high a standard as may be thought necessary being once established, an officer should be left to extend his acquirements or not, according to the bent of his own inclination. Many, we are sure, would do so, especially when knowing that to obtain staff appointments a higher qualification is necessary than for regimental ones. Every encouragement should be afforded to any such feeling, by granting leave of absence in time of peace to young men desirous of following a University course and obtaining a degree, and by adopting Sir John Burgoyne's suggestion of having, at principal military stations, institutions for the assistance of officers in the pursuit of their studies. Such an institution, we believe, now exists at Woolwich, and we see no reason why others might not be established at Aldershott, Portsmouth, Devonport, Chatham, Dublin, and, in fact, at any large and permanent garrison at home or abroad.

We regret to close our remarks upon this work, while disagreeing so strongly with the writer's opinions upon such an important subject as military education. We are disposed to look upon his views on education as exceptional, and inconsistent in spirit with those which we find expressed on other subjects. The reader will find much repetition of subject and matter in many of the essays comprised in this volume, arising from the nature of the work, made up, as it is, of papers composed at different periods, and for different objects, but bearing upon similar subjects. The interest of the book would have been far greater, if it had contained fewer of the critical, and more of the official or semi-official writings of this distinguished officer; but we must be content to accept the editor's explanation, that many of these last are of a confidential character, which for the present precludes their publication. Enough, however, has been given, to show that Sir John Burgoyne must ever stand high in the ranks of our military men. He is one of the last, we believe, of those officers who, having held a command under the Duke of Wellington, is still employed in the public service—the colonels, generals, and staff-officers, who led the Peninsular and Waterloo armies, having passed from the sphere of active duty. A new race of military men has since sprung up—one full of zeal and promise; but no really great man has yet illustrated its ranks—no man to whom the army can look up for example and instruction, and in whose judgment full reliance and implicit confidence might be placed. We must only trust, that whenever circumstances again bring our army into the field, a general may be found capable of leading it to victory—one who will possess the administrative as well as the military talent of our great Duke, and who, like him, will be capable of maintaining, amongst his officers and men, an iron discipline, and who will enforce an implicit and unquestioning obedience to his will, from all under his command. From the many improvements which have lately been effected in the organization of our army, and the increased liberality of Parliament in dealing with military matters, an English general will not again, we trust, be compelled to organize his troops or departments when in the field; but from the long absence of a master mind among its chiefs, and the increasing disposition, on the part of officers of all ranks, to call in question, and discuss in a tone of depreciation, the actions of their superiors, we feel convinced that a general will have a hard task, to obtain from those below him, a cheerful obedience, in temper as well as in act. Once obtained, we are sure that by this infusion of the old spirit, with the modern improvements of military science, the British army will be found capable of maintaining the high position that it held at the close of the last French war.

Art. III.—1. ΜΩΡΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ. *Stultitiæ Laus.* Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami declamatio, 1518. Erasmi opera omnia IV., 380–503. (Lugduni Batavorum). Written in 1510.*

2. *Colloquia Familiaria* Auctore Desiderio Erasmo Roterodamo. 1524. Erasmi Opera Omnia I. 626–894. (Lug. Bat.) Written in 1522.†

3. Erasmus Roterodamus *De Utilitate Colloquiorum* ad Lectorem. 1527. Erasmi Opera Omnia I., 901–908. (Lug. Bat.)

During the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, a little comedy was acted in the dining-hall of Charles V., to amuse him and his guests. A

* Letter from Erasmus to More, prefixed to the "Praise of Folly."

† Eras. Op. i., p. 895.

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man in doctor's dress first entered the hall bearing a bundle of billets of wood, crooked and straight, threw it down on the broad hearth, and, in retiring, revealed the word *Reuchlin*, written on his back. The next actor was also clad in doctor's garb, and he set about making faggots of the wood; but having laboured long to no purpose, in fitting the crooked billets to the straight, he also went away out of humour, shaking his head; and a smile went round among the princes as they read upon his back *Erasmus*. *Luther* came next with a chafing-dish of fire, set the crooked billets thereon, and blew it till it burned. A fourth actor, dressed like the Emperor himself, poked the fire with his sword, meaning thereby to put it out, but making it instead burn brighter than ever. And lastly, a fifth actor came, in pontifical robes, and, by mistake, poured oil instead of water on the flames.

The part assigned to Erasmus in this little comedy, three centuries ago, is very much the part assigned to him by historians of the struggle which it was intended to represent. It is the part which he undoubtedly seemed to play as an actor on the Protestant stage. At a certain point he seemed to turn from the Reformation in fear and disgust. It was very natural that Protestants should, therefore, conclude that, so far as regards religious reform, he was a *time-server;* and this has ever been the Protestant verdict.

Such a verdict is not, however, a logical deduction from the evidence, unless it be proved that, in turning away from the Protestant cause, he was departing also from his *own* convictions, and kicking against the pricks of his *own* conscience. It may be that he was adhering throughout to his own previously formed opinions; and that the reason why he seemed to forsake the Protestant path was, that he and the Protestant Reformers, though walking for a while in company, were really travelling different roads. How far this was the case must be learned by the comparison of his early views with his subsequent writings; and none of these are better fitted for this comparison than his satires. We have "The Praise of Folly," written before Luther was heard of; and we have "The Familiar Colloquies" written after the Pope's Bull had issued against Luther, and after the epithet of "Antichrist" had been hurled back upon his Holiness by the excommunicated heretic. And, finally, we have a defence of these Colloquies, written in the midst of the Anabaptist riots, and after Erasmus had himself entered the lists against Luther. If the tone of the one differs from the tone of the other, or the last vein of satire, by its mildness, belies the keenness of the first,—or if the same views are not found in both,—then the old theory may be true. Was it so?

1st, What were the early views of Erasmus upon religious questions, and from whence derived?

He is at Oxford in 1498. Though only just turned 30, his wasted sallow cheeks and sunken eyes, show that youth has long ago taken leave of him—that long deep studies, bad lodging, and the harass of the life of a poor student, driven about, and ill-served, as he has been, have long ago sapped out of a weakly body the most part of its physical energy and strength. The sword has proved itself, ere half worn, too sharp for the scabbard. His fame, as a Latin scholar, is in every one's mouth. He has written one or two Latin works, chiefly of a critical nature; and the learned world has read and admired them. Why, then, is he at Oxford? *Greek* is to be learned there; and Greek, Erasmus is bent upon adding to his Latin. To belong to that little knot of men north of the Alps, who know Greek, whose numbers he may count upon his fingers, is his object of ambition,—his motives, love of fame, and distinction,—nothing worse certainly, and perhaps nothing better. His college companions, it chances, are young More and Dr. Colet, men who ever after count as his closest bosom friends. When three such men are thus thrown together, the strongest character of the three must leave its impress on the other two. Elsewhere we have traced that influence on More. How does it work upon Erasmus?

Erasmus is skilled enough as a logician. He knows well how to make the worse appear the better reason. He can argue on any side of any subject. No theologian—in the round of his learning he yet knows something of the theology of the schoolmen; and, consequently, is wont to draw arrows from their capacious quiver whenever Colet, as he often does, engages him on theological subjects.

Colet has just come home fresh from that Italy to which Erasmus is longing to go. He was in Italy while Lorenzo de Medici was in the full blaze of his glory, as the patron of art and learning, and artists and learned men. He talked with many of these, he mingled in the crowd of their admirers, and now he has come home master, not only of the elegant Latin of Politian, but master of that art of the use of language in general, which makes some men's words, few and simple, tell more than torrents of eloquence, —an art which is not to be learned, so much as it is the *gift of men of character*. Idle words fall not from such lips as his. "You

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speak what you mean, and mean all you speak," says Erasmus. "Words rise from your heart—your lips utter your thoughts without changing them; and when you write, your letters are so open and plain that I read the image of your soul in them, reflected as in clear water."

The truth is, little as Erasmus may as yet understand it, that Colet's whole heart and soul are wrapt up in one great idea, and from thence is derived that strength of purpose in everything he does, that earnestness and force in everything he says. Whether, as we have elsewhere hinted, the fire in his own heart was kindled by personal contact with the great Savonarola, when in Florence, is not our present question. It is rather to trace the influence of Colet on Erasmus. He is wont to bring forward some passage from the Gospels or Epistles, upon which his own thoughts have long been brooding. He pares off, one by one, what he calls the cobwebs of the schoolmen, and then gives his own clear simple view of its real meaning. Erasmus is wont to take the schoolmen's side, and clever and keen are his arguments. But the question is with him a mere trial of skill. Colet's first work is to wean him from this schoolmen's habit. "Let us defend (he one day writes to Erasmus) that opinion only which is *true*, or most like the truth, . . . and when, like two flints, we are striking one another, if any spark of light flies out, let us eagerly catch at it!"*

Sometimes, when away from Oxford, Colet, in his letters, starts questions concerning passages from the writings of St. Paul, of so free a nature, that Erasmus dares not reply in writing, "since," he says, "it is dangerous to speak of them openly."† But as the two friends become more closely knit together, their flints strike more and more often the one against the other, till spark after spark enters deep into the heart of Erasmus, and he is fast becoming the disciple of Colet.

One day they are talking, as they often do, of the schoolmen. Erasmus has singled out Aquinas, the best of them, as at least worthy of praise, seeing that he had, at all events, studied the Scriptures. Colet holds his tongue, as if wishing to pass from the subject. Erasmus is not then mine even yet; perhaps he is thinking to himself. But Erasmus turns the conversation upon Aquinas again. Colet turns his searching eye upon his friend, to see whether he is speaking, as he does still, sometimes, in jest, to bring on an argument such as he delights in. Erasmus is this time in earnest. He really does think still that Aquinas was a great theologian. The fire kindles in Colet's eye. "Why do you praise such a man as Aquinas?" he says earnestly—"a man who, unless he had savoured much of the spirit of the world, would never have polluted, as he did, Christ's doctrine, by mixing up with it his profane philosophy."

Few words these, as is Colet's wont; but Erasmus opens his heart to receive them. He likes Colet's boldness, and begins to think that he must be right. Yes, he thinks over to himself, this strange, complicated web of philosophy—this splitting of hairs, and discoursing upon utterly immaterial points—whatever else it may be, it cannot be that Christianity which is to save the souls, not only of the learned, but of women and children, peasants and weavers. But, if I begin to doubt what the Church divines teach, where am I to stop? And again, he goes to Colet, the when and the where we know not exactly, but this we do know is the lesson he learns—a lesson that will stick by him for the rest of his life, and be, as it were, a loadstar to him in the darkness of the troublous times that are coming. "Believe what you read in the Bible, and in what is called the Apostles' Creed," says Colet, "and don't trouble your mind any further. Let divines, if they like, dispute about the rest. And, as to the observances in general use among Christians, it is better to observe them whenever they are clearly not contrary to the Scriptures, lest you should harm others by their non-observance."*

Erasmus begins now to enter into the great object of Colet's life. It is to bring out again the Scriptures as the foundation of theological studies—to fight down the schoolmen with the Bible—to preach the Bible and not the schoolmen from the pulpit—to teach the Bible and not the schoolmen at the Universities, utterly regardless of the tempest and the dust that may be raised, or whether he, D. Colet, shall survive it or not. "Erasmus, will you join me in this work?" he writes to his disciple at last, "I want a partner in my labours." Erasmus replies, bidding Colet God speed! That Colet should have put his own shoulder to the wheel, he marvels not, but he does marvel that Colet should wish such a novice as he to join hands in so glorious a work. He feels that he is not ready—he must study theology deeper first—he must nerve up his mind to greater courage. "But when I shall be conscious that I have courage and strength enough, I will lend my aid to your work. Meanwhile nothing can be more grateful to me, than that we should go on, as we have

* Colet to Erasmus, Eras. Op. v. 1291–2.
† Eras. Op. v. 1292, A.

* Opera Eras. i. 653, C.

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begun, discussing, even by letter, the meaning of the Scriptures. Farewell, my Colet."*

Now, what was the consequence of this Oxford intercourse with Colet, extended, as it was, by letter, till Colet's death?

1st, We find Erasmus ever after devoting the best of his life to Biblical labours, his Greek New Testament, translations, and paraphrases—works upon which the Reformation may be said to have been founded. 2d, We find Erasmus ever after taking Colet's position in theology—believing the grand doctrines of the Bible and the apostles' creed, and regarding philosophical questions as questions for divines, secondary only in importance, about which men may well differ. 3d, We find Erasmus ever after firmly adhering to the Church and her usages in general, but hard in his blows, and biting in his satire, upon every abuse or usage which seemed to him contrary to the Scriptures. And among the abuses upon which he lavished his severest satire, were the morals of the clergy and monks, the reliance of the latter upon their rites and observances, auricular confession, pardons and indulgences, saint and image worship, and war, upon all which points Colet's views and his were closely alike. Colet had either taught them to Erasmus, or they had learned them together from the Bible.

We turn now to the "Praise of Folly;" in order, first, to point out the circumstances under which it was written, and then to bring home to the reader the views it expressed.

After some years of close study of Greek, and through its aid, of the New Testament and early fathers, during which his intercourse with Colet is maintained by letter, Erasmus determines to visit Italy. He cannot be satisfied without going there; and so, after another short visit to his English friends on his rough hack, with his travelling boots and baggage, behold him trudging, day after day, through the dirt of German roads, such as they were three centuries ago. Thoroughly hard, unintellectual day-work *this* for our student, in his jaded bodily condition, now close upon 40. Strange places, too, for a book-worm, those road-side inns, into which he turns his weary head at night. One room serves for all comers; and into this one room, heated like a stove, some eighty or ninety guests stow themselves, boots, baggage, dirt and all. As their wet clothes hang on the stove iron to dry, they wait for their supper. There are among them, footmen and horsemen, merchants, sailors, waggoners, husbandmen, children and women, sound and sick—combing their heads, wiping their brows, cleaning their boots, stinking of garlick, and making as great a confusion of tongues as there was at the building of Babel! No literary work can be done here, it is plain; and, when past midnight, Erasmus is at length shown to his bedchamber, he finds it to be rightly named—there is nothing in it but a bed,—and the great task before him is now to find, between its rough unwashen sheets, some chance hours of repose.*

So fare Erasmus and his horse on their day by day journey into Italy, sometimes a little better and sometimes a little worse; but by virtue of perseverance in the jog-trot of the steed, and patient endurance on the part of the jolted rider, Erasmus at length finds himself in Italy, and after diverse wanderings, in Rome herself. Now we are not going to tire the reader with a description of what Rome was in those days, or with a long description of what Erasmus did there—how he was flattered, and how many honours he was promised, and how many of these promises he found to be, as it is said injuries ought to be, written in sand. We had rather see him on his old horse again, jogging on as before, back again from Italy after some years' stay there, travelling the same dirty bad roads, lodging at the same kind of inns, and meeting with the same kind of people, on his way home to England. There are hearts in England that Erasmus can trust, whether he can or cannot those in Rome; and, when he reaches England, and is safely housed with his dearest of all friends—Sir Thomas More, and can write and talk to Colet as he pleases, he will forget the toils of his journey, and once more breathe freely.

But what concerns us most is this: that it was to beguile these dreary journeys, that he thought out in his head, and that it was when he was safe in More's house that he put into writing his famous satire upon the Follies of his age—a satire which had grown up within him at these roadside inns, as he met in them men of all classes and modes of life, and the keen edge of which was whetted by his recent visit to Italy and Rome—a satire which he wittily named "*The Praise of Folly.*"

In this little book he fulfilled his promise to Colet:—"When I have studied a little deeper, and have got courage enough, I will come to your aid." What Colet and he had whispered in the closet at Oxford, in it he proclaimed upon the house top. And let it be remembered, it was no mere obscure

* Eras. Op. v. 126.

* See Erasmus' description of these inns in his colloquy entitled "*The Inns.*"

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pamphlet, cautiously printed, anonymously, till it should be seen how the world would take it; the wounds it made were not inflicted in the dark by an unknown hand, but the barbed arrows of his satire flew openly in the daylight, straight to the mark, and their wounds were none the less keenly felt because they were known to have come from the bow of the world-famed *Erasmus!*

Folly from her rostrum deals with a variety of topics, and finds votaries everywhere. She portrays the "grammarians" or schoolmasters, as despicable tyrants, and their filthy, unswept schools as "houses of correction." She points to the follies of the lawyer, sophist, and astrologer, in turn, and has her hard hit at each. And then passing from smaller to greater and graver fools, she casts her eye upon the schoolmen:—

"Perhaps it would be safest for me to pass these by. It might be hazardous to speak of men so hot and passionate. They would, doubtless, brand me as a heretic." But, nevertheless, she undertakes the task, and points out the sort of questions in disputing about which they spend their lives—such as whether Christ, instead of taking upon Himself the form of a man, could have taken upon Him the form of a woman, a devil, a beast, an herb, or a stone, and how, in the last case, He would have preached His gospel, or been nailed to the cross,—questions of so subtle a nature that the apostles themselves would stand in need of a new revelation were they to engage in controversy with these new divines. These men (she continues) complain that St. Paul, when he said that 'faith is the substance of things hoped for,' laid down a very careless definition; and say that he described charity very inaccurately in the 13th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Again—"The apostles were personally known to the mother of Jesus, but none of them philosophically proved, as some of these men do, that she was preserved immaculate from original sin. The apostles worshipped in spirit and in truth; but it does not appear that it ever was revealed to them how the same adoration that is paid to Christ should be paid to His picture here below upon a wall. They often mention 'grace,' but never distinguish between 'gratia gratis data' and 'gratia gratificans.' They earnestly exhorted to good works, but never explained the difference between 'opus operans' 'and opus operatum.' They invite us to press after charity, but they never divide it into 'infused' and 'acquired,' or determine whether it is a 'substance' or an accident.'" And so in other particulars.

Writing these words at More's house, Erasmus could not help mentioning the existence of a little band, who felt as though they could shake off the very dust of their feet against this scholastic theology. Thus a little farther on Folly adds:—

"But there are some men, and among them theologians too [Colet for instance], who think it sacrilegious, and the height of impiety, for men thus, with unclean lips, to dispute so sharply and define so presumptuously of things so sacred, that they are rather to be adored than explained; and thus to defile the majesty of divine theology with their own cold words and sordid thoughts.

"But, spite of these better men, the divines choose to follow their own fancies; they will occupy themselves night and day in their own foolish studies, while they will scarcely spare a moment to read either the Gospels or the Epistles of Paul."

Truly Erasmus has in good earnest joined Colet in his battle against the schoolmen. He has taken Colet's simple view of theology, and has grown bold enough to publish it. And though the "Praise of Folly," being a satire upon existing abuses, does not tell us fully what he wishes to see in their place; yet there is other abundant evidence, that he not only sought to wean men's minds from the works of the schoolmen, that he also sought to lead them to the Bible. He was already preparing for his Greek New Testament, by a patient study of its contents; and already was the truth dawning on his mind, which afterwards found vent in his defence of his Testament, viz. that the Scriptures should be translated into all languages, so that not only all Christians but that Turks and Saracens might read them. "I would," said he, "that the peasant should sing the truths of the Bible as he follows the plough; that the weaver should tune them to the whirr of his shuttle; that the traveller should beguile with its stories the tediousness of his journey."*

From the *doctrines* of the schoolmen and divines, "Folly" turns to the *morals* of popes and clergy, their secular pursuits, and the wars which they engage in themselves, and foment among the princes:—

"The popes of Rome (she says) govern in Christ's stead; if they would but imitate His example, there would be no party strife, no buying of votes in the conclave, to secure an election; and those who, by bribery, get themselves elected pope, would never resort to pistol, poison, force, and violence, to maintain their position. . . . It is singular that St. Peter should have told our Saviour that he had left all to follow Him, and yet could leave us an inheritance to these popes (St. Peter's patrimony they call it.) fields, towns, treasures, and large dominions! While, too, their only weapons should be those of the Spirit, to defend this patrimony, they fight with fire and sword. . . . As if Christ were perished, they defend His religion by arms. Yes, though war be so brutish, that it becomes beasts rather than men—so frantic, than even the poets feigned it to be the work of the furies—so licentious, that it puts a stop to all justice and honesty—so unjust, that it is best waged by ruffians and banditti—and so impious, that it cannot exist along with

* Erasmi, Op. v. 140.

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Christ; yet, in spite of all this, these popes will go to war." . . .

Then again, "the popes only thrust their sickle into the harvest of *profit*, while they leave the *toil* of spiritual husbandry to the bishops. The bishops, in their turn, bestow it on the pastors; the pastors on their curates; they, again, commit it to the mendicant monks; who give it again to such as know how to take advantage of the flock, and to benefit out of their place."

Passing from the clergy to those "who vulgarly call themselves 'the Religious,' and 'Monks,' though most of them are as far from religion as they swarm in numbers," the satire rises to a severer tone—a tone, the very seriousness and solemness of which must have made it doubly stinging to its unfortunate victims.

"Their religion consists, for the most part, in their title . . . and yet they think that they have worked so many works of supererogation, that one heaven can never be reward enough for their meritorious life; little thinking that Christ, at the last day, shall put all their works aside, and ask only whether they have fulfilled His own single precept of charity. Then will one brag that he has fed only upon fish—another that he has done nothing but sing psalms—a third will tell how many thousand fasts he has kept—another will plead, that for threescore years he has never so much as touched a piece of money, without protecting his fingers from pollution by a double cloth—another shall glory in having, for seventy-five years, lived like a sponge, fixed to one spot—another shall aver, that his voice is hoarse with incessant singing—another, that his tongue has grown stiff with long silence. But Christ, putting a stop to their never-ending self-glorification, shall answer, 'I told you plainly in My Gospel, that My Father's kingdom was promised, not to cowls or habits, vigils or fastings, but to the practice of charity. I cannot own such as think so much of their own deeds as if they were holier than I. Let those who prefer their own traditions to My precepts, go and occupy the empyrean heavens, or order new ones to be built for them.'

"When the monks shall hear the e things, and see sailors and waggoners preferred to themselves, what grimaces, think you, will they not make?"

Thus boldly did Erasmus bid defiance to the most powerful rabble upon earth—a rabble that he well knows will take summary vengeance in one way or another.

As to *indulgences and pardons*, without saying that all pardons are wrong, he points out the evil of their abuse.

"By the purchase of pardons, a merchant, soldier, or judge, by giving up a portion of his ill-gotten gains, deems the sink of his heart purged from iniquity—a bargain struck, as it were, with his sins; and then, all arrears being paid, he enters upon a new cycle of crime."

As to *saint-worship*, without condemning it altogether, Folly asks, "What do men pray for, and thank the saints for, but such things as minister most to their folly? One has escaped from shipwreck; another has lived through a battle; another, while the rest were fighting as bravely and as happily, fled. Another has broken jail; another, against the will of his physician, has recovered from a fever; but nobody thanks the saints for preserving him from Folly!"

Such was the "Praise of Folly;" silent upon the use of these things (if such there be) but bitter as gall upon their prevalent abuse.

We turn now to the *Colloquies* to ask, first, under what circumstances they were written, and then what views they expressed. Ten years have passed since the former satire was written. Colet, having laboured manfully during his short noble life, rests from his labours. Erasmus has not yet followed him. A wanderer from city to city, to study this manuscript and that—struggling with poverty, the wolf scarcely ever driven for long together from the door—irritated by constant conflict, owing to the enemies that his bold satire has made—worn by incessant literary toil—the loss of friends, and the excitement of success—in the midst of wasting bodily maladies, he has, nevertheless, given to the world his Greek New Testament; and the wonder is, that he is still among the living. He had worked hard in the hope that he might eke out his bodily strength to the end of his great work; but to survive the thrill of approbation with which the best men of Europe have hailed its publication, was beyond what he looked for.

A little while ago, he was indeed brought to death's door. But the destroyer spared him. "Who would have thought that this frail wasted body (he writes) weaker now by increasing age, after the toils of so many journeys, and the labour of so many studies, should have struggled through such an illness as I have had. You know how hard I had been working at Basle just before it. I had a kind of suspicion that this year would be fatal to me, because worse and worse maladies came so thick upon me in succession. When the disease was at its worst, I felt that I could neither grieve at the loss of life, nor tremble at the fear of death. There was hope in Christ alone; and to Him I could only pray that He would give me just what was best for me. *Formerly, when a young man, I remember that I used to tremble at the mere name of death.*" *

* Erasmus to Beatus Rhenanus, Eras. op.

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It was then from a sick, and as it was thought, a dying, bed, that Erasmus rose to grapple with times more troublous than any he had yet seen.

While Erasmus had laboured, another man had entered into his labours, and was pushing them much further than he had dared to do. While, with the rest of the world, he was wondering what manner of man this newly risen Luther could be, the world expected him to tell them boldly what he was; and to take his side either with Luther or the Pope. For long he had kept silent, on the pretext that, not having read his works, he was not able to judge. Then the crisis had come. The Papal Bull and Luther's book, "De Captivitate Babylonicâ," had made all things ripe for a schism. He grieved to separate himself from such men as Hutten and the gentle Melancthon. He hated the very thought of siding with the monks, "for if the monks get the upper hand again, they will try," he said, "to entomb Jesus Christ so that He may rise no more." But yet he dared not lend his aid to a schism. "I would join," he writes, "with Luther with all my heart, if I saw he was with the Catholic church. If things come to extremities, and the Church totters on both sides, I will fix myself on the solid rock till a calm succeeds, and I can see which is the Church." Was it wonderful that, in his bodily weakness, he should refuse to join as a leader in the Protestant battle; that he should complain of being dragged into the controversy, and confess that not having the courage requisite for a martyr, he feared, that if put to the test, he should imitate St. Peter? Was it strange that he should choose rather to pursue in peace, so long as bodily strength might allow, those Biblical labours that Colet and he had planned and undertaken together? Whether strange or not, he has made his choice, and to that choice adheres.

He publishes revised editions of his New Testament; and, more than this, he proceeds steadily with a work supplemental to it—a work, the first portion of which had been issued as early as 1517, while Luther was sticking up his thesis on the Wittemberg church doors—and which had been commenced many years before that, viz., a simple paraphrase or exposition of the plain sense of the text of the New Testament, undefiled by the subtleties of the schoolmen, and unbiassed even by the controversies raging around him. How honestly and faithfully this work was accomplished, is pointedly shown by the fact, that when an English Bible was ordered to be placed in every English church, at the suggestion of the Protestant Coverdale, an English translation of these paraphrases of Catholic Erasmus was ordered to be placed side by side with that Bible, as best fitted to teach its real meaning to the people. At this work, then, it is that Erasmus is labouring, while torn in pieces between the two opposing parties, and while he is refusing to side with either, to the vexation of both, it is this work that he is writing to Froben, the printer, to press forward, though to the neglect of others, being the one *best fitted for times such as these.*

Had the paraphrases been written in calmer times, we might have passed them by; but that, in the most controversial of all times, this most uncontroversial of *all* expositions of the Bible, should have come from the pen of Erasmus, is too sure a proof to be slighted, how closely he followed the advice of Colet, "Keep to the Bible and the Apostles' creed. Let divines, if they like, dispute about the rest."

Nor is this mention of the paraphrases irrelevant to our review of the satire of Erasmus. It was during the intervals of his Biblical labours that the old vein of satire, traced before, found vent again, this time in the garb of a mere school book, dedicated to one of the children of Froben, the printer, and entitled, "Familiar Colloquies." And these little bursts of wit are only to be correctly judged with those greater and graver labours in the background.

What are these "Colloquies?

"This book (said Erasmus) is not a book upon the doctrines of our faith, it treats upon the art of correct speaking."

It begins with simple instructions as to what a polite boy is to say upon this and upon that occasion, so that he may pass for a gentleman, and not for a churl. It teaches what forms of salutation are used by the vulgar, and what approved by the learned; how to greet a friend or a stranger when you meet, and how to bid them farewell at parting. It then proceeds to explain, by example, how a man may show his concern for another who is ill, or congratulate him if he be well. And, as by degrees the sentences and conversations lengthen, they grow into dialogues on various subjects supposed to be instructive to youth. As these advance, they become less and less trivial, and more and more serious, until at last, by insensible degrees, you find yourself under the full force of the severest satire, one thing after another passing under the lash in turn.

As in the "Praise of Folly," so in the "Colloquies," Erasmus takes no pains to conceal his disgust at the utter hollowness

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and want of principle which marks the tone of general society, or his conviction that monkery has eaten into its very core, and is to be blamed for much of its rottenness.

Take, for instance, the colloquy of the "False Knight." It reminds one of Ellesmere's essay on "The Art of Self-Advancement," in the last series of "Friends in Council." It professes to show how a man may cut a respectable figure in the world, though, in fact, he is nothing at all, and has nothing at all—not even a conscience.

"Go to a place where you are not known, and call yourself a nobleman, for the nobility have a general license to be lawless. If any traveller should chance to come that way—it may be out of Spain—ask how your cousin the Count of Nassau does, and the like. Wear a seal-ring upon your finger (you can get a brass ring gilt for a trifle). Hang a coat-of-arms up over every door you lodge at. Have counterfeit letters sent you, in which you are styled 'the Illustrious Knight,' and so forth, and in which there are plentiful mention of castles, estates, and great affairs. Contrive to drop these letters by chance, or what is better, send your coat to the tailor's to be mended, with one in the pocket; and, when you hear of it, as you will, put on an air of exceeding vexation at your carelessness. Take care to have servants about you who shall call you 'My Lord,' and so on. Bribe some needy printer to mention you in his pamphlet as some great man, *e. g.*, a nobleman from Bohemia, and in *capital letters.* And mind you your servants must gain their pay by the use of their fingers. In the retinue of a nobleman they can do this with ease. Then, as to the money, people always give to a nobleman credit. And never be afraid of your creditors; they will never offend so great a personage, lest they should lose their money altogether. No one has his servants more in awe than a debtor his creditor. If you ever pay them anything they will take it more kindly by far than if it were a gift. When they come to you always make a show of money. If you have to borrow the money, and pay it back the same day, you must have money to show. When you are over head and heels in debt in one place, remove to another; that is the way all great princes do, and therefore you need not fear—you are in good company. . . . If things grow desperate, pick up a quarrel with some monks or priests (they always have plenty of money). Breathe nothing but destruction and ruin upon them, and when they are thoroughly terrified, offer to compound matters by the demand of 3000 pieces of gold. If you demand such a sum, they will be ashamed to offer you less than 200, at all events. When you find that you must leave the place altogether, give it out that you are called away suddenly by the emperor, and let it be known that you will shortly return at the head of an army. And, finally, you need not forget that you have a pair of heels to trust to, if you cannot depart like a lion!"

After such maxims as these (we have only given the pith of them) the colloquy winds up with reminding the reader that to play such a part with success, *one thing is absolutely needful, viz., that a man should believe that after death there will remain nothing of him but his carcase!*

Take again the colloquy called "Charon," in which Erasmus represents the old ferryman mourning his wrecked boat, while his over-crowded passengers are paddling among the frogs. Fame brings him word that he may expect a brisk trade; for the furies have shaved their crowns as smooth as an egg. *Strange animals, in black, white, and grey habits,* are hovering about the ears of princes, and stirring them up to war. In France they preach that God is on the French side; in England and Spain that the war is not the king's but God's! Add to this, that a new fire of strife has grown up of late in the *variety of opinions* that men have. At these news Charon determines to invest the halfpence, which for the last 3000 years he has been scraping together, all in a new boat. But, alas! he says, if any should start a peace, my gains will be taken away at once! Never mind that. They who preach peace, preach to the deaf. Alas, too, all the Elysian woods having been felled for burning heretics' ghosts, where is his wood to come from? Then who is to row over these multitudes? The ghosts shall row themselves, says Charon, if they have a mind to get over. What if they have never learned to row? Charon has no respect of persons. He will make kings row, and cardinals row, as well as the poorest peasant. Every one with him takes his turn. Meanwhile the banks of the river are already crowded with ghosts. Charon goes after a boat, and the messenger hastens on to hell with the good news.

Passing from the general to the particular, in another colloquy Erasmus represents a soldier coming home with empty pockets, but heavy laden with sin. He tells of the crimes committed under the sanction of the law of arms. His friends tell him that his only excuse is, that he is mad, with the most of mankind. The soldier retorts that he has heard a parson say from the pulpit that war is lawful. "Yes," says the other, "pulpits are no doubt oracles of truth; but though war be lawful for a *prince*, it does not follow that it is lawful for *you*." The soldier then urges that every man must live by his trade. "Ha," replies the other, "an honourable trade this!—to burn houses, rob churches, ravish nuns, plunder the poor, and murder the innocent." "What of that?" replies the soldier; "if I had robbed Christ Himself, and cut off His head afterwards, the priests have pardons to

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cover it, and commissions large enough to compound for it." "But what," says the other, "*if your composition is not ratified in heaven?*" "What a troublesome fellow you are, to put such scruples in my head. My conscience was quiet enough before; pray, let it alone." "Nay, you should be glad to meet a friend who gives good advice." "I can't tell how good it is," says the soldier, "but I am sure that it is not very pleasant;" and so they part.

"I wrote this colloquy," says Erasmus (in 1526), "that young men may learn to hate the villanies of the soldier's life. And in what I say about pardons in these colloquies (and they are often mentioned), I do not condemn all pardons, but those vain triflers who put their trust in them without the least thought of amending their lives. Surely it is well to admonish young men in this matter. But you will say, that by this means the commissioners may lose their gains! If you are an honest man, hear me: If they be good men, they will rejoice that the simple are thus warned; but if they be such as prefer gain to godliness, then—Fare-them-well!"

Next we adduce a colloquy satirizing *Confession and Saint Worship.*

In the "Shipwreck," the effect of the terrors of a raging sea, and the prospect of a watery grave, on the various passengers, is depicted with all Erasmus' power and skill in word-painting. You feel yourself in the midst of it all as you read it; shrouds and masts shattered and gone; bales of merchandise turned overboard; sailors singing lustily their "Salve Regina," in hopes that the Virgin Mary (though she never took a voyage in her life) may hear them, and save them from the all-devouring sea. An Englishman promises mountains of gold to "Our Lady at Walsingham;" another, a pilgrimage to St. James de Compostella, barefoot and bareheaded, and begging his way; another, at the top of his voice, vows a wax taper as big as himself to St. Christopher (but whispers that if once on shore, he shall not have even a tallow candle). How affliction makes men religious! One man only there is on board who makes no vows, and bargains with no saint. "Heaven is a large place," he says; "and if I should recommend myself even to St. Peter, who, as he stands at the door, would perhaps hear soonest, before he can come to God Almighty and tell Him my condition, I may be lost. I will go to God the Father Himself; no saint hears sooner than He does." There is a mother there, with her little child clasped to her bosom, calmer than any one else. She neither bawls, nor weeps, nor makes vows; but hugging her little boy, she prays softly and in silence. The ship dashes now and again against the ground. She must soon fall to pieces. Here is an old priest, and there a Dominican monk; and see how fast every one in turn is making hasty confession! There is one only who, seeing the bustle, confesses himself privately to God—the man who had prayed to God. Then comes a cry of land. But the ship is falling to pieces. A rush begins for oars, planks, and poles. The boats are overcrowded, and sink. Only seven out of seventy-eight passengers get safely to shore; and among them are found, not those who promised mountains of gold to the Virgin, or wax candles to the saints,—not those who bawled their loudest "Salve Regina,"—not those who confessed most devoutly to the priest and the monk;—but the calm, pious woman and her child, and the man who prayed and confessed himself only to God, these are the first to be landed in safety!

Holding these colloquies to be conclusive evidence that Erasmus, while still adhering to the Church and her usages in general, as he has ever done, is bold as ever in his satire upon such abuses or usages as are in his view contrary to the Bible, we now turn to the question, how far he maintained in this work the general position in theology, which, as we have said, he had inherited from Colet, and adopted as his own.

Has the great Protestant Revolution materially changed his views? Does he, still hating the schoolmen, still look upon the Bible as the fountain-head of the Christian faith? Does he still point to the Apostles' Creed as the line within which the interpretation of that Bible should be unanimous throughout the Christian Church? Is he still willing to admit that, beyond that line, men may well differ in their interpretations, and need not be too anxious to agree? Now that difference of opinion has become more prominent than ever, does he depart from his liberal views; or does he seek to disarm the difference of opinion of its bitterness by calling men to rally round their points of agreement, rather than fight about unessential points of difference?

There is a colloquy called the "Child's Piety," in which one schoolboy tells another about his religion. In answer to numerous questions he is made to say, "I kneel down by my bedside at night, say over the things learned during the day at school, and ask Christ's forgiveness for my faults." . . . "During divine service, when I feel myself polluted with the stain of any sin, I do not withdraw myself from the altar, but in my mind, standing as it were afar off, as though not daring to lift up my eyes to God the Father, whom I have offended, I strike upon

my breast, and cry out with the publican, 'Lord, be merciful to me a sinner.'" . . . "I give thanks to Jesus Christ for His unspeakable love in condescending to redeem mankind by His death, and I pray that He will not suffer that His most holy blood should have been shed in vain for me." . . . "I confess daily; but I confess to Him who alone truly remits sin." "To whom?" "To Christ." "And do you think that enough?" "It would be enough for me if it were enough for the rulers of the Church and received custom. Whether Christ appointed confession as now used in the Church, I leave to be disputed by divines. To confess to Christ is certainly the *principal confession*, and nobody confesses to Him but he that is angry with his sin. If I have committed any sin, I lay it open and bewail it to Him, and implore His mercy; nor do I give over till I feel the love of sin purged from the bottom of my heart; and the peace of mind that follows, I take as a proof of the sin being pardoned. I confess to a priest before I go to communion, but even then only in few words." As to his future life, he rather inclines to divinity, "though the bitter contentions among divines displease me." Finally, to the objection that many are afraid of divinity, because they see no principle but what is called in question, he answers, "I believe firmly what I read in the Scriptures and the Apostles' Creed, and I don't trouble my head any further. I leave the rest to be disputed and defined by the clergy, if they please. Whatever is commonly observed among Christians, if it is not repugnant to the Scriptures, I also observe, lest I should harm other people. . . . When I was a boy, and very young, I happened to live in the house of that honestest of men, *John Colet*; . . . and he instructed me, when I was young, in these precepts."*

Finally, there is another colloquy, in which a Catholic is made to examine a Protestant closely concerning his belief in the *Apostles' Creed*. And having elicited from the Lutheran a full and orthodox answer to every question upon every point in turn, the Catholic at length confesses: "When I was in Rome I did not find all so sound in the faith! Well, then, since you agree with us in so many and weighty points, how comes it that there is this war between you and the orthodox?" And, in his defence of the Colloquies, before quoted, Erasmus says (in 1526): "I set forth in this colloquy the sum of the Catholic faith, and that, too, somewhat more clearly than it is taught by some divines of great fame. I bring in the person of a Lutheran, so that by showing that we do agree in the chief articles of orthodox religion, a reconciliation may be made more easy between them and us. . . . Let us try (he continues) candidly to interpret other men's words, and not esteem our own as oracles; for where there is hatred in judging, judgment is blind. May that Spirit, which is the pacifier of all, who uses His instruments in various ways, make us agree and consent in sound doctrine and holy manners, that we may all come to the fellowship of the true Jerusalem, that knows no discords!"

Clearly and explicitly must these Colloquies be admitted to uphold those general views which we have endeavoured to bring out in these pages, as the views that Colet and Erasmus had accepted before the name of Luther was known outside convent walls.

But it may be said, as it has been said a hundred times, "Why, then, did Erasmus attack Luther?" It is no part of our purpose to deny that Erasmus had faults, or to free his character from every charge of inconsistency. Theory is one thing, and practice another. A man may be sectarian in his very denunciation of all sectarianism, if he denounce it in a sectarian spirit. And that that spirit is to be found embittering the words of Erasmus when in controversy with Luther, far be it from us to deny. Few men of that day were free from it. But it is worth our while to remember, that the charge Erasmus made against Luther, in his controversy on the Freedom of the Will, was not only a charge of error in his view of the question itself, but also the very charge which he and Luther had both made against the schoolmen — "*Why encumber Christianity with your philosophies?*" — That the position taken by Erasmus upon that question was, that it *was* one of *philosophy*, —a question which had vexed Pagans before Christ was born, and which was in its nature inexplicable. He thought, therefore, that it was best not too anxiously even to *try* to fathom its unfathomable abyss.*

Leaving, then, the faults and weakness of Erasmus, in matters of action and practice, untold and undefended, we have, in conclusion, to ask only whether any alteration in his general views can be traced in his last works and words.

Would that we could throw anything of tragic interest or brightness round his last years. There is something so grand in a great man's life, ending just in its meridian

* Erasmi, Op. i. 653.

* Erasmi, Op. Epistolæ 764 D.

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glory—whether the end comes, as in More's case, upon the scaffold, or the pestilence steps in rudely, as in Colet's case, and spares him the trial of faith, and perhaps the pains of martyrdom—that it is painful to dwell instead upon the long dragging out of life through years of sickness—the pale messenger so long in view, but so long in coming, as if the process of dying were as tedious as man's life is short.

Thus it has been usual to hush up the last days of Erasmus. But we want to know, when we hear of his being crippled by disease, and brought nigh to death's gate, whether he still holds at seventy, and dying, the views learned from Colet at thirty, published in the "Praise of Folly" at forty, and confirmed by his Biblical works and Colloquies between fifty and sixty.

Let us then look at Erasmus, on the verge of seventy, wrapped up in his blankets, writhing with pain, daily dragging his wasted body, as it were, piecemeal to the grave—and mark that he is writing, in his sixty-seventh year, a simple exposition of the *Apostles' Creed*, and a treatise "*Concerning the Unity of the Church in Love.*"

It is well to mark, too, how he bears up under the news of the execution of his darling friend, Sir Thomas More—that execution, of which a severe critic has acknowledged that it was the world's wonder, as well for the circumstances under which it was perpetrated, as for the supernatural calmness with which it was borne—a calamity which was to Erasmus like the severing of his joints and marrow, but which was borne by him patiently, under the full and avowed assurance, that very soon he should meet again that friend, "whose bosom was," he said, "altogether whiter than snow."*

Nor did his sorrow stop that work which his maladies could not. His grief found vent in the preface of a treatise, which he named "*Ecclesiastes*," or "the Method of Preaching." The great want of the Church he thinks to be pure and Christian pastors, who should scatter the seed of the Gospel. He asks, Whence the coldness of men's hearts? Whence so much paganism, under the Christian name? And he answers these questions by saying, "When I was in Italy, I found a people willing to be taught; but I did not find the pastors to teach them."

Thus dropping the negative tone of satire, his mind grapples with positive and practical questions, during the months of suffering and sorrow which usher in his seventieth year, and the pale messenger with it.

He has urged with his dying voice the purity of *pastors* to feed the flock. Thirty years ago he declared his opinion in the "Praise of Folly," that the priests and clergy alone did not make up that Church which is the spouse of Christ. Why should he not add the testimony of his dying voice to the purity which the Gospel demands equally of each individual Christian and member of that Church? He takes up, therefore, his pen once again. "Some think," he says, "that Christ is only to be found in the cloister. I think He is to be found, universal as the sun, lighting the world. He is to be found in the palaces of princes, and in the soldier's camp. He is to be found in the trireme of the sailor, and *in every pious heart*. . . . Know then, oh Christian! thy true dignity, not acquired by thy merit, but given thee from heaven. I am speaking to thee, whether thou art a man or a woman, young or old, rich or poor, noble or ignoble, a king, a peasant, or a weaver; and I tell thee, whoever thou art, if thou art born again in Christ, thou art a king! thou art a priest! thou art a saint! thou art the temple of the living God! Dost thou gaze in wonder at a temple of marble shining with gems and gold? Thou art a temple more precious than this! Dost thou regard as sacred the temple that bishops have consecrated? Thou art more sacred still! Thou art not anointed only with sacerdotal oil; thou art anointed with the blood of the immaculate Lamb." . . . "Each in his own temple," Erasmus goes on to say, "we must sacrifice our evil passions and our own wills—offer up our lives and hearts—if we would at last be translated into the heavenly temple, there to reign with Christ, to whom be glory and thanksgiving for ever!"

This is the last sentence of the last work of Erasmus. It bears date January 1536. On the 15th of July, after uttering many sentences, which, says his friend, Beatus Rhenanus, plainly showed that he put all his trust in Christ, with the words "*Lieber Gott*" upon his lips, he died at midnight.

Thus the last days of Erasmus set a seal to the consistency with which he held the main tenor of his religious views unchanged to the end.

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* See preface to "Ecclesiastes."

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ART. IV. — 1. *The Silence of Scripture.* A Lecture by the Rev. J. C. MILLER, D.D. London: J. Nesbit and Co. 1858.
2. *Essays on Certain Peculiarities of the Writings of St. Paul.* By R. WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. London, 1858.

IN the Silence of Scripture, lies a Negative Internal Evidence and Teaching. It is a buried evidence and teaching, not like the body of Moses, where no man might find it to this day; but like the seed-corn, to be found and to be fruitful in its season. Silence is not always Sir Oracle. It may only be a cover for ignorance, a silence of necessity; proceeding from an unthinking mind, or unfeeling heart, — that nothing, out of which nothing comes. To be an Evidence, it must be of design, and not of necessity; not only so, but of wise, far-seeing design, into the ways and workings of human nature; of a foresight and sagacity far beyond the human, which no writer would have thought on, nor reader looked for,—nay, where all readers, beforehand, would have looked for speech, unreserved and outspoken—a Silence not accountable, therefore, on any natural or human principles; which expresses the presence of Him who sees the end from the beginning.

The Silence—especially that of the New Testament—has been oftener felt than acknowledged, and exerted an unconscious influence, where no one ventured an audible interpretation. It is chiefly in our own day that this voice without any sound has begun to be openly noted as a character of Holy Scripture, and admitted, not only as an Evidence of the Divine, but as designed, in its season, for reproof, correction, and instruction, in common with the positive and articulate voice of Scripture.

The piety of Boyle, the cotemporary of Newton and Hook, had discerned the wisdom hid in Scripture Silence, and expressed it with equal truth and beauty, "Scripture teaches us, like the sun-dial, not only by its light, but by its shadow." Hall of Leicester has a discourse on the glory of God in concealing a matter, in which he dwells on the concealment in the mysteries of Scripture—a concealment that pertains to the nature of the subject, and of the human mind —which might have been looked for, and cannot, therefore, be regarded as properly an Evidence of the Divine presence in the formation of Scripture. The first, so far as we know, that brings it out distinctly, as an Evidence, is Dr. Whately. To him belongs the honour of having broken ground, and put his plough into this new soil. The omissions of Creeds and Catechisms, and Forms of Devotion, in the New Testament, appear to him as the most remarkable instances of this Divine Silence. Mr. Charles Hare, among his popular sermons, has a felicitous discourse, entitled, "Wheat is better than Bread, or Principles better than Rules," than which there could not be a finer single illustration of the whole subject. Canon Miller, in his recent Lecture to the Young Men's London Institute, has anew called attention to the subject, and shown us how large a field of evidence and instruction it presents. He has done good service. He had, perhaps, done better service still, if, instead of scattering himself over the whole field, he had, like Whately and Hare, selected the instances of this silence that had most impressed his own mind, weighed them fully, and assigned their value. That this field of Scripture evidence and instruction should, hitherto, have been so little explored, may seem a presumption against its being a gold-field; but Silence, in its nature, is unobtrusive, and its meaning, not unsought, was to be found. It was natural that the positive and articulate lessons of Scripture should be first found, that in their light the shadow on the dial might be seen and read. Then, history must also reflect its light on the past, to aid in the right reading of the shadow. This Silence was a seed of Time, to open itself by degrees, and scatter its fruit in its season.

In the discussion of this evidence we think some instances should be omitted that have been too hastily included, such as the silence of the Scriptures as to the secrets of creation, a plurality of worlds, and like matters of natural interest, but not to the purpose of a revelation of the will of God; such also as the silence of Scripture as to the secrets of our future state, because the revelation of such matters, it is natural to think, was impossible to our present faculties, as well as, for many good reasons, undesirable in our present lot. For a different reason we would exclude the secrets of unfulfilled prophecy, which by turns excite and baffle curiosity, because, had they not done so, such prophecies might have fulfilled themselves. For the present, we limit our inquiry to the silence of the New Testament as the completed revelation of God to man, and to some instances of this silence which stand in the forefront of the New Testament, and on matters on which, according to all human anticipations, we should have looked for speech, copious and unreserved.

The first that presents itself to every thoughtful reader is, The silence as to the Nativity of our Lord. Some years ago,

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when the late Duke of Wellington was rising into distinction in the Spanish peninsula, a Scottish gentleman in East Lothian, feeling the national enthusiasm which his military achievements awakened, wrote to the mother of Wellington to inquire the day of his birth, and received a prompt and courteous reply. The desire to celebrate the birth-day of our British hero was natural. The wish to have the exact day was equally so; and not less the prompt reply of the pleased mother. Next to our desire to have the personal likeness, is our wish to know the very year, month, and birth-day of those we love to honour, that we may set them, with a mark, in our calendar of time. Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander the Great, gives both birth-year and birth-day. The biographer of Mahomet records the year and month. Ever, the more eminent the subject, the more careful are all writers of lives to gratify this desire, to search out and settle the birth-year and birth-day.

It is true, Moses, in the Old Testament, does not give us either the birth-day or birth-year of great men. But he is careful to record the date of great *events*, as of the Exodus.* He is not only careful to give the year, but the month: "This day came ye out in the month Abib!"† Nay, the very day of the month, the "*fourteenth!*" No doubt there was an object in this. This month was henceforth to be "the beginning of months;" and the *day* "for a memorial, a feast to the Lord throughout all generations: it is the Lord's Passover." This statement of year, month, and day, is repeated once and again, to preclude all possibility of mistake.‡ But while Moses gives the birth-day of great events and not of great men, in the Gospel history both are omitted. One event—the Nativity of Our Lord included—was to the Christian Church what the Exodus was to the Jewish; yet the time is unrecorded, or given with such indefinite marks as to leave it a matter of difficult determination to this day.

Incidentally, we learn that Christ's birth occurred in the reign of Augustus Cæsar, and about the time of a general taxing, or registration with a view to taxation.§ This is all the direct information given by those whose writings declare their consciousness that they are telling the word of *His* birth who is come to change times and seasons, and introduce a new era, more important far than that of the Olympiads, or Rome's foundation, or the Jewish Exodus. This omission, be it observed, is that of writers who had before them the example of Moses to the contrary, so far as great events are concerned, who were accustomed to reverence the festivals founded thereon, and to observe even the Feast of Purim and the Feast of the Dedication, in memory of their deliverance from Haman and the restoration of their temple.*

With such historical precedents and recollections, it seems difficult to conceive, on any natural principles, how four separate writers of the life of Christ should, if left to their own impulses, have omitted both the birth-year, month, and day of an event which, in their view, was to change the religion of the world.

But is it so that we cannot make out from the New Testament the time of the Nativity? Those whose attention has not been specially called to it will be surprised how little has been or can be made out of the most ingenious and elaborate sifting of the hints in the four Gospels. Luke gives us the chief notes of the time.†

In Luke are the chief data for determining the birth-*year*. They are given by that Evangelist who tells us that he had "perfect knowledge of all things from the very first." Yet they are evidently given without any design of informing us as to the very year; and when examined, yield no such precise information. We are left quite uncertain whether he reckons the *fifteenth* year of the reign of Tiberius from the beginning of his joint reign with Augustus, *two years before the death of the latter*, or from the commencement of his sole reign. According to the one, our Lord's birth was 749 U. C.; according to the other, 747 years after the building of Rome,—making a difference of two years. Then the phrase, "began to be about thirty years of age," admits of considerable latitude of interpretation, and does not forbid the supposition that our Lord was thirty-one or even thirty-two years of age,—making

* Exodus xii. 40,41. † Exodus xiii. 4.
‡ Leviticus xxiii. 5. § Luke ii. 1.

* It is remarkable that the festival-loving spirit only developed these two Feasts in addition to those of direct Divine appointment—as if the Jewish Church were less under this festival-loving spirit—or was satisfied with the Divine development given to it.

† Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness. And he came into all the country about Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins.—And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age, being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, which was the son of Heli.—LUKE iii. 1–3, 23.

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another difference of one or more years, according as we interpret the phrase.

The present era of Christians, says Father Newman in his "Church of the Fathers," arose in 550, from one Dionysius Exiguus, who was its framer.* Bengel says—"The Dionysian era is now in use, who published his Chronological System in 532. He is now considered to have placed the birth of Christ *four* years too late; so that we should add four years to the present era to obtain the right birth-year."† Alford, in his Notes on Luke iii. 1, concluding his examination, says—"It may be doubted whether in all these reckonings more accuracy has not been sought than the Gospel narrative warrants any expectation of finding."

The difficulty of determining the month and day of the Nativity is still greater. "It has been placed," says Dr. Adam Clarke, "in every month of the year." The two ablest writers of modern times that have investigated the chronology of the life of Christ—Dr. Burton and Mr. Cresswell—have come to opposite conclusions, the one contending for the spring, and the other for the autumn. Pope Julius first decided the matter for the Latin Church, and placed it in the Roman calendar on the 25th December, when the sun begins to return to the northern tropics, and therefore, in Europe, the natural emblem of returning light and life. But if Pope Julius decided on this latter ground, it was a narrow one,—as narrow as that on which the Latin Church, in the rubrics of her missal, has too hastily enacted that the bread of the sacrament must be always *wheat*, and the wine always of the *grape*, not knowing that whilst the Gospel was for all the world, wheat and the wine belong only to certain zones; or that the spring and summer of one-half the globe are the autumn and winter of the other half.

How, then, shall we account for this silence? Is it sufficient to say the Evangelists were illiterate men, not accustomed to give heed to dates, because uot appreciating their interest or importance; or that the Gospels are not so much regular histories or biographies as memorabilia, notes of the more remarkable sayings and doings of Christ, and the failure hitherto of all attempts at a chronological harmony is the proof that the Evangelists aimed at no more? Is this answer sufficient? It is certain this silence is not that of ignorance or indifference. Two of the Evangelists give the genealogy of our Lord, taken, we may presume, from public registers; side by side with which, in all probability, they might have found the very year, month, and day. Even if not permitted to assume this, all, and more, they might have had from the lips of Mary, who lived with John in her age. What question so natural in them to put, or in Mary to answer, or in the Evangelists to record!

It is true the Gospels are not regular histories or biographies, in which facts are marshalled with the attention to chronology of modern historians; yet they are quite as much regular histories as the Books of Moses, which give the times of all great events. Each Gospel begins with the birth of our Lord, or the opening of His ministry, and goes on to His death and resurrection. Each particular between may not be given in its order, yet that order is preserved wherever it was of consequence; and of all things it would naturally appear of consequence, when giving His genealogy, to give with it perfect notes of the year, month, and day.*

But were the Evangelists *illiterate?* We have been accustomed to acquiesce in the application of this epithet, and to glory in it, without considering its different meaning in reference either to their times or our own. They were undoubtedly well versed in the Jewish Scriptures, containing the history, poetry, and moral wisdom of their country. They had drunk deeper than most of their age, priest or rabbi, of the spirit, if not also of the letter, of those wonderful classics—Moses and the Prophets. To be versant in them implied, though fishermen, the knowledge of the Hebrew, then a dead language, or of the Greek of the Septuagint translation, implying therefore the knowledge of one, if not two languages, besides Aramaic, the spoken language of Palestine. Can we call that man *illiterate* that speaks one language, and has acquired one or two besides, and that not for purposes of trade only or chiefly, but to gain access to its literary treasures? Their knowledge of Greek, in which the Gospels have come down to us, however acquired, is a fact implying that they were "lettered" even in the modern sense, and implying a culture that may well rescue them from the imputation of being unable to appreciate the interest attaching to the record of the birth year and day of Christ. The truth is, the Evangelists, in relation to their times and country, were *illiterate* only in the sense of being unskilled in that

* Newman's Ch. of the Fathers. Ed. 1842. P. 313.

† Gnomon, v. 1. P. 52. Pref. Clarks' Ed.

* See John's account of the testimonies of the Baptist recorded in chronological order, John i. 19-27; also Mark's account of the Crucifixion, Mark xv. 25.

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Rabbinical learning in vogue in Jerusalem—an ignorance blessed to them, to us, to all ages—which enabled them to read and interpret, as Rabbies could not do, Moses and the Prophets; and made them the most pure and perfect medium of transmitting the teachings of a greater than Moses. We have talked of the Evangelists being illiterate, because by trade fishermen, and because Pharisees and Rabbies said so; but no man can calmly consider these facts, or read those discourses which John has recorded, without feeling that men who could appreciate those sayings of Christ which have exercised, and still exercise, some of the highest minds of our race in exploring their depths of thought, could not be intellectually unequal, or indifferent to, the record of the nativity of Him whom they make known as the Light and Life of the world. The name fishermen expresses their social, but not their intellectual position. To what class of fishermen on our British shores shall we compare a John or a Peter? Fishermen that knew, when they wrote the Gospels, two living and one dead language, and wrote in Greek; fishermen familiar with the sacred classics of their country from their earliest years; fishermen that frequented every Sabbath-day the synagogue of their native village,* and were accustomed in the schools of Moses and the Prophets to take not a mere passive, but an active part as speakers and questioners. The apostles of our Lord were probably some of the best specimens of the Jewish common people, quickened into intellectual and moral life above the common people of every other ancient nation, by the Sabbath and the synagogue; the foremost men in the synagogues of Capernaum and Bethsaida; inquirers into the meaning of types and ceremonies, and of ancient prophecy; and waiters for the coming of Him whom they saw foreshadowed in all Jewish things, answering and asking questions about all such matters, and not unaccustomed to speak their minds. Just because they were more awake and alive to all these things, these fishermen attached themselves first to the Baptist when he announced the Messiah. At least three, out of the twelve apostles, were disciples of the Forerunner, and followed John until shown by him—The Christ. Illiterate, therefore, they were not, save in the eyes of Jewish rabbies, whose light was as darkness, and whose literature was only perverted knowledge. Illiterate the Evangelists were in no sense that incapacitated or disinclined them to attach to the events they record, and especially to the greatest of all, the notes of Time. This answer, therefore, is not to the purpose, and when examined only heightens this silence. To what, then, shall we ascribe it, but to that Divine prescience that, presiding over the formation of the four Gospels, restrained the writers from giving what was of no use to their great object, or of which an ill use might one day be made? The religions of the heathen were all ritualism, the observance of times and seasons, in which the intellect, heart, and conscience had little part. Even Judaism, with its great central truth of the Unity of Jehovah, and its prophetic hopes, was an adaptation to this stage and state of society. Moses records the times and seasons of the great events on which were to be founded the three great and three minor festivals of the Jewish Church. But the Gospel came to diminish the ritualism of religion to the lowest measure consistent with our present condition, and to rouse man to a worship of God "in spirit and truth." Was there not some need, then, that all helps towards the observance of Christian times and seasons should be buried, like the body of Moses, where no man might find them to this day? If, as men, the Evangelists felt an interest in knowing the day of the Nativity, and put the question to Mary, yet, as Evangelists, they acted a higher part, and did a greater thing in exercising a discreet reserve. They conceal what every other man, learned or unlearned, fisherman or rabbi, would have thought it foolish to conceal. What shall we say? The foolishness of God is wiser than men. This silence heightens the Divine in the New

* Of these, Jerusalem in the time of Josephus had 480, a number that appears to us almost fabulous. Every village had one or more, however insignificant, a proof of the immense popularity of this institution. But more than this, there was liberty of speech, without respect of persons—a liberty evidently in common use, of which the apostles, as well as our Saviour, constantly availed themselves—a liberty which must have quickened and cultivated the popular mind, and induced a habit of self-restraint, without which no such custom could have been long endured. In our times when *social* questions are so much investigated, it were worth while to inquire how much *socially* the common people of Judea must have been above all other people, when they could use aright such privileges, or could acquire them or retain them? Doubtless that superior intelligence which elevated the Jews of the Middle Ages to be the bankers and financiers of Europe, as well as of the East, was due to the clerk-like education the synagogue made the use and wont of that people long before any Europeans save the priesthood had any knowledge of letters.

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Testament. It is a silence that *now* speaks, and is more eloquent than any words. "No speech nor language; its voice is not heard, yet its line is gone through all the earth, its words to the end of the world," speaking in behalf of the simple and spiritual in worship, of a religion of the conscience and heart, and rebuking the religion of times and seasons. It was a seed of time, to spring up, in its season, for reproof, correction, and instruction, to recall Christians from their wanderings, and check tendencies to fall backwards. The ecclesiastical developments of Christendom are the historical interpreters of the Divine meaning of this silence. Foremost amongst the festivals of the Church is Christmas, or the Nativity. Though not one of the earliest,* yet none could be more natural, and none has so universally established itself in the Syriac, Greek, and Latin Churches, surviving the Reformation, and establishing itself amongst the fixed festivals of most of our Protestant churches. Still this silence informs us that this Festival is no part of our common Christianity. It is no part of that which is required of us by Christ, seeing He has withheld all natural helps towards it, and we can neither tell day, month, nor year. It is true, men have decided this for themselves. This silence did not stop them; yet many a thoughtful heart must have felt these omissions of Scripture as a discouragement. Certainly no one ever took them for an encouragement, as they would have taken any positive information; and now that we can look back on the ecclesiastical developments of eighteen centuries, and read this silence in the light of history, we cannot but feel that such developments pertain neither to the being, nor are essential to the well-being of the Christian, or to the Church of Christ.

Do we, then, condemn the observance of all times and seasons? We neither condemn nor approve. The New Testament does neither. It says nothing for them, helps nothing towards them, withholds what we should have thought most desirable. There is surely no encouragement here, if there be no discouragement. If we observe them, neither are we the better than others that do not. If we observe them not, neither are we the worse. Let all things be done for edification, and let brotherly love continue. Let no one censure the traditional customs of any man or church where they affect not the great things of our faith and hopes. It can harm no one in Europe to believe, and to act on the belief, that

> "It was the winter wild,
> When the heaven-born child,
> All meanly wrapt, in the rude manger lay."

Yet it is well to be able to pluck the thorn of dogmatism out of all such matters, in times like ours, when the Gospel is overspreading the wilds of Australia and New Zealand, and the islands of the Pacific; and to remember that the Saviour of the world was born for all climes, and that those who loved Him most and knew Him best have left us ignorant of His birth year, month, and day; and if men will differ on such matters, they ought to differ without any breach of love. Nay more, does not this silence say that the disciples of Christ are to indulge this festival-loving spirit within narrow limits, and that this is not *the best* way of developing the religion of Jesus? If we may not say rudely of such outward developments—They are naught! because so, in our limited experience, we may yet say confidently, that had such periodical festivals touched nearly, either the rise or progress of pure and undefiled religion, or tended to that higher spiritual life in the individual Christian, which our Lord came to impart, the New Testament would not have been so reserved on such matters. Judging, beforehand, after the manner of men, who would not have liked this reserve had been broken respecting the time at least of the Nativity? Yet, looking back on the past history of the Church, who is not ready now to confess that if speech on such matters would have been silver, silence has been gold?

Where there is silence as to the nativity of Christ, we might have anticipated a like silence as to that of all other New Testament characters. As to the birth or death day of Mary, the mother of our Lord, the silence is complete. The Evangelists and Apostles have forborne all mention of their own; even of the dates of their call to the apostolic office. They tell these with singular brevity and simplicity, yet without any notes of time. The conversion of St Paul, is recorded once and again along with interesting details, but no hint to enable the

* The death of Christ was celebrated everywhere on an appointed day, when as yet His birth-day was celebrated nowhere. Easter preceded all others. Chrysostom represents Christmas as only coming into observance some years before 386. Augustine represents the Feasts of Christ's Passion, as Easter, also of His Ascension, and of the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit, as celebrated in his time over the whole Church, but that of Christmas as only then being established.—*Aug. Ep. ad Januar.*, and *Ep. ad Gal.*, lib. 214. See also *Neander's Ch. Hist.*, v. 13, 406–416. Clark's Ed.

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Gentile churches to place it in the calendar. Luke relates the death of Stephen, the first martyr; also of James, the first that suffered amongst apostolic men, but without any notes of time.*

Some difficulty may still linger in the minds of our readers as to these views, from the thought of how little, in the past, this silence has prevented the evil it foresaw, and which, we think, it was designed to stay. If of design, has it not failed in its design, and been understood too late? Is it not a forethought, that looks very like our afterthought? The concealment of the body of Moses was successful in preventing the worship of the man Moses. His body was never found, and no Jew ever pretended to have done so, or exhibited any relic of the Lawgiver. But thus New Testament concealment, if a finger on the lip, was not only not felt as a silence of reproof, but as a provocation to supply its omissions, fill up its blanks, and multiply inventions.

It is hard to say what amount of prohibition, positive or negative, will prevent men from doing what they have a strong tendency to do. The tendency, which by its force, carried ancient nations back to a religion of times and seasons, after the first fervours of spiritual Christianity were spent, may help us to feel the strength of these tendencies. The return to them, amidst the intelligence of our own day, should give us some experience of a tendency in human nature, which no New Testament silence could stay. Yet what it could not prevent it might retard, and make the wheels of folly drag more heavily. Who can tell how much, in the past, it has thus hindered, even when not felt as a prohibition? If, instead of silence, the Evangelists had furnished all manner of particulars, would not these have been received as a positive encouragement to such developments, as indicative of the festival use to be made of them? A propensity so strong, that no scriptural stinting or starving of it has kept it long under, would have shown itself earlier and stronger, and rendered the work of reformation more difficult. Unheeded, this silence may have been, or observed only by the few, who durst hardly utter their thought; but are the eighteen centuries of the Christian era, already past, the whole of the Christian age? Has folly yet exhausted its inventions? Is not the Gospel for all times, as well as for all climes? Is there no danger, when the Gospel spreads to festival-loving India—to China—to Japan—that the same tendencies may reappear in their strength, when this silence shall again speak, enforced by the history of the past, when the future churches of the East shall read the Divine finger on the lip, this shadow on the dial?

The sum of our argument is this: The silence of the New Testament as to times and seasons, birth days and death days, is not a solitary fact, not on one or two, or a few occasions only, but at sundry times and diverse manners,—a class of negative facts, involving in like obscurity the nativity of our Lord, of His mother, and of all the apostles and martyrs of early Christianity, involving the chronology of all the great events of the Gospel history. There is but *one* exception, and that is as to the day of the week on which our Lord rose from the dead, out of which was to arise the only Christian festival that all churches, from the beginning of the Gospel, have with one consent observed with more or less reverence, as The Day of the Resurrection of Our Lord.

Our second instance is—The Silence as to the Infancy and Youth of our Lord. Who has not wished to know more of the early years of our Lord, of His infancy in Egypt, His youth at Nazareth, the cottage-home and the workshop hard by! Such an infancy and youth, told simply and naturally, after the manner of the Evangelists, we persuade ourselves, would have been only less instructive than that which they have given us of His manhood and public ministry. Yet, we have not one incident of the infancy, and but *one* of His youth. On the great fact that He was an infant of days, and passed through all life's early stages, no shadow of doubt is permitted to rest; but all further curiosity is disappointed, and if men will put questions, they must make

* Let this be contrasted with the ecclesiastical developments of Christendom. Finding no answers in the New Testament, men have made answer to themselves in the following festivals of the Mediæval Latin Church, which still keep their place in the Calendar of the Roman Missal:—

In honour of Christ,	7	Festivals.
In honour of Mary,	17	"
In honour of sundry Scripture incidents,	6	"
In honour of Church incidents,	11	"
Miscellaneous,	4	"
In honour of Apostles and Evangelists,	14	"
	59	

To which more recent times have added sundry others, making in all the extraordinary number of 74. To these are to be added Saints' days, leaving no day without a festival or saint to honour or be honoured in it, going near to turn all the working days of the year into church festivals, or saints' days, as if "orare est laborare," a saying as wide of the mark as Carlyle's modern variation, "laborare est orare," instead of the Scripture wisdom which directs us "orare et laborare."

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answer to themselves. Yet it cannot be said that they could not have given us all manner of life-like details as to the family life of our Lord. Mary, in her age, lived under the roof of one of the Evangelists, and might, nay must, have heard all that a mother had laid up in her heart; yet it is not John, but Luke, who gives us the *one* incident. John carries us over the entire family life of Christ, preferring to tell of His pre-existence as the Eternal Word, by whom all things were made; and comprehending His birth, infancy, and youth, the first thirty years, in the single sentence, "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."

Is this the manner of men? Never had there been such a morning, in which the child opened into the youth, and the youth into the man, a pure and perfect whole; so like us in all outward conditions, so unlike us in that inner and higher life, which, with God, is Life in its highest sense. How could the four Evangelists write four different narratives, and be silent as to those thirty years? Did they form no part of our Saviour's work as our great Substitute or great Example? Had they no bearing on our salvation, except as introductory to the crowning events of His life? Was all pertaining to our salvation enclosed in the three last years of His life? Why, then, this veil so closely drawn over the opening life, and our attention fixed only on its closing years and scenes?

Time alone has interpreted this silence, and our own times are still interpreting it. What, for ages, has been, what is now, the favourite image and object of devotion in the greater part of Christendom? Is it not the infant Jesus? In churches, closets, couches, throughout Roman Catholic Europe, may be seen the pictures of that infancy, respecting which the disciple that Jesus loved is silent. It is true, in spite of this silence, men put questions and made answer to themselves until the worship of the Child prevailed over the worship of the God-Man. If, instead of the *one* incident of Luke and this silence of all the rest, John had told all he could have gathered from the lips of Mary, how much earlier might this worship have shown itself—how much more strongly taken root in the conscience as well as imaginations of Christians! How many legends and superstitions, still more puerile than those of mediæval Christianity, might have been added to the narrative of John, and fastened themselves on the churches, sheltered under the idea of honouring the Infancy! It is true this silence did not turn men from their purpose; yet, in withholding all Scripture helps and stimulants, who shall tell how many thoughtful minds, in the past, have been withheld? Christians, in general, were not, but individual Christians doubtless were, as they read the New Testament, and found nothing recorded but the wonderful fact, and felt the tendencies of their heart and of their times rebuked.

But is not our Saviour to be adored as the Divine Child? Did not the wise men from the East fall down and worship the Child in the manger of Bethlehem? Did not the shepherds come at the call of the angels to see the Child; and a Simeon and Anna take the Infant in their arms, blessing God they had seen the day? Yes, and we wonder at a faith so simple-hearted, so independent of all the surroundings of that Infant Saviour. Yet all wise men are not so simple-minded, nor all shepherds worthy of an angelic message; nor all aged persons Simeons and Annas. To the great majority of men, such a sight proved too severe a trial of faith; and to most Christians, in all ages, full details of that infancy and youth, such details as Mary's recollections could have supplied, would have led to many superstitions, filled the imagination with the merely human, and overlaid the spiritual and Divine. A mote, if only near enough to the eye, may hide the sun. The humble conditions of our Saviour's earthly lot hid from the Jews, nay, often from the Twelve, that greatest of all miracles,—Christ Himself. Would not minute details of His infancy and youth have brought the human so near, as to overshadow instead of revealing the Christ? Visiting, some years ago, an exhibition of statuary, amongst the thousand models and statues, our attention was drawn to one of our Saviour. The artist had chosen the age of which Luke gives his one anecdote. He had been perplexed in framing an ideal where Scripture had been so reserved, and his perplexity had solved itself in the figure of a boy treading on a celestial globe,—emblematic of his Divine nature, as Ruler of the universe; but with a lap full of toys, to express the boy. He had done his best to unite his ideal of the God-like with the child-like, and had failed, because the Divine in that infancy and youth was not manifested through the attribute of power, but of meekness, truth, and righteousness! He was not known as the Son of God with power, until His baptism and public ministry. See Matthew iii. 17. The Apostle Paul applies the phrase, "with power," emphatically to His Resurrection. Yet the artist gave us an ideal, just such as we should have had from the four Evangelists, had they written from their own inspiration, of that infancy and youth.

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It would have been well had men only broken this silence in statues and paintings of the Infancy. In answer to their own questions, they forged "Gospels of the Infancy." The titles of some of the chapters of one of these Gospels are sufficient to show how men have broken this silence. Of chapter III., the contents are—

"The wise men visit Christ. Mary gives them one of Christ's swaddling-cloths. The wise men make a fire and worship the swaddling-cloth, and put it into the fire, where it remains unconsumed."

Ch. VI.—"A leprous girl is cured by the water in which He was washed, and becomes a servant to Joseph and Mary."

Ch. IX.—"Two sick children are cured by water wherein Christ was washed."

Ch. XI.—"Bartholomew is restored by being laid on Christ's bed."

Ch. XIII.—"Jesus and other boys, playing together, make clay figures of birds and beasts. Jesus causes them to walk, and also makes clay birds, which he causes to fly, and eat, and drink. The children's parents hearing of it are alarmed, and take Jesus for a sorcerer."

Ch. XVII.—"Jesus plays with boys at hide and seek. They are transformed into kids. He fetches water for his mother, breaks the pitcher, and miraculously gathers the water in his mantle, and brings it home."

Ch. XX.—"Sent to school to Zaccheus to learn his letters; he teaches Zaccheus. Sent to another schoolmaster; he refuses to learn his letters, and the schoolmaster going to whip him, his hand withers, and he dies."

Ch. XXI.—"Disputes miraculously with the Doctors of Law, Astronomy, Physics, and Metaphysics, and is worshipped as a philosopher." etc. etc.

Had any of the four Evangelists given us such tales, Christianity would have shared the fate of these legends of Mediæval Europe. Why have we none such from the fishermen that companied with Christ, and ministered to Mary's age? They not only give us no early miracles, but expressly forbid all thought of such, by telling us that the miracle of Cana was "the beginning of miracles." The author of the Apocryphal Gospel of the Infancy, understood so little, The Christ of the Evangelists, that, in one of his tales, he makes our Lord, as a boy, full of petty contrivances of revenge on the slightest provocation. To have given us some idea of that infancy and youth was to show Him acting and speaking as the Holy Child, as the thoughtful, gentle, and loving youth, doing and suffering his dutiful part in every natural, childlike, and youthlike way. But this was far above, out of the sight of the writer of this forgery. The Divinity of power was the only Divinity he understood; and to add miracle to miracle, for childish wonder, was alone within his reach; and with such inventions, all the apocryphal histories of apostles and saints abound, making the boundary-line between the inspired and apocryphal Gospels no finely-shaded line, but as sharp and well-defined as ever boundary-line stood out against the sky.*

How unlike to all these is Luke's *one* anecdote of Christ's youth! There we see our Lord growing in wisdom as in stature, but still only as a learner, asking as well as answering questions. Nothing is unnatural. He appears as a youth, and acts only as one more thoughtful than other youths. He returns, after that incident, with his parents to Nazareth, and is "subject to them." For eighteen years more he dwells with them, and in the obscurity of a cottage home grows up to manhood, finding in the humblest lot an opportunity for fulfilling "all righteousness," until the time of His "showing unto Israel." In this silence we see a most kindly adaptation to our human weakness. As much of that infancy and youth is told as we could bear. We may think we could have borne more, or profited by more; but the people of Nazareth, who got more, were offended, and so might we. Are we not, at times, half afraid to speak of our Lord as "The son of the carpenter," and "The carpenter." This may be our littleness, our pride, our sin, yet so it is. We cannot always bear, even in thought, the glory of His humiliation, though He bore the reality for thirty long years. The glory of His last sufferings we can more easily realise, and say even with the sufferer, as they approach, "Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in Him." But more difficult by far is it to realise the glory of thirty years' sojourn in a cottage and workshop, with its every-day drudgeries and common-place humiliations. Enough for us, enough for our consolation and instruction, is the great, broad, wonderful fact, as it stands revealed in all its simplicity and generality, enough to sustain our hopes of forgiveness for all our infant youthful perversities, enough to teach us to be "subject" in

* Some years ago, W. Hone published what he called "The Apocryphal New Testament," containing a collection of spurious gospels and epistles, in order to discredit the canonical. The slightest perusal of Hone's Apoc. New Test. will be sufficient to any intelligent person. The contrast between the "Paradise Lost" of Milton and "Hudibras," is not greater than between the Gospel of John and the "Gospel of the Infancy," or "The Gospel of Mary." See also "Jones on the Canon" for ample specimens of the same thing. So great was the avidity for tales of the Infancy and Youth, that forty Gospels have been enumerated, composed with a view to gratify this kind of curiosity.

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our youth, learn obedience, and to do our duty, as He did, in the humblest of lots. More would only have filled our imaginations to the exclusion of the fully developed character and work of Him who, as the perfect Man, is designed to be to us—"the image of God."

This instance suggests another akin to it, yet one which has always appeared to us still more impressive—*the New Testament Silence as to the Personal appearance of Christ.* We love to possess the bodily not less than the moral features of our greatest, wisest, and best beloved. The evangelists might have given the one as well as the other,—a portrait to which painters and sculptors might have given a life-like reality. How easy for them that knew Him so well to have shown us that face and form, as he looked, spoke, and lived amongst men. What memorials they have left us of His majestic wisdom, His calm self-possession, His patience, His loving, self-sacrificing heart! Why not satisfy our curiosity as to His figure, complexion, eyes, features, voice, and manner? The art of the painter has derived from His life her noblest subjects. Hardly an incident of His life but has been made the subject of what is termed "sacred art;" yet the Evangelists give no aid towards reproducing Him on the canvas or on the marble; nor is this reserve broken within the canon of the New Testament. Strange, we must go to the old Testament to find anything that approaches to a notice of His personal appearance. The prophet Isaiah speaks of Him as in visage more marred than any man, having no form nor comeliness, and no beauty that we should desire Him.* These are not encouraging notices to those that seek after the bodily presence of Christ. On this very account some will not have them to be understood literally, but only as prophetic of the disappointed expectations of the Jews. But in whatever way we understand them, it is certain no one can find in them anything to satisfy the desire of the early and Mediæval Church, in common with the heathen world, to represent the god-like under the perfection of physical beauty and majesty, or to encourage the Christian to use such helps to his devotion.

This silence is contrary to the universal practice of the Greek and Roman world. Take up the ancient memoirs of Socrates. Many are said to have been written by his disciples. Two have come down, those of Xenophon and Plato, themselves gifted men. Plato, the most refined of the Greek sages, the spiritual man, along with the sayings and doings and conversations of Socrates, gives all manner of particulars as to his personal appearance, his bald head, his flat nose, his thick lips, and prominent eyes, his round and robust figure, his homely dress, and bare feet,—just such peculiarities of the outward man as set him before us, as he paced the streets and highways of Attica twenty-four centuries ago, conversed in the market-place of Athens with all comers, and discoursed under its porticoes with his youthful disciples.

Take up a modern biography—such a one as Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson—what is it we most prize in that work, and why do we style Boswell the prince of biographers, but because he gives us the *whole* man, as Johnson looked, and lived, and moved about, as he eat, and drank, and talked amongst his cotemporaries, down to the involuntary twitchings of the muscles of his face, and the scar which early disease had left? On all such matters the four Evangelists are silent. They give us four apparently independent narratives, unsurpassed in interest, yet deriving no part of their interest from such details. They give us parables, discourses, sayings of far-reaching thought, and unearthly purity and grandeur. They show us the Christ as He lived and suffered in action, and place before us a mind and heart wise above the wisdom, and loving beyond the love of the children of men; but without one word of the outward man of Him who spoke and lived as never man did. They loved and reverenced Him as no man was ever loved and reverenced. Why did they not express this as other men do? They lived and wrote only to make Him known and loved. Why did they not take the way all other writers take of transmitting a beloved memory? They could have told us all these things, and they tell us nothing. They could have given us a narrative personal as Boswell's, minute as the description of Solomon's temple, to form a groundwork for all poets, sculptors, and painters in all time to come, yet herein their four narratives are a total blank.*

Is it possible that the Evangelists did not indulge, in the retirement of their own thoughts, in such recollections? Could it be that "The Crucified" did not rise before their imaginations, as they had seen Him sitting at meat, or hanging on the cross, or ascending to heaven? To suppose they did not, were to divest them of their humanity.

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* Isaiah lii. 14, and Isaiah liii. 2.

* So far as we can recall, there is but one allusion to our Lord's manner in the four Gospels, in John xvii. 1: "These words spake Jesus, and *lifted* up His eyes to heaven."

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They must often, in imagination, have lived over every scene of that wonderful past, taxing memory and imagination to the utmost, until their absent seemed their present Lord. That nothing of all this should appear in their written narratives, is unaccountable. They wrote in Greek; but the Greeks were accustomed to see their gods, heroes, and every object of adoration, represented in the beautiful or majestic forms of Greek art. They wrote in the language of a people, whose artistic power prolonged the days of paganism, who were more apt than any other people to mistake beauty for truth—a mistake which afterwards paganised Christianity, and which ever returns in certain minds with every revival of the fine arts. Yet to this mistake the Evangelists are never tempted.

It is true, this silence is after the manner of the Old Testament, which says nothing of the bodily presence of its worthies—nothing of the person of an Abraham, Moses, or David; but this only gives us a succession of thirty instead of fifteen writers, extending over 2800 years, all observing the same reticence on subjects of common interest to all their readers. If we cannot account for the silence of the fifteen, how shall we account for that of the thirty, living at different times and places? There is also a great difference as to the persons respecting whom the Old and New Testaments are silent. Reserve as to the personal appearance of an Abraham or Moses was much less difficult; and therefore, by so much, less wonderful than silence as to the personal presence of the God-man. The writers of the Old Testament might very justly be afraid to dwell too much on the persons of its worthies, lest they should tempt to man-worship. But no such fears could keep back the recollections of a John respecting the person of the Messiah. His fears were only lest men should not honour Him enough. Every reason for the reserve of the one seems a reason for the unreserve of the other. How difficult for Matthew to be wholly silent as to the personal appearance of Him who called him from the receipt of custom, and for whom he made the great feast in his house! How much more difficult, when we know that Matthew wrote his narrative when he believed that his Master was exalted to the right hand of Divine Majesty! How difficult for the affectionate John to tell of the time when he first saw our Lord on the banks of the Jordan, and heard the Baptist point to Him, as "the Lamb of God," when he followed, and "abode with Him that night!" Six times, in the course of six chapters of his Gospel, John tells us that he is the disciple Jesus loved, and on whose bosom he leant at meat; yet still no word of that loved Presence, which he was privileged to be so near. Two of his disciples meet Him, after His resurrection, on His way to Emmaus. He talks with them by the way, and their hearts burn within them. He is recognized, and vanishes out of their sight. An indelible image of that meeting must have fixed itself in their hearts; yet there is no transcript of it, no relic preserved; no, neither then, nor when recording their last look of Him, when they gazed into heaven, as He receded from their sight, and blessed them.

Is this silence, also, to be explained by saying that the four Gospels are not histories, nor biographies in the modern sense, but notes and fragmentary recollections, the work of illiterate men, unaccustomed to, and unconscious of, the interest that would belong to such details? Why, the more we suppose them simple and unlearned, the more singular their silence. The narrative of such should have been minute and personal as those of women and children. If, on other matters, brief and fragmentary, here they should have abounded in just such fond and personal details. The difficulty requiring to be explained is, that being what they were, by birth and upbringing, they should have recorded just what they have done, neither more nor less,—given all of Him that is morally and spiritually great, and no more respecting his humanity than was needed to assure us that in all respects He was "one of us."

There remains the supposition that the New Testament writers had a strong peculiarity of mind and character, an idiosyncrasy so remarkable, that such matters, of interest to all others, had none for them. This hypothesis, allowable in the case of an individual, cannot be admitted of a succession. Unlikely in one writer, it becomes infinitely so in a succession, where the temptation to speak gathered strength with every increase of Christian converts, of curious inquirers, and with every decrease of surviving witnesses of the life of Christ—most of all when John wrote, the last survivor of the Twelve.

If these suppositions exhaust the attempts to account for this silence on any human principles, we are shut up to the acceptance of the account which these writers themselves give, that in this, as in other matters, they were moved thereto by the Holy Spirit. This silence is of God—a Divine silence; another internal evidence of that Presence which suggested or controlled what they should and should not record for the instruc-

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tion of all ages,—an evidence the more impressive, that it has remained long unnoticed, or been observed only by the few, biding its time, its season, and its service. It is told of an Egyptian architect employed by one of the Pharaohs to erect a lighthouse on the Nile, that being ordered to inscribe on it the name of the monarch in whose reign and under whose patronage it was reared, he inscribed the name of his patron on the plaster, which time soon effaced, but his own on the stone beneath, which time disclosed as fast as the other disappeared. Who that saw the architect's name brought to light, could doubt that he had hidden it for a time, only that it might reappear another day? and who, as he observes this silence, can doubt that it is of Divine forethought and intent, that Scripture might teach us, like the sun-dial, not only by its light but by its shadow?

What, then, does it teach? Two tendencies man has shown in all ages: The one to make a god of every new and striking object and appearance in nature, or Polytheism; the other, to lose all thoughts of a personal God in creation,—or Pantheism. Both, in the view of Scripture, are idolatry,—the one being idolatry in the particulars and details of creation, and the other in the sum. Against the first, the Jewish nation was, and still is, God's standing witness. Against the second, the New Testament has revealed a personal God in Jesus Christ. "The Word became flesh, and dwelt among us." This is the ladder let down from heaven, by which the human spirit ascends nearest to God. In Christ, as Son of Man, the ineffable brightness of the Godhead is shaded and softened by being humanised, that we may draw near to the Most Holy, not only without terror, but with filial confidence and love. How expressive are the New Testament names of our Lord! "The knowledge of God;" "The image of God;" "The express image;" "The brightness of His glory;" "The glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ;" "The fulness of the Godhead bodily." * Plutarch tells of an inscription on an Egyptian temple: "I am He that was, and is, and shall be; and who is he that shall draw aside my veil?" Christ has drawn aside the veil, and shown us the Father. "He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father." Yet, in showing us all of the Father that human eyes and hearts can now receive, it was needful to guard the image. † When the Jewish Church got the Shekinah, though nothing more definite than a bright cloud, it was yet retired within the veil which only the High Priest could draw aside. In giving us that highest image, was there no need of retiring as well as of revealing it, lest his humanity should overshadow instead of revealing the Divine? Is not this silence the veiling of the Christian Shekinah? We have seen how little of this image we are permitted to see in the infancy and youth of the Messiah. Almost thirty years are passed in silence. In three only of his thirty-three years, is He openly seen and known, and seen best, it has been said, in the glory of His receding Majesty. "It is expedient that I go away;" not only that the Holy Spirit might come in His spiritual power, but in order that our Lord's bodily presence might not hinder the higher objects of His Divine mission. * The image of Christ was to be perpetuated for worship, not on the canvas or marble, but on the human heart, through the written Word; not fixed and unchangeable, but a thing of life, to grow with the growth of each Christian, who, as he partook of the Divine nature, through grace, should see more of Christ, and through Him enjoy more and more of the beatitude of the pure in heart,—"for they shall see God." The rise of a Christianity of the senses and imagination so soon after the first witnesses were in their graves,—its revival from time to time to our day,—show us historically the meaning of this veiling of the Christian Shekinah.

In heathen countries, the gods were carried about in rings, amulets, and miniatures, that they might kiss and worship them, and they disdainfully asked the Christians to show them their gods. A religion without a visible God, altar, and sacrifice, with nothing but the memory of His sayings, sufferings, and doings to read and muse on, they did not understand; and to the worship of Christ by a visible image and sacrifice, Heathenism at length dragged down Christians. Yet, as if awed by this silence of the New Testament, no writer, for many centuries, attempted even to invent a description of

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* Ephes. iii. 19; 2 Cor. iv. 4–6; Heb. i. 3; Col. ii. 9.

† Christ, after His resurrection, refuses bodily worship from Mary. "Touch Me not," when she was about to throw herself at His feet,—John xx. 17; also in Luke xi. 27, 28, when He pronounces more blessed those that hear and obey, than those that see the Word made flesh; yea, more blessed than the mother that bore Him: a strange thought to the worshippers of Mary.

* Alford, in his note on John iv. 24, says well, "That the Word became one flesh with us, that we might become one in spirit with Him." This would have been defeated by too full details of His humanity, or by making any other use of that humanity, than to raise and refine our spiritual ideal of God.

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Christ's person. Clemens, Barnabas, and Ignatius — called, from their nearness to apostolic times, "The Apostolic Fathers"— say nothing of the bodily presence of our Lord.* Either the Church was still too spiritual to desire it, or its leaders were too honest to invent what the first followers of Christ had withheld. So late as the fifth century, Augustine says "that the real features of the Virgin, as of our Lord, were unknown."†

When the Fathers break this silence, it is only, says Milman, to dispute and differ from each other,—one party taking literally the words of Isaiah, "Without form and comeliness;" another as confident that the Divinity shone through His Humanity, and endowing Him with a celestial grace and corporeal beauty, bearing about a celestial halo on His head.‡ Still no Church historian of the first four centuries ventures a description of His personal appearance, leaving it to Nicephorus, a mere compiler of history, and that so late as the fourteenth century, to give us a personal portrait, the the only one which the learned Calmet, anxious for the credit of his Church, knows of, to justify its many consecrated and miracle-working paintings of our Lord. As Christians departed from the spirit of the New Testament, they grew impatient of this silence, and made answer to themselves, pleased with the Christ of their own imagination, or of the favourite image of their day or their locality. It is said of a distinguished sculptor of our times, Thorswalden, that a friend one day seeing him dejected, and inquiring the cause, was answered, "My genius is decaying!" "What do you mean?" said his friend. "Here," said the sculptor, "is my statue of Christ. It is the first of my works with which I ever felt satisfied. Until now my idea has always been beyond what I could execute. It is no longer so. I shall never have a great idea again." When the churches became satisfied with their portraits and statues of Christ, the genius of Christianity had declined. How unlike the ever-expanding ideal of the inspired writers!

We feel that we have only broken ground in a large field, in which may lie untold treasures. At another time we may renew the search for "the treasure hid in the field." But no one man nor age can read out this Silence. It has somewhat to say for the benefit of all men and all ages. As an argument of the Divine in the formation of the New Testament, it is ever calling up before us the idea of amazing circumspection. Not that of man, who sees only a little way on all sides of him, but of Him whose circle is eternity, and whose eye surveys at once the infinitely great and little, who says nothing and does nothing without a full knowledge, not only of the thing said or done in itself, but of all its relations to all time and all being, of all surroundings and all their issues. As an instruction, this finger on the lip has been ill understood at the right time, because men seldom take warning beforehand against evils on which their hearts are strongly set. There is hardly an instance of this silence that may not still prove offensive to some one or other of the many phases of religious character in our day, to the zealous observer of religious fesvals, to the lover of church legends, to the devoted ritualist, the frequenter of holy places, the too ardent admirer of logical systems, the eager stickler for ecclesiastical order, etc., etc.,—all that seek in Scripture that for which man was sufficient in himself, or which it was not to the purpose of a spiritual revelation to impart. To avoid all offence, it would be necessary to hold back not one or two instances of this silence, but one and all, and be wholly silent as to the silence of Scripture. It is told of Raphael, that, intent on teaching a lesson to his critics, he adopted by turns their successive suggestions as to one of his paintings, inserting them in water colours over his own in oil. When they had exhausted their critical spirit, and he had complied with each suggestion in turn, he called them together to see the effect of the whole, when, with one accord, they besought him to restore the original. A full search for, and discovery of, all "this treasure hid in the field of Scripture," would, we fear, be only, in its practical application, a succession of offences. Yet some compensation there would be in the readiness of each party and each individual to understand the finger on the lip designed for his neighbour: and the offended feelings might change into the reverential, on perceiving that Scripture, in its silence, is no respecter of persons or sects, but everywhere shows, in its silence, a wonderful length, breadth, and depth of insight into man and his ways. One thing all may feel from the silence of the New Testament, that God has given to Christians and Churches a larger charter of freedom

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*See Milman's Early Latin Christianity, vol. iii. 516.

† Aug. De Trinitate, ch. 8.

‡ See Milman's Early Christianity for details respecting this controversy. It is instructive to observe that Justin Martyr and Tertullian, and all the earlier Fathers, take the literal view of Isaiah. Origen, Jerome, Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine, and all the later Fathers, farthest removed from apostolic feelings and traditions, took the view that at length prevailed and was realised in mediæval art.

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than in our local and ecclesiastical differences we imagined—a charter meet for that Gospel Church which, like the common sun, air, and water, is designed to exist in all regions, and is adapted to the people of all languages, customs, and climates under heaven,—for the Kosmos.

ART. V. — *Secret History of the Austrian Government, and of its Systematic Persecutions of Protestants.* By ALFRED MICHIELS. London: Chapman and Hall. 1859. Pp. 421.

M. MIGNET, in one of his historical essays. has traced, step by step, the progress of the French monarchy during the time of the kings of the third race. At the commencement of that era, the monarchy, properly so called, did not extend beyond the duchy of France, and was flanked on every side by duchies and counties equal in extent and in power to that monarchy to which they owed a feudal subjection little more than nominal. One by one these rival powers are either conquered or more peacefully absorbed, and at the close of the middle ages, France, though still with limits considerably short of her present ones, has taken her place as one of the great monarchies of Europe. In existing France, the marks of former territorial division are, indeed, far from wholly lost. The Alsatian still retains his German speech, largely, too, his Lutheran faith, and deems himself as distinct from the Frenchman as the native of Canada does from the American. The Breton still, in dialect, in the names of people and of places, and in character and feeling, keeps up the remembrance of his Celtic descent, and his once independent position. In the local colourings which afford so rich a harvest to the writers of fiction, whether in prose or poetry, no district of France affords a wider scope than Bretagne; and of this, such gifted sons of hers as Châteaubriand, Souvestre, and Brizieux, have taken full advantage.

But if in France the traveller or the student is reminded of the provincialities that have melted into the present centralized empire, it is only in a peaceful form that these surviving influences of the past are presented. It is different in the rival empire of Austria. It is, and on a larger scale than France, a conglomeration of once separated states. But while in France, the provinces, if ever convulsed by civil war, have been so from general religious or political causes, in the case of Austria it has been from local grievances and injuries, despotically inflicted and gallantly resented, that danger to the integrity of the empire has arisen. In our own day, we have seen in the Hungarian provinces the spirit of insurrection so powerful and so sustained, as to necessitate for its suppression the armed intervention of the Czar. The difference we have thus adverted to, has made France a power of more continously transcendent influence in Europe than Austria, though the latter be greater in extent, and not inferior in population.

The work of M. Michiels is not a general history of Austria. It does not seek to supersede the work of Coxe, still, heavy though it be, the standard authority in this country on that subject. It is not even a complete narrative of the period which it embraces, from the accession of the Styrian branch of the Hapsburg family in 1619. It does not present to us the full history of the government, or the complete delineation of the people. While professedly dealing only with the Transalpine dominions of Austria, to some of these, such as the Tyrol, there is no allusion whatever made. It is a narrative, skilfully and on the whole accurately given, of the proceedings of the Austrian court since the accession of Ferdinand II., against civil liberty and the Protestant faith. The author makes no professions of impartiality. He writes with the natural bitterness of a political exile. He might have taken for his motto the expressions of Joseph de Maistre in one of his recently published letters, "I keep all my hatred for Austria. That house is a great enemy of the human race. I detest it cordially." A calmer style would, however, have been more in keeping with the proper dignity of history, and would have commended the volume to more general acceptance. It is not strength, but weakness of style; not taste, but tastelessness of expression, to accumulate in the compass of half a page such phrases as—"Ferdinand II., the Tiberius of Christianity, the crowned inquisitor, the implacable devotee." M. Michiels, in his preface, censures the style of Baron Hormayer as "capricious, wild, and tortuous." Truth compels us to say that we have seldom with a book so annoying by the affectation and strangeness of its style as that of M. Michiels. Thus we have "bestiality" used in the sense of brutality. We read of a "country being inflicted with a curse," "disgusted of fighting," "the gloom of the scholastica," "expose the maxims of the society" (meaning *expound*), "provinces swamped by soldiers." The weapon which, in historical writing as well as in ordinary

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conversation, is usually called a sword, is with M. Michiels a "glaive." His figures are numerous, and often might be better spared. Thus we read — "stolid as the countenance of a statue," as if any statue worth the looking at were not the very opposite of "stolid" in expression. M. Michiels is fond of calling the Jesuits "the Spanish order;" but, not to speak of minor fraternities, were not the Dominicans quite as Spanish in their origin as the followers of Loyola? Worse by far than any merely literary faults are his contrast of "the terrible God of Moses," with the God of the Gospel, and his sneer at "the improper interlude of Boaz and Ruth." One passage of the book, it is stated (p. 366), has been omitted, as "too realistic for English readers." We regret that the eminent publishers did not strike out such irreverent phraseology as we have quoted, and subject the whole volume to the revision, so far as the style is concerned, of some thoroughly competent person. But with all its faults, the work of M. Michiels is eminently interesting. If it is more fragmentary than it need have been; if repetitions not unfrequently occur; if episodes, such as the account of the personal habits of Wallenstein and Kaunitz, are somewhat too prolonged; if that proportion which is so principal an element in all good histories, and is so very important when, as in the present instance, the events of centuries are given in a single volume, is by no means carefully preserved, —the work of an exile is not to be subjected to the same rigorous criticism as the production of a literary man enjoying all the ease and advantages of fatherland. For the general reader the book is intended, and it is adapted to be at once informing and interesting to that class.

Ranke has dwelt upon the Romanist reaction after the Reformation, as powerfully influencing the literature and art of Italy in the latter part of the sixteenth century. But its influence is still more evident in the literature of Spain. The representatives of that nation at the Council of Trent were so perseveringly in favour of episcopal residence, and other mere disciplinary reforms, or rather returns to earlier usage, that the Curialist party were accustomed to say they were more troublesome than the heretics. But nowhere was there less disposition to depart from Romanist doctrine. A few enlightened persons embraced more or less fully reformed views, and became victims of the Inquisition. The nation remained not only Popish, but intensely so. An *auto-da-fe* was as great an enjoyment to the mob as a bull-fight. The golden period of Spanish literature commences in the middle of the sixteenth century. Not only do we find in the theological literature of that period, especially the mystical section of it, how thoroughly a revised Romanism was the expression of popular sentiment, as is manifest in the works of Luis de León and Luis de Granada, Juan de Avila, Juan de la Cruz, and St. Theresa; but the whole of Spanish literature, in its gravest and in its lightest sections, during the century of its chief distinction, from Cervantes to Calderon, from Mendoza to de Solis, is thoroughly pervaded by the evidence of a triumphant, and not merely governmental or sacerdotal, but national Romanism. Of distinctive Catholicism there is far more in Cervantes than there is of distinctive Protestantism in Shakspere. The latest pages of the last work of the greatest of Spanish authors, written only a week or two before his death, wind up the story with a pilgrimage of faith to Rome. Even in that peculiar production of Spanish humour, the *Picaresco* novel, we find the national religion powerfully prominent. There, as in other sections of Spanish literature, the heretic is uniformly represented as the worst of beings, and devotion to the Pope and the Church as an influence for good, from which none but the vilest ever succeeded in freeing themselves.

Such was the form which the Romanist reaction assumed in a country where the sway of the Holy See could scarcely be said to have ever been seriously disputed. But matters were quite different in Germany. Most of the north of that country had been torn from Rome, and her hold on the south seemed by no means firm. The Spanish branch of the Austrian house ruled, in its southern dominions, over a people who looked with abhorrence on the few Protestant victims whom the Inquisition martyred. The suppression of Protestantism there made no drain on the royal treasury, involved no anxious negotiation, required not the enlistment of a single additional soldier. For invaded civil rights, blood had freely flowed in Spain, and was freely to flow again. Arragon and Castile had risen against Charles V., Catalonia stood up boldly against Philip IV.; but Protestantism led no forces into the field. The few peaceful votaries fell unresisting victims to

"The bigot monarch and the butcher priest."

At Vienna, if the sway of Rome was to be maintained, a far more difficult game had to be played than at Madrid. The policy of the Austrian Government was characterised by three different principles in succession—regaining by concession, toleration, and sup-

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pression. The first was that adopted by Ferdinand I. In conjunction with the Duke of Bavaria, he urged upon the Council of Trent the importance of granting the laity the use of the cup, and of allowing the clergy to marry. After all efforts to influence the Council had failed, and that body had separated without even properly discussing such reforms, Ferdinand did not despair. One of his latest acts, as we learn from Father Paul,* was to write to Pius IV. urging the exceeding desirableness of these concessions. But even imperial desires were in vain. So far from the Roman Curia meaning to go beyond the Fathers of Trent, it was only occupied in endeavouring to render as nugatory as possible the disciplinary reforms which these Fathers had sanctioned.

Many have supposed that Ferdinand's son and successor, Maximilian II., was, at least in the earlier part of his reign, at heart a Protestant. At all events, despairing of the attainment of such concessions as might restore German religious unity, he proved himself the sincere, if not always the sufficiently energetic, friend of toleration. But to set a sufficiently influential example in this respect to Germany, and to ensure the future peace of his dominions, there was needed both a firmer will and a longer reign. Many must have sighed to think how different in both respects he was from his cousin Philip II. With his death in 1576, the difficulties of Protestantism in the Austrian dominions began.

His successor, Rudolph II., was a prince not unlike our James III. of Scotland. Fond of the arts and sciences, he was averse to the needful cares of state. Like his Scottish prototype, his long reign closed in weakness, difficulty, and disaster. Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia were abandoned to his brother Matthias. But injurious as were these divisions to the power and prestige of Austria, they procured an interval of respite to the Protestants. The work of suppression of the Reformation had begun in other parts of Germany. The first to inaugurate this policy of persecution was Duke William V. of Bavaria. He was completely under the influence of the Jesuits, who, having effected establishments at Ingoldstadt, Vienna, and Cologne, pursued from those three centres their chosen task of winning back Germany to the Pope. The Duke obliged all who would not renounce the Protestant faith to leave his dominions; and Munich, sorely weakened in population, grievously damaged in trade by the expulsion of her most industrious citizens, was complimented by the Jesuits with the title of the German Rome. William himself received from them the title of a second Theodosius, thus forestalling the flattery which for similar wickedness on a large scale, was given by Bossuet to Louis XIV. The example of Bavaria was eagerly followed by the Prince-Bishops of Northern and Southern Germany.

William of Bavaria was maternal uncle to Ferdinand, ruler of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. Brought up under his uncle's guardianship, and under Jesuit tuition, that prince became thoroughly devoted to Rome. In his hereditary states he resolved to suppress Protestantism, after the model which, in his guardian's dominions, he had seen only too successful. In 1596 he was the only person who, at Grätz, communicated at Easter in the Romish form. Next year he went in pilgrimage, first to Loretto, and thence to Rome; and having derived all the inspiration of devoteeism which the sight of Mary's house and Peter's chair was likely to impart, he returned home, determined to prove himself worthy of the benediction, which Clement VIII. had bestowed upon him.

With Ferdinand, as we remarked above, the work of M. Michiels opens. It is a somewhat grave omission, that he represents the Counter-Reformation as if it had been a mere work of force. The governmental and the military parts of the scheme are dwelt upon to the exclusion of others. The edicts of princes, the movements of troops, were, however, only one side of the plan of Rome. The means by which the cause of the Reformation had been promoted were, as far as the principles of Rome allowed, turned against the Reformation. Preaching and education had been mighty instruments with both the Lutherans and the Calvinists; against either branch of Protestantism, education and preaching were assiduously employed. In rivalry to Luther, the Jesuit Peter Canisius wrote his Larger and Smaller Catechisms, and these ever after formed the favourite manuals in Romish schools. Canisius found able successors, especially among the Jesuits. The pages of M. Michiels would have been more informing, his picture of the Counter-Reformation would have been more complete, had he given an account of the labours of such indefatigable emissaries of Rome as George Scherer and Wenceslaus Pillar.

We pass over the suppression of the Reformation (by means similar to those already

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* Storia del Concil. Trident. VIII. 88. The recent Florentine edition of this valuable work, well edited, sufficiently annotated, and moderately priced, has brought within the reach of every Italian student a book previously scarce.

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mentioned as having been employed in Bavaria) in the hereditary states of Ferdinand. Attempts of a similar kind, though with less system and with intervals of quiet, had been made by Rudolph. During the brief reign of Matthias (1612–1619), the Protestants of the Austrian states were greatly alarmed by the prospect of the succession of Ferdinand to his childless cousin. Bohemia offered her crown to the Elector Palatine Frederick V. (whom M. Michiels calls Count Palatine). This distinction he owed to his father having been the head of the Evangelical Union, and to his connection, by marriage, with the English crown, more than to any merits of his own. A more unfortunate choice could not have been made. Bohemia needed for her ruler a far-seeing statesman and an experienced general. She chose a prince, weak, vain, and unwarlike as his father-in-law James I. We can hardly even pay him the left-handed compliment which Colletta pays to Joseph Bonaparte, that, though a bad new king, he might have made a good old one. The single battle of the White Mountain placed Bohemia at the feet of Ferdinand. The country of Zisca and the Procops was found incapable of striking another blow for independence. In the language of Pelzel, "The records of history scarcely furnish an example of such a change as Bohemia underwent during the reign of Ferdinand II. Till this fatal period the Bohemians were daring, undaunted, enterprising, ambitious of fame; now they have lost their courage, their national pride, their enterprising spirit. Their courage lay buried on the White Mountain."

M. Michiels thus describes the executions of the most distinguished insurgents:—

"Several squadrons of Hulars occupied the square and the entrances of the adjoining streets, while a triple row of chasseurs and arquebusiers surrounded the scaffold. Strong platoons, accompanied by artillery, held the centre of the main streets, and patrols of cuirassiers marched about the city during the entire ceremony. At five o'clock A.M., the hoarse sound of the gun was again heard. The victims embraced, and took leave of each other. The first to appear was Count Schlick. The Elector of Saxony with whom he had taken refuge, had surrendered him to the Emperor. He was a man of fifty-three years of age, of majestic figure. As the sun in all its splendour had now risen above the houses, the martyr lifted his hand to Heaven: 'Sun of righteousness,' he exclaimed, 'O Jesus! deign to lead me to eternal light beyond the shadows of death.' Then he walked across the scaffold several times with a calm and dignified air. At length he knelt down before the fatal block, and received the death-blow, after which the executioner cut off his right hand. A piece of scarlet cloth had been stretched out beneath the block, and, as soon as the executioner had finished his task, some masked men wrapped up the Count's remains in it, and bore them away. The next to appear on the blood-stained stage was Wenceslaus of Budowa, a scholar renowned throughout Europe. He had been imperial ambassador to Constantinople. He was seventy-four years of age when led before the judge and condemned. Pardon was offered him, but he smiled contemptuously. 'You have thirsted for my blood so many years,' he replied, 'that I would not prevent you from satisfying your thirst; I would rather die than see my country die.' . . . Whenever one of the martyrs strove to address the people, a roll of the drums or a peal of the trumpets drowned his voice. The executioner tore out the tongues of some of the victims prior to striking the [fatal] blow; among these, the most famous of all the culprits, John of Jassen, whom anatomists regard as one of the founders of their science. All Europe respected this friend of Kepler and Tycho Brahe, who was chosen as physician by the Emperors Rodolph and Matthias. After the death of all the victims, his body was carried beneath the gibbet (scaffold), cut into four parts, and the bleeding limbs were exposed on posts."—Pp. 21–26.

The measure thus dealt out by the Government to the chiefs of the insurrection was copied by the Romish renegade nobles on their domains. When life was not taken, shocking indignities were used to compel their vassals to abjure. The villagers, their wives and children, were driven to mass by letting loose bull-dogs on them, or cutting them with huntsmen's whips. Many of the apostate lords, such as Mittrowsky, William Klenau, Slavata, and Martinitz, imprisoned and tortured their vassals, thrashing them with sticks or the flat of their sabres, in order to make them kneel before the Holy Sacrament. They forced their mouths open with the butt of their fusils, or with iron wedges, in order to thrust in the host, and make them communicate in only one element. The Protestant ministers who did not fly, were the victims of the soldiery. Some men entered the house of the curate of Bistritz, an old man of seventy, whom illness confined on his bed; they plundered the house, and then shot him as he lay. Paul Moller was killed by a bullet while in the pulpit, and Capito was poniarded and cut open in his house. Some of the ecclesiastics died a slower and more fearful death: the mercenaries piled up their books and MSS., suspended them over the mass, and then fired it. With others, they first cut off the right hand, then the head; some, like Matthias Ulisky, were cut into four pieces. John Buffler was fastened to a tree, and served for a target.—Pp. 38, 39.

The sufferings of the Bohemian Protestants are thus summed up by Dr. Pescheck, the author of "The Counter-Reformation in

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Bohemia:"—"Taking away of churches, exile of the ministers, forcing upon the people ignorant priests, intrusive visits of Jesuits, removal and burning of Bibles and books of edification, forcible abstraction of children to bring them up in the convents as Catholics, forbidding of Protestant marriages, interment elsewhere than in the churchyards, fines for non-attendance at mass, imprisonment in dark dungeons and choke-full cellars, for long periods, and with irons that wounded the parts to which they were applied, cudgellings and floggings, applying of lighted candles to different parts of the body, tying of women so that they could not reach their infants while nursing!" Hardly one of the cruelties inflicted on the French Protestants sixty years afterwards, could boast even the poor merit of originality.

The best of the Bohemian people were expatriated, the industry of the country paralysed, its language proscribed as rebel and heretical. But Bohemia gained (though M. Michiels has omitted to inform his readers)—what more than made up for such small things as impaired trade and diminished population—a new saint! History and legend are hopelessly at variance about the life and death of St. John Nepomuk. According to the former, after being previously tortured, he was thrown from the Moldon bridge of Prague into the water, by order of the Emperor Wenceslaus, in 1393. He remained obscure till the Jesuit reconquest of Bohemia. It then occurred to some ingenious Jesuit that the name of St. John Nepomuk might be played off with effect against that of Huss. Any remaining figures of the latter were (as they had good precedents at Rome for doing) changed by an alteration of designation into figures of Nepomuk, which was the more easily done, as ungrateful contemporaries had omitted to preserve his likeness! No previous miracles are recorded, but as Nepomuk had now again got his head above water, he vigorously set to work. Revered as the patron-saint of Romanized Bohemia (though not canonized till 1729), wonders of all kinds became rife. No other saint had so many images or altars. Legend told how, having become the confessor of Joanna, wife of Wenceslaus, he perseveringly refused to betray the sacerdotal secrets thus gained, and, prophetically conscious of the future, predicted the evils which his native land was to entail upon itself by hearkening, first to Huss, and then to Luther! Wenceslaus put him to death for the reason above given, and the Jesuits celebrated his memory as a glorious confessor for—confession! The saint appears now to be on the best of terms with the element by which he lost his life; for whenever the Bohemian Romanist is suffering from drought, his crops and his cattle are relieved by an application to his country's patron!

The suppression of the Reformation in the duchy of Austria was not effected without a sanguinary, and for a short time, successful resistance. M. Michiels thus describes the overthrow of the insurgents:—

"Maximilian (of Bavaria) determined on putting an end to these defeats, and sent against the peasants Count Pappenheim, a general of extraordinary boldness, energy, and rapidity. This skilful captain employed the most refined tactics to baffle the vigilance of the peasants. By night marches and long *detours*, he joined the Austrians at Ling, and attacked the Dissenters at Efferding, on the 9th November 1626. The peasants displayed heroic bravery. Singing pasims, invoking the Lord, and uttering terrific cries, they rushed on the horsemen, dragged them from their steeds, and struck them with clubs, spears, and maces. Ambushed in ravines, clumps of trees, and hedgerows, behind walls and houses, other mountaineers kept up a rolling fire, which decimated the papal battalions. These gave way several times, and Pappenheim had to make extraordinary efforts to continue the fight. He was wounded, as were nearly all his generals. But at last destiny declared itself for the bad cause, and the defenders of free inquiry were overthrown. On November 13th the imperial army recaptured Gmünden; on the 19th and 20th it gained two or more victories. A few days latter Pappenheim surrounded the rustics, forced their entrenchments, and massacred the men who had been driven to extremities by a pitiless tyranny. The province was soon in military occupation."—Pp. 48, 49.

M. Michiels does not occupy many pages with the events of the Thirty Years' War. That deadly conflict begain during that shameful parenthesis between Elizabeth and Cromwell, when England's foreign policy was either a nullity or a blunder. The place which, earlier or later, England would have taken as protector of the Protestant cause, was occupied by Sweden. The chief interest of the struggle centres in the two years and a half which intervened (June 1630—Nov. 1632) between the arrival of Gustavus on the scene and his death. If the Swedish monarch was not quite so spotless a character as old Fuller has described him in the Holy State, where he is the model of the "good general"—if he was more indisputably and eminently a hero than a saint—at least his services to the Protestant cause can hardly be over-estimated. In antagonism to him the headlong courage of Pappenheim, the veteran skill of Tilly, the military genius of Wallenstein met only with defeat and disaster. He turned back the tide of

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Austrian victory. He constrained the German Lutherans and Calvanists into union. A Romanist historian affirms that it was disgraceful to the German Protestants to have implored the aid of Gustavus. Their oppenents had at least set them the example of calling in foreign help. When from her Belgic and Italian provinces Spain poured in troops to reinforce Ferdinand and Maximilian, it was only natural in the oppressed Protestants to send for succour across the Baltic. But (and, in fairness, M. Michiels should have adverted to this) had German Protestantism been true to itself, her need of Sweden would not have been so great. It was the miserable dissensions between the Lutherans and the Calvinists that produced the disasters of the early period of the war. The House of Saxony was true to only one part of the character of her founder Maurice. His selfishness was copied, his sagacity was lost sight of. The coldness and delays of Brandenburgh were as notorious as the selfishness and seeming treachery of Saxony. Had these two chief Protestant powers done their duty from the first as well as some of the smaller potentates did, Germany might have arranged in a campaign or two her matters for herself. The Swiss, unaided, had expelled the House of Hapsburg from their soil. William the Silent, with the seven provinces at his back, had successfully defied the power of Spain. Maurice of Saxony had arrested the career of the Emperor Charles. With greater resources than any of these, the German Protestants were untrue to their position. The Evangelical Union only embraced a portion of their ranks, and it was dissolved soon after the fatal battle of the White Mountain. Its antagonist, the Catholic League, achieved far more for Popery than it did for Protestantism.

Nearly a third of M. Michiels' book, and we think the best portion of it, is devoted to the treatment of Hungary in the seventeenth century by Austria. This part of Austrian history is comparatively little known, and M. Michiels has given an interesting and informing record of it. Into Hungary the Reformed doctrine early penetrated. Luther dedicated part of his version of the Bible to Mary, queen of Louis, the last Jagellon. In spite of bloody edicts, Protestantism made constant, and in many places, rapid progress. Hundreds of Hungarian students received instruction at Wittemberg. The most distinguished advocate of the new doctrines was Matthias Levoy, called the Hungarian Luther. At the accession of Rudolph II., says Michiels, "In those provinces belonging to Germany, nine hundred parishes were Lutheran, a still greater number Calvinist; sixteen governors, nearly all dignitaries of the kingdom, had abjured the old dogmas. The moment could be almost predicted when Hungary would be Protestant."

The chief workers in the Counter-Reformation were the Jesuits. They entered Hungary in 1561; but during the reigns of Maximilian and Rudolph their success was by no means great. Yet their indefatigable activity awakened general apprehension; and at the Diet which raised Matthias to the Hungarian throne, the question of their expulsion was seriously mooted. Their continuance was in a great measure owing to the effect of a pamphlet, published by one of their body, Peter Pazmann. This man was in youth a pervert from Calvinism, and had, in consideration of his varied and ready gifts, been most carefully trained for proselytizing work by the Society. To no one man did Rome, in connection with Hungary, owe so much. That his name does not occur in the work before us, is, we presume, owing to M. Michiels hurrying over the events of the reigns of Matthias and Ferdinand in Hungary. To facilitate the return of the Hungarian Protestants to Rome, he wrote in that language his "Guide to Heaven," "which," says the Romanist Schrödl, "did more injury to their cause than a hundred thousand Spanish troops could have done." Plausible, eloquent, liberal in money matters, he succeeded in accomplishing many perversions. Count Mailath, the historian of the Magyars, thus characterizes him :—"The man who refuses to Pazmann the title of great, has either no sympathy with greatness, or is sunk in party spirit. When he entered public life the Catholic clergy were few in number, poor, downcast in spirit; when he died, the Magyar hierarchy was rich, bold, influential, highly educated. Before his time the Protestant theologians were more learned than the Catholic; with him begins the learning of the Magyar Catholic theologians, and no confession produced a man who could measure himself with Pazmann. He found Hungary Protestant, and left it Catholic." In this there is a good measure of partisan exaggeration, but of the greatness of Pazmann's services to Rome there can be no question. He died a Cardinal, and Primate of Hungary, in 1637, the same year as Ferdinand II. Ten chapters of his work are devoted by M. Michiels to the reign of Leopold I.

"The Jesuits," says he, "had in him a prince according to their heart; every morning he heard

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three masses, one after the other, during which he remained on his knees, and did not raise his eyes once. On festival days the triple ceremony was accompanied by music. Leopold insisted upon all the ambassadors being present; and it was at times enough to make them resign office, so fatiguing did the task become: thus, during Lent, they were bound to be present at eighty offices. When priests or monks approached the Emperor, he humbly doffed his hat and gave them his hand to kiss. On his white and little gnome-like head weighed a vast peruke. He was very weak in the legs, and seemed to be always tottering. His stature below the middle height, the awkwardness of his gestures, and the stiffness of his manner, did not produce a favourable impression. With his ill-shapen mouth, he had the temerity to play the flute, which made him ridiculous. A black but very thin beard imperfectly covered his prodigious chin. The priests had taught him everything, save the art of governing; and hence a notice was several times found affixed to the palace gate, containing the words: Leopold, be an Emperor and not a musician; an Emperor and not a Jesuit. This prince, though so well up in religion (!), was not warlike. During a reign of half a century, in which he had to support five great wars and subdue three dangerous insurrections, he never once showed himself in the field of battle. A small number of reviews, held on solemn occasions, were sufficient to satisfy his martial tastes. During the siege of Vienna by the infidels, the timid Emperor escaped as rapidly and as far as he could. The Jesuits, however, to reward their pupil for his obedience, surnamed him Leopold the Great."—Pp. 105-8.

He had no proper sense of national, though none ever insisted more on personal dignity. "The Islamites strongly abused his concessions and humility. When Count Leslie, sent as envoy to Constantinople after the signature of peace (in 1664), proceeded to take leave of his Highness, being a very aged man, he could not bow so low as Mussulman etiquette demanded: an usher thrust his head to the ground with such violence that he received three wounds in the forehead. The Imperial Court did not complain—asked no satisfaction for this outrage."

The subjugation of Hungary, which his grandfather had, during the Thirty Years' War, been unable to effect, was considered by Leopold as reserved for himself.

"As soon as the alliance with Turkey was concluded, Prince Lobkowitz assembled the magnates, in Leopold's name, at a Diet held at Presburg. He asked them for subsidies, intended for the fresh imperial troops to be stationed in the country, for building new forts along the frontiers, and recommended them not to annoy, according to their usual fashion, the pashas residing near their districts. The Estates replied by violent recriminations: the Hungarian charter forbade the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom. In addition, the Golden Bull of King Andrew II., which ever since the year 1222 all Hungarian monarchs had sanctioned on their coronation, granted the Magyars the right of taking up arms whenever their franchises and privileges were violated. The Diet demanded the removal of the imperial troops, who annoyed and plundered the population."—P. 113.

The Austrian Court refused to satisfy the wishes of the Hungarians. For the double purpose of crushing the Hungarian liberties and oppressing the Hungarian Protestants, the Government of Vienna found two apt and unscrupulous instruments, Prince Eusebius of Lobkowitz, and Szeleptsenyi, the new Primate. The Magyar nobles held a secret meeting at Neusohl, and resolved to revolt from Austria, and obtain Turkish aid by recognising the suzerainty of the sultan, Mahomet IV. An Austrian spy contrived to be present at the interview, which their envoy had with the Grand Vizier, and revealed the plot to his employers. Amused with promises made by Lobkowitz to gain time, the Hungarian leaders, unsupported by Turkey, were speedily crushed after the Austrian troops, poured in from the western provinces, had time to arrive. What resistance there was proved useless through its isolated character. The chief of the Magyar nobility were made to pay the penalty of their plan of revolt with their lives. We quote one example.

"Tattenbach did not perish at Grätz until December 1, 1671. Thirmon had been irritated in every conceivable way, and led to the verge of the abyss. In order first to compromise and then to accuse him, the service had been employed of a miserable wretch called Thurn, a devoted Catholic, or utter debauchee, overburdened with debts and harassed by want; one of those men who have a conscience 'wide as hell.' An ex-chaplain of Tattenbach's, Michael Fevie, at that time priest of Crayburg, served as his accomplice in the ignoble work. The two scoundrels suggested dubious proceedings to the Count, induced him to utter imprudent language, and then denounced him. To render the mystification complete, Thurn was at the outset imprisoned with his lord, and they were examined together. But the agent was speedily released, while the scaffold was erected for the credulous gentleman. The unhappy man sent off an express to Vienna, imploring the mercy of being shot; but Leopold refused this last and gloomy favour. The executioner gave him three strokes before his punishment ended. The monarch deducted a sum of money from the confiscated property of the victims, with which he purchased three thousand masses for the repose of their souls. The sons and legitimate heirs of the decapitated magnates were reduced to misery; and to set the seal on their misfortunes, they were ordered to wear a red silken cord round their necks, imitating the mark made by the axe. Many wives and daughters of the first families languished in Vienna and Wiener-Neustadt, either

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in common dungeons, or in the *oubliettes* of the convents."—P. 127-9.

On the 6th of June 1671, Leopold issued an edict, in which he annulled the national charter, proclaimed military occupation of the country, placed the Magyar nobles on a level with tradesmen and peasants in liability to taxation, and laid heavy imposts on all articles of consumption. The Primate and other Hungarian prelates in vain remonstrated against a decree by which they themselves were involved in pecuniary loss. But while to this part of the imperial procedure they took exception, they gave themselves diligently to the enterprise of persecuting the Protestants into submission to their Church. All who could escaped into the Turkish territories, where they found toleration. We cannot wonder that, as in the contemporary persecutions of the Scottish Presbyterians, armed resistance was at times made. On one such occasion, Barsonzi, Bishop of Grosswardein, one of the most pitiless of the persecutors, was saved by the intervention of a Protestant minister from experiencing the fate of Sharp.

After a number of instances of local oppression, all the Protestant ministers, schoolmasters, and precentors were summoned to appear at Presburg on the 5th of May 1675. Four hundred appeared. The tribunal was presided over by the Primate. Ecclesiastical and civil offences were blended in the articles of accusation. On condition of abandoning the exercise of their offices, and virtually acting as Government spies, the liberty of remaining in their native land was offered to them; if they refused this, a fortnight's time was allowed them to remove their families and effects to other lands. But, in either case, the signature of a document implying their guilt as rebels was indispensable. A fourth of their number yielded in the one or the other form. Sentence of death was pronounced in the case of those who refused. None were actually executed; but not a few died in consequence of the hardships they were exposed to, first in imprisonment in the six Hungarian fortresses, and afterwards when condemned to the galleys. In February 1676 only twenty-eight martyrs remained at Naples. They were found by De Payter, the Admiral of Holland, then the first Protestant power, through the incompetent foreign policy of the restored Stuarts. He claimed them; and as his appearance in the Mediterranean was to aid Spain in naval contest with France, his demand could not be refused.

Though Lobkowitz proved himself the willing tool of imperial oppression, he bore no favour to the Jesuits. Grasping as well as active as ever, the Society of Jesus practised upon the weak yieldingness of the Emperor to obtain large grants of land and money. "The minister, on several occasions, opposed this inopportune liberality, and tore up several acts of donation, especially that which granted the Spanish order the county of Glatz, in Silesia, and gave them, as guarantee for a sum promised them, the town of Grätz, in Styria. When the insatiable apostles (!) came to ask the head of the Cabinet for the official deed, he showed them the letters I.N.R.I. placed above a crucifix, and interpreted them thus: *Jam nihil reportabunt Jesuitæ.* He had carried his malice to such an extent as to draw up his will, which he showed everybody. This jesting document commenced in a humble, contrite, and lamenting tone; then left the reverend fathers, as a sign of repentance and affection, eighty-two thousand—here the bottom of the page was reached, and it was necessary to turn it over; the top of the next page explained the prince's legacy—eighty-two thousand nails to build a new house!"—P. 153. Before long, dexterously availing themselves of the dislike borne to Lobkowitz by the new empress, the Jesuits procured his downfall and confinement in his castle of Raudwitz in Bohemia, where he died two years afterwards. Assisted by Michael Apoffy, Prince of Transylvania, the Hungarian exiles re-entered their native land. They defeated Spankau, the Austrian commander-in-chief. If their plan of military operations had been more sustained and skilful, they might have driven the imperial troops out of Hungary. Their successes were not always used with moderation; on one occasion, having seized two and twenty Romish priests, they cut off their ears and noses, and then finished them with their sabres. The Marquis de Bethune, French ambassador at Warsaw, was interested in their favour, and, "in an underhand manner," as Voltaire says, "Louis XIV. gave them his support." In the end of 1677, Emeric Tekeli appeared among the patriots, bringing them a succour of two thousand men.

"This new champion was a man in every way distinguished. His lofty figure, his handsome face, his talents, activity, and kindness, attracted attention, and prepossessed in his favour. To these natural gifts—to courage and coolness—he added a precocious experience. Having grown up in misfortune and resentment, he had gone through the harsh apprenticeship of a military life. He knew, and spoke with equal facility, Hungarian, Latin, German, and Turkish. Of the immense property his family had possessed in Northern Hungary and Transylvania, the latter portion had escaped the Emperor's clutches, and assured him the influence of an immense fortune. His rapidity

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of conception, his spirit of organization, and a firmness of character indispensable in action, destined him to exercise on all sides an irresistible ascendancy. He was only twenty-one years of age when the retirement of Teleky, owing to his disputes with the French captains, decided the exiles on appointing him their general-in-chief. A proclamation summoned to arms every individual capable of wielding a sword or bearing a musket, while the scattered bands, fighting without discipline, received orders to join him. In a very short time twenty thousand men assembled, and other squadrons continually joined the Army of Independence. The troops he commanded had a numerical superiority over the Imperialist legions, and the young chieftain traversed in triumph all the north of Hungary and the chain of the Carpathians."—Pp. 165, 166.

After various efforts to reduce Hungary had failed, Leopold concluded an armistice; but, distrustful of his sincerity, the Magyars would not agree to the proposed terms of peace. The war, on being resumed, was more fiercely contested than ever; and matters appeared brought to a crisis, when, in 1682, a league was formed with the Turks, and the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, brought the full force of the Ottoman Empire to bear against Austria. The united force amounted to three hundred thousand men.

A century before, the House of Austria had furnished the commander who beat back the Turkish naval power at Lepanto. It appeared as if that great disaster was about to be more than avenged. The forces, which had of late barely kept the field against the Magyar insurgents, were utterly unable to cope with their Mussulman allies. Leopold could only muster thirty-three thousand men, whose command was entrusted to Charles of Lorraine. M. Michiels calls this distinguished general a Frenchman, — a somewhat singular designation for a prince, whose family had, forty years before, been expelled from their dominions by the French arms. He made a most skilful retreat before the overwhelming force of the invaders, and diligently repaired the crumbling fortifications of Vienna.

Two monarchs stand out from the mass of crowned heads of the seventeenth century, as men possessing the highest claims to the title of great—Gustavus Adolphus and John Sobieski. The former had saved Germany from Austria; the latter was now to rescue Germany both from the Ottoman and the Frenchman. Sobieski had gained the thorny and anxious crown of Poland through a burst of popular enthusiasm. Neither then nor at any subsequent time did he owe anything to Leopold. Had imperial intrigue succeeded, he must have remained merely the most illustrious of Polish warriors, the most distinguished of Polish subjects. But now the Emperor felt his deep and dire need of him. "He had recourse," says Salvandy, "to the great expedient of his House, the hand of an archduchess, offering this alliance to the young prince of Poland, to whom was also to be guaranteed the succession to his father." On the other hand, the united cabinets of Paris, Berlin, and Copenhagen offered him Silesia; Louis XIV. added Hungary for himself and his sons.* The temptation was great; Poland would thus have become a powerful empire. The difficulty of decision was enhanced by the Sultan sending to the Polish monarch a letter, in which he disclaimed all intention of hostility to Poland.

Sobiesky relied little on the friendship of Leopold, but he considered the Empire a far less dangerous neighbour than the Turk, and he threw all his energies into the scale of the former. Of the campaign which destroyed the Turkish host, and rescued the beleaguered capital, M. Michiels has given, in his thirteenth chapter, a succinct but animated account. Of his treatment by Leopold, Sobieski had as much cause to complain as, a quarter of a century afterwards, Peterborough and Stanhope had to be dissatisfied with their usage by his son, the Archduke Charles. Even the panegyrists of Austria would scarcely have the hardihood to affirm, that with that House gratitude has been a prominent virtue.

During the siege of Vienna, Tekeli had invested, but fruitlessly, the castle of Presburg. After the overthrow of his allies, he was obliged to take refuge within the Turkish territory. Now, in turn, the Austrian and Polish army laid siege to Gran, the strongest fortification in Hungary. It only held out four days. Mass was immediately celebrated in the Cathedral of St. Stephen, which, for nearly a century and a half, had been converted into a mosque. Sobieski endeavoured to mediate between the Emperor and the Hungarians, but without effect.

"During the negotiations, the army of Lithuania arrived like a stream of barbarians. As it had not set out early enough to take part in the campaign, it substituted pillage and destruction for the services it did not render. Hungary was sacked with as much cruelty as if infidels inhabited the pro-

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* It is worthy of notice, that in the same number of the official Parisian *Gazette* which congratulated the Hungarians on *the religious* liberty which they now enjoyed, appeared a proclamation, that if any of the "converts" lately made in Poitou presumed to re-enter the Protestant temples, they would be sent to the galleys!—*Salvandy, Hist. de Sobieski*, ii. 128.

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vinces. Irritated by their violence and depredation, Tekeli attacked the Poles, and did not grant them a moment's rest. Peasants or soldiers fired on them from every house, out of every thicket. Sobieski was broken-hearted. Urged by his wife to return, threatened with utter desertion by his troops, exposed to the revenge of the Hungarians, and disgusted by the ingratitude of the Emperor, he at length marched homeward, where he arrived at the end of December."—Pp. 194, 195.

Tekeli had set his mind upon being sovereign of Hungary. But neither Leopold nor Sobieski would sanction this arrangement, though gilded over by a tribute to Vienna. Irritated by the disposition of some of his noble supporters to come to terms with Austria, he seized, condemned, and executed the most obnoxious. The cause of Hungarian Independence was soon seen to be hopeless; and what hope was there, with Leopold on the one hand, and Mahomet IV. on the other? Sobieski would not ally himself with the Magyars, and the succour of France was feeble, interested, and precarious. When a truce of twenty years was concluded in August 1684 between France and the Empire, the Hungarians must have felt that their last hope of foreign aid was shattered.

It is a trite quotation—

"Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

But Hungary had always confessed, by seeking aid from without, that she felt herself too weak to contend against the Imperialists alone. The court of Vienna contributed to render Tekeli suspected by the Turks. He was seized by them in October 1686, and carried to Adrianople in chains. Deprived of their leader, the insurgents generally laid down their arms. When a new Grand Vizier found out the mistake that had been committed, and set Tekeli at liberty, his name had lost its influence, and the war, which he still carried on, shrunk into a mere series of guerilla combats. We pass over the narrative, too similar to passages already quoted given by M. Michiels of the cruelties which attended the final suppression of this revolt of Hungary. We could have wished that, instead of the following chapter of twenty-five pages, in which the author gives us his views of the policy of the Jesuits, he had favoured his readers with some account of the insurrection under Rakoczy, which, taking advantage of the pressure upon Austria through the war of the Spanish succession, procured the treaty of Zathunia in 1711, by which the former Magyar liberties were restored.

The arrangement of M. Michiels is somewhat confused at times. Thus, after entering on the reign of Maria Theresia in his eighteenth chapter, and continuing that subject in the three following ones, he reverts in the twenty-second to the persecution of the Protestants of Salzburg, which occurred in the time of her father Charles VI. The Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, Leopold Antony, Count of Firmian, too weak himself to deal with those of his subjects who, calling themselves Evangelicals or Apostolicals, had latterly assumed the name of Lutherans, and were virtually Protestants, had applied for aid to Austria and Bavaria. Troops were accordingly sent into the dissident districts, and remained there until the work of suppression was accomplished. All who held fast to their opinions were, by a decree which appeared in October 1731, obliged to go into exile. M. Michiels states the number of exiles to have been 30,000. Gieseler makes it 22,000. Guericke gives it as much above 20,000. The Romanist Gries reduces it to less than 20,000. Persecuted thus for conscience sake, the exiled Salzburgers were kindly received by the German Protestant Powers.

"The Elector of Hanover received them eagerly. The King of Denmark ordered collections on their behalf in all the churches. On the second of February 1732, the King of Prussia published letters patent, in which he offered them an asylum; and the court of Berlin even engaged the Catholics to exert all their influence to secure the exiles a kind reception. A large number, consequently, established themselves in this hospitable country. Frederick William also sent two commissioners to Salzburg, officially ordered to collect all monies owing to the exiles; but, in return for this, the Archbishop ordered the payment of the debts they owed to be enforced. All Reformed Germany followed the example furnished by the sovereigns. Although the Free Cities were no longer in that powerful and flourishing condition to which the commerce of the East had once raised them, they behaved most generously towards the immigrants: several found employments there, and many were assisted by philanthropical institutions. In many parishes the authorities went to meet the exiles, while the bells rang a peal; the burgomaster held [made ?] a speech to them, and the inhabitants, collected in crowds outside the walls, sang the famous Lutheran canticle,—

"'A tower of strength is our Lord. No one

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is abandoned by the Saviour. Help us, Master, according to Thy promise.' At Anspach, when the travellers reached the Townhall Square, four hundred and thirty catechisms of the Augsburg Confession were distributed among them, and George Förster, an old man of eighty-seven, thanked the town in the name of the exiles. The citizens then contended for the honour and satisfaction of lodging them. . . . . The vast trade in toys, of which Nuremberg is now the centre, was transferred thither at this period, for they had hitherto been manufactured on the banks of the Königssee. The gold, silver, iron, and copper mines were abandoned; rain, ice, and snow invaded the galleries. The soil soon became a desert; fields, hitherto cultivated, became sterile moors, and the lowlands were converted into pestilential marches."—Pp. 311-313.

A number of our readers must remember that the same archdiocese of Salzburg, which since 1816 has belonged to Austria, lost in 1835 some hundreds of inhabitants from the Zillenthal, for their indomitable adherence to Protestantism. Then, as a century before, Prussia proved their actively sympathising friend. In the beginning of his seventeenth chapter M. Michiels makes the strange remark—"It is not generally known to what an extent French ideas penetrated into Germany in the eighteenth century." It would have been singular, indeed, if the influence of France, felt from Spain to Sweden, from England to Russia, had found the German people alone impervious and unassailable. Germany, with as yet no national literature of her own, coming more slowly than any other civilized nation to her full intellectual growth, was quite in a condition to be swayed, and indeed too unduly swayed, by the mental products of France. There is not a single historian of Germany, civil or ecclesiastical, Romanist or Protestant, absolutist, constitutional, or ultraliberal—there is not a single historian of Europe during the period we are now engaged with, but has adverted to the fact which M. Michiels seems to think he has only now dragged to light. Let one quotation serve instead of a hundred. "The princes of Germany," says Cantu in his Storia di Cento Anni, "Had it as their ambition to imitate the court of Louis XIV. They were educated by Frenchmen, they showed themselves ready to copy that country in everything. The busts of Voltaire and Rousseau appeared in the cabinets of ecclesiastical electors and canons of sixteen quarters." The influence of France beyond the Rhine was never thoroughly broken till the memorable national rising of 1813. To prove the need of French civilizing influence, M. Michiels devotes a whole chapter to examples of "the brutality, demoralization, and savage habits of the Austrians in the eighteenth century." We quote a few sentences:—

"The bandits displayed great audacity. It was found necessary to cut down the woods along the high roads in various portions of the country, empty suspicious hostelries, and put in them trustworthy men. Military posts were established on high places, whence the country could be surveyed for some distance, and patrols went out regularly during every hour of the night. The provosts made their rounds once a month, rigorously watched the frontier defiles, and kept up a band of highly paid scouts; prompt and sure result was obtained by bribing some traitor in the gang, or introducing into it a false brother. . . . The most cruel manners and savage habits prevailed in these unclean and unhealthy towns. Duels, assassinations in open day, and armed contests, frequently stained the public road with blood. An Austrian general stopped an ambassador's carriage, and wished to make him get out and fight; and the diplomatist was only saved from the disagreeable situation by the arrival of the watch, and the cleverness and resolution of the commanding officer. The duellists rendered celebrated, by their furious combats, a place in Vienna now called the Josephstadt. They fought on foot and horseback, with swords and pistols; the fighters came from long distances; and it was the custom at that day for the seconds to take an active part in the quarrel. Passers-by and curious spectators frequently followed their example, so that the duels were transformed into skirmishes. Among the tradespeople, those who displayed the most turbulence were the butchers, the masons, the stone-cutters, and the fishermen. They often began fighting in the streets; and if the civic guard and watch (two different troops) ran up, the brave workmen held their ground against them, and real combats terrified the peaceable citizens. The turbulence of the students did not at all yield to the warlike vehemence of the guilds, and they had frequent disputes with the police. Indefatigable hectors (!) as they were, they were not at all afraid of any numerical superiority; and the chroniclers mention one of their leaders, a young man of twenty five, who alone fought against twenty-four men of the watch, wounded several of them, and dispersed the rest. The passion for the chase was so impetuous among the nobles, that they treated poachers with the utmost barbarity; and the ecclesiastical princes themselves furnished them with an example."—Pp. 330-333.

There is in this chapter, however, an evident wish to make out a case against Austria. The coarseness of the last century was not an endemic in Austria, it was an epidemic all over Europe. Assuredly England had small reason to look down with contempt on her imperial contemporary. We would not put M. Michiels through any very lengthy and alarming course of historical reading to enlighten him as to the state of eighteenth century England. Esmond and the Lectures on the Humorists, Horace

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Walpole's Letters, the Histories of Lord Stanhope and Mr. Massey, may serve to show him what this country was during three-fourth of that century. As to France, the "Memoires" of courtiers and philosophers show how imperfect was her civilization, how corrupted were the views alike of those who sought to preserve all, and of those who wished to overturn all.

The chapter we have been just considering is wound up with ascribing all the then existing evils of Austria to the Jesuits. The name of that order is justly hateful. But it is inaccurate to accuse its members of having universally sunk into intellectual debility in it latest days. Not to speak of other names, the last distinguished author of the old school in Spain, Father Isla, the author of "Fray Grundio," was a Jesuit. It was as a Jesuit the ecclesiastical life was begun by Sailer, afterwards Bishop of Augsburg, the German Fenelon, to whom, more than to any other single individual, what earnest religion has been found among the German Romanists of this century is to be ascribed, and of whom Protestants of both confessions uniformly speak in the highest terms.* The last century witnessed an unprecedentedly large number of female occupants of thrones. But among them all there is none so estimable as the Empress Maria Theresa. She had no great education. She was not exempt from prudery. She bore a part, though the least guilty and the most reluctant part, in the first partition of Poland. She was slower than might have been wished in adopting internal reforms. But she was not, like Elizabeth and Catherine of Russia, ruled by male favourites. She was not, like Anne of England, the slave of female favourites. She was not, like Maria of Portugal, the tool of successive confessors. A devout Romanist, and of exemplary life, she entrusted the affairs of her dominions not to intrusive priests, but to competent statesmen. Modern Ultramontanes, unable to deny her virtues, yet detract from her memory by saying that she was the mother, not only of Joseph, but of Josephism.

The loyal enthusiasm of the Hungarians for their youthful sovereign at the Diet of Presburg in 1741, is told by M. Michiels, as it has been told by so many authors, since Voltaire first gave it European celebrity, in his "Siecle de Louis XV." We need not go over the history of her early losses, and how Austria emerged from the War of the Succession, with the loss of Silesia to Russia. We need not dwell upon the treaty of 1756, by which Austria broke with England, and combined with France to effect the ruin of Frederick the Great, or on the Seven Years' War which followed. On the internal state of Austria during the forty years' reign of the empress-queen, we may dwell longer. M. Michiels thus describes her Prime Minister, Wenceslaus Anthony, Prince von Kaunitz:—

"He was tall, well built, muscular, and thin; the whiteness of his complexion, his light hair, and blue eyes, deep and calm, attested his Sclavonic origin, while his eagle glance revealed the superior man. His inflexible will never abandoned a design, and no cause was powerful enough to draw his mind away from it. Frivolity in politics or in business gave him great disgust: he analysed and studied questions deeply, regarding them from every side. His whole life was spent in reflecting and working; hence he took the greatest care to preserve that evenness of temper necessary for the free exercise of his thoughts. One of the causes that strengthened the prince's position, and augmented his ascendancy, was his incorruptible probity. To him is owing the re-establishment of Austrian finance, which the Jesuits had suffered to fall into the most frightful state of disorder. Through the solidity of his reason, the suppleness of his mind, and his continual labour, he managed to make himself so indispensable, that he exercised almost sovereign authority up to the death of Maria Theresa, and then till that of Joseph II., and did not quit his post even when years had obscured his intellect. There was an eccentric side to this grave picture. The open air inspired him with the greatest horror, and even his carriages were hermetically closed. During the fine season, when a suffocating heat prevailed, and not a breath of air stirred the foliage, he would sit at times for some moments in an easy chair in the garden of the Chancery, or cross it at full speed, to proceed to the imperial palace; but in either case, he carefully held a handkerchief to his mouth. As soon as people saw him, they would exclaim, 'Here he is! here he is!' and the servants hastened to shut all the windows."—Pp. 369–374.

"The only grave fault committed by the skilful politician, was his having given his consent to, and facilitated the first division of Poland, although it is true that Frederick II. spared nothing to seduce him. Further-sighted than her minister, Maria Theresa instinctively blamed this iniquitous measure, and apprehended the vicinity of Russia.* The minister eventually recognised his error, and formed a plan for the restoration of Poland, the throne of which country he wished to render hereditary, under a prince of the house of Saxony. But it was too late; neither Prussia nor Russia consented to give up her prey."—Pp. 380, 381.

* Few religious biographies are better worth reading than that of Sailer, by Bodeman (a Protestant of evangelical views). The writer knows how to narrate, to select, and to—stop.

* In an autograph letter to Catherine II., the Austrian Empress signed herself "your most affectionate sister, but, please God, never your neighbour."

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M. Michiels gives full-length portraits of the eminent men associated with Von Kaunitz in the improvement of Austria in the reign of Maria Theresa, and her successor, Joseph II. Some inaccuracies occur in this part of his volume. Thus he states, that long before the appearance of Beccaria's work, torture was abolished in Austria, through the influence of Sonnenfels. But the book of Beccaria, "Dei delitti e delle pene," appeared in 1764, and Maria Theresa did not decree the abolition of torture till twelve years afterwards.

These individuals are particularly mentioned as Austrian reformers by M. Michiels, Gerhard von Swieten, Joseph von Riegger, and Joseph von Sonnenfels. The first was a Dutch physician, obliged to quit his professorship at Leyden on account of his Romanist creed. His influence was chiefly felt in the remodelling of the University of Vienna on more modern principles, and in the improvement of education throughout the empire.

Several pages are devoted by M. Michiels to an account of the life, principles, and writings of [Paul] Joseph von Riegger. He says:—"His name, but little known in Germany, is perfectly strange in France." It is true that Riegger has not met with the general reputation, in after times, which his merits demanded. His very name does not occur in the Church Histories of Gieseler and Guericke, of Hase and Kurtz. His views were those of that secondary period of Jansenism, when disciplinary more than doctrinal matters were discussed; when a position was taken up rather anti-Curialist than pro-Augustinean. M. Michiels would have thrown more light on this period of his narrative, if he had taken into account the Italian Jansenists,—whether Milanese or Tuscan. Liberal ecclesiastical views characterised the most distinguished authors in these parts of Italy. The best known of these was the erudite canonist Tamburini, raised to the chair of theology at Pavia by Maria Theresa. He died so recently as 1827, at the age of ninety. Italy had not listened to opinions so liberal since the death of Father Paul. Italian Jansenism culminated in the Synod of Pistoia, under the bishop of that diocese, Scipio Ricci,—the reforming views and decrees of which were guided by Tamburini. Leopold (afterwards Emperor), Grand Duke of Tuscany, fully sanctioned these Church reforms; and sought, in the provincial council of Florence, to carry them out in his dominions. But the majority of the Tuscan prelates were found anti-reforming. The speedy succession of the French Revolution drew off the attention of the Government from Church affairs. But the Pistoian Synod, held without Rome, nay, in spite of Rome, had excited the deepest consternation in the Curia. Not more alarm was raised by the Harper's Ferry rising in America, than took place at the Court of Pius VI., in consequence of this effort of ecclesiastical independence in an immediately neighbouring state. It seemed as if heresy had taken up her place almost in the very sight of the Vatican,—almost on the very threshold of Peter's Chair. The alarm, however, in this case, as in the recent Transatlantic example, proved exaggerated. The Tuscan Government soon had more pressing matters to think of; and the Tuscan people were too ignorant and bigoted, to approve of proceedings which had, as their object, to draw them away from saint veneration and image worship to the study of the Bible in their own language. Except in the little Church of Utrecht, Jansenism—great in great in men, holy in memories, affecting in associations, frequent in sufferings—has never had a permanent being. Elsewhere, in the Romish communion, it has flitted from place to place; it has reappeared from time to time; it has called forth repressing edicts; it has drawn down papal anathemas; but it has never succeeded in permanently impressing even a single diocese. Witness, confessor, martyr,—even on a limited scale it is never victor. Its principles, imperfect as we deem them, are too pure to admit of its employing the paltry arts, the coarse machinery, the unscrupulous devices, which the Jesuit and the Curialist feel warranted by their lax system to employ. We return to M. Michiels' account of Riegger:—

"At the age of sixteen he obtained his doctor's diploma; and before he reached his majority, he was already doctor *utriusque juris*. When a few years over twenty, he occupied, at the University of Innsbrück, a desk of recent formation, where he taught the law of nature and of nations, the history of political legislation in Germany, and the history of the Germanic Emperors and Empire. The hate the Jesuits bore him, and their incessant manœuvres against him, did not prevent him being appointed eight times Dean of the Faculty of Law; thrice *Rector magnificus*; and being chosen thrice as deputy from the University to the Court. The principal Juristic establishments, at home and abroad, consulted him on the most difficult and entangled problems of civil and criminal law. In 1749, when the noble academy called "Academie Savoyenne," and originally established for the instruction of young nobles intended to fill the offices of state, was reformed, Maria Theresa gave the professorship of canonical law to Riegger; and afterwards that of political law,—instruction in which the religious struggles gave extreme importance and an immediate

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interest. In 1751 he joined the Commission of Censorship, presided over by Von Swieten. It is a fortunate epoch when men of the future are appointed to watch the press, and routine alone is placed in the Index! In 1756 (other authorities say 1753), Riegger at length held a professorship in Vienna; and simultaneously, he was nominated to the Chancellerie of Bohemia, and [appointed] Reporter-general on ecclesiastical affairs Soon after, his *Institutions of Clerical Jurisprudence* served everywhere as the basis of instruction; while equal favour was shown to his collection of civil decrees on religious affairs, his dissertations on ecclesiastical councils and chastisements, on the origin and true foundation of canon law, on the Teutonic order, etc. These immense works, which would suffice to glorify several writers, did not merely produce a theoretical effect, or remain confined to the region of speculation, for each of them occasioned an edict from Maria Theresa. Never, perhaps, has an author produced a more prompt and decided effect by his writings, than did Joseph Riegger. When on his dying bed, a prelate [said to have been Migazzi, Archbishop of Vienna] glided into his room, and addressed an insidious exhortation to him,—'At the moment of making the fearful passage, do you not experience any doubts or uneasiness with reference to your opinions? If it be so, you can retract them, without fearing the opinions of men, which no longer possess any importance for you.' A slightly ironical smile played round the noble old man's lips, as he replied, 'I have just reconciled myself with the Eternal. The truth appears to us on the threshold of the tomb. Of all my doctrines I have not a syllable to retract.'"

The writings of Riegger were placed in the Roman Index, and he himself was threatened with excommunication. He is generally considered the founder of the Church Law of Austria, which prevailed up to the recent Concordat. An able representative of his views was left by him in his son, Joseph Anthony, professor first at Vienna, and afterwards at Prague; a writer nearly as voluminous as his father, and of more varied, general accomplishments. Next to Riegger, the most able defender of liberal ecclesiastical views was Francis Stephen Von Rauterstrauch, whom M. Michiels barely names. He was a Bohemian by birth.

In his "Institutes of Ecclesiastical Law," he vigorously defended the opinion that the Primacy was only incidentally connected with the See of Rome; and, therefore, could be transferred by the Church to any other bishopric. Keenly desirous of reuniting the Protestants to his Church, he advocated disciplinary reforms; and, above all, the depriving the Pope of all temporal power. His writings still possess sufficient influence to be the subject of attempted refutation in high Romanist systems of theology.

From M. Michiels' pages on Sonnenfels, we have only room to extract the following anecdote:—"A malicious censor had expunged whole pages in an important tract Sonnenfels had written. Indignant at this conduct, the author resolved to brave everything in order to save his work from mutilation. He reached the palace at the time when the empress was absorbed in her favourite amusement of cards, but he did not hesitate to send in his name. The slightest circumstance that surprised Maria Theresa, or disturbed her in her pleasures or business, caused her extreme annoyance, even at an advanced age. She, therefore, left the card-table with some irritation, and came into the ante-chamber, holding her cards in one hand, and with the other pushing back her cap and hair, which fell over her face. 'Well, what is the matter?' she asked. 'Are you being annoyed again? What do they want with you? Have you written anything against me? If so, I pardon you from my heart, for a good patriot must frequently be out of temper; but I know your good sentiments. Or have you attacked religion? In that case, you are a fool. I cannot believe you have made an assault upon morality, for you are not an unclean animal. But if you have criticised my ministers, —oh, then, my dear Sonnenfels, you will be obliged to bite your nails; I cannot be of any use to you. I believe I have told you so often enough.' And the noble woman hurried back to finish her game."—Pp. 351-2.

The story that Maria Theresa was influenced to sign an edict for the expulsion of the Jesuits from her dominions, by Von Kaunitz giving her proof that her confessions to her Jesuit director had been sent to the General of the Order at Rome, has been taken by M. Michiels from the "Anemoxer" of Baron Von Hormayr. It had, many years before the appearance of the Baron's book, been given to the public in a somewhat different form by Golani. But it does not rest upon good authority, and has not been accepted as true by the best modern historians. Though Maria Theresa broke down in many ways the papalized system of her predecessors, she never granted religious toleration either to the Protestants of her dominions, or to the members of the Greek Church. But the year after Joseph II., by his mother's death, came to the possession of full imperial authority, he (1781) removed the most galling of the previous restrictions. It was then seen to what a large extent, particularly in Hungary, the Protestant faith, in one or other of the confessions, had been cherished in secret.

"The Protestants, hitherto persecuted, had the right to profess their religion publicly, and the monarch himself built them churches. The Jews were declared admissible to all offices, and the Catholics were separated, as far as possible, from the Court of Rome, by giving the force of law to the principles of Fabronius. The Bishops received authority to grant those dispensa-

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tions hitherto obtained from the Apostolic See. The Emperor closed seven hundred monasteries, and employed their revenues for the benefit of the secular clergy; imposed charitable works on the nuns; and forbade all the traffic in indulgences, amulets, and prayers. The number of ecclesiastics was reduced during his reign to thirty-six thousand. Lastly, he erased from the breviary the orisons addressed to Gregory VII., which had kept up the memory of Henry's humiliation for so many centuries.

"The pope wrote letter upon letter to the emperor, but his remonstrances produced no effect. Pius VI., therefore, formed the resolution of going to Vienna, and holding a personal conference with the revolutionary disciple of France. The behaviour of Henry IV. and the scene at Canoso were about to have their counterpart: in the eleventh century the temporal power had bowed the knee before the insolence of clerical authority, but now the church appeared before the throne of the emperor, submitted a request to him, and implored his kind offices.

"Joseph II., like Gregory VII., showed himself inexorable. The pope was received with marks of deference and the politeness of modern times, but obtained no concessions. The work of the philosophic monarch remained upright; neither the French invasions, the Congress of Vienna, nor the thirty-three years that followed, could shake it."—Pp. 390-1.

Rechberger, we may remark, the most famous church lawyer in the time of Francis I. of Austria, wrote entirely in the spirit of the Josephine. Till the Concordat, his Manual was the text-book in most of the universities and seminaries within the Austrian Empire.

We have seen that Austria followed in the wake of Bavaria in the persecution of the Protestants, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Bavaria copied the example of Austria at the close of the eighteenth century, in introducing a more liberal ecclesiastical policy. The far smaller extent of the Bavarian dominions ensured the more full carrying out of the principles predominant in the Court of Munich. The elector Maximilian Joseph, during his whole reign, acted quite in the spirit of Joseph II. In the time of his successor, Charles Theodore, who was entirely under the influence of the ex-Jesuits, the old Papal principles again obtained the ascendancy. Of this a shameful instance was given in the case of Andrew Zaupfer, an employé of the Government at Munich. He had published an ode, in which the cruelties of the Inquisition were severely handled. Not only did the more zealous clergy preach against him and his poem by name, but they induced the elector to order the confiscation of every copy of the offensive publication, and to enjoin its author to make a public recantation of the liberal sentiments it contained. But under Maximilian Joseph II., liberal principles again prevailed. This prince suppressed more than four hundred religious houses. He removed the previous restriction on the press. Protestants obtained full toleration. Professors and teachers belonging to the Reformed confessions were brought from other parts of Germany to advance the interests of academical and general instruction. Processions and pilgrimages were discountenanced. In Bavaria, as in the Tyrol, there had lingered on in a number of places the mediæval miracle plays. Amongst the uninstructed Romish population, these dramas, rude and coarse as they were, were exceedingly popular. To the rustic audiences that crowded from many miles round to witness these travesties of Scripture, or impersonations of legend, the best executed adaptations from the French stage, or the finest productions of the recent German drama, would have seemed frigid and without interest. They would rather have seen their traditional representations of the Fall and the Flood, the Bethlehem Manger and the Calvary Cross, than been spectators while a tragedy of Lessing, or Schiller, or Goethe, was acted by the foremost actors that the Fatherland could produce or import. The Bavarian Government put these down, with the exception of the Mystery of the Passion at Ober-Ammergau, which, as a mark of special favour from Maximilian, and after great exertions on the part of the district to preserve it, was still allowed to be celebrated. It is still kept up, and attracts enormous crowds.

But perhaps the most memorable instance of the influence of Josephism in Germany, was furnished by the proceedings of the ecclesiastical princes. Fifty years before the appearance of John Ronge, the word German Catholic Church was used, but in a sense far different from his. During the electorate of Charles Theodore of Bavaria, a papal nuncio was sent to Munich. The interference with episcopal rights which, under orders from Rome, he practised, occasioned much irritation. In August 1786, the electors of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, and the Prince Archbishop of Salzburg, agreed to the Punctation of Ems. The leader in this movement was Maximilian, elector of Cologne, brother of Joseph II. The Punctation founded a German Catholic Church, which, indeed, recognised the primacy of Rome as a matter of honour and rank, but denied it as a

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matter of jurisdiction. Each bishop was to rule his diocese by the power transmitted to him by the Head of the Church. All subjection of the religious orders to their foreign generals or superiors was forbidden. Cloister vows might be dispensed with, or released from, by the bishops. Nuncios were to exercise no power, and merely to be looked upon as envoys from the pope. Two circumstances, however, combined to prevent the Congress of Ems from having permanent results,—the jealousy of the inferior clergy, who had not been consulted, and who professed to dread the substitution of a near and permanent for a remote and occasional yoke; and the outbreak of the French Revolution. The chief lasting result of the meeting was the establishment, by the Elector of Cologne, of the University of Bonn, where the principles were those of liberal Romanism, and the professors enjoyed his liberal patronage and his powerful protection against detractors. Bonn retained this liberal spirit till the condemnation at Rome of the views of Professor Hermes in 1831.

Before leaving the subject, it may be remarked that a history of Josephism—compact, informing, spirited—is still a desideratum. It would require years of patient, honest, continuous study. No ordinary amount of reading—Latin, German, Italian, ecclesiastical, historical, political—would be needed. The subject is thus safe from being invaded by any writer of the "get up" school. It is not likely to be produced in this country. The students of German in England have generally turned their attention to subjects more æsthetically attractive, or more Protestantly orthodox. But from France or from Germany, from liberal Romanist or unsectarian Protestant, perhaps such a book may be expected. As yet, the subject, wide as it is, and not merely curious, but interesting, as all competent judges must admit it to be, has received only fragmentary and superficial treatment, whether from civil or ecclesiastical authors.

M. Michiels takes his leave of Joseph in the following words:—"Before his decease, the crowned Messiah (!) saw his best projects fail, one after the other, and experienced the bitter pang of himself revoking his most salutary decrees." It is a fault of this author's style to be over fond of antithesis, and he thus often appears to contradict himself. The words just quoted may appear irreconcileable with those given a paragraph or two back, about the permanency of Joseph's innovations. But in the one place M. Michiels is speaking of the ecclesiastical, and in the other of the civil reforms of the philosophical Emperor. The Church system continued, the State policy was altered. The reason was, that the Government increased its power largely by the former, and only the people would have profited by the latter. On too many occasions, indeed, Joseph, in his *de haut en bas* style of alteration, managed to give deadly offence to the people. We give an instance, from the wittiest of periodical writers:—

"There existed in Hungary an iron crown, about the size and value of a horse-shoe, with which all the first kings of that country had been crowned. The immense importance of this rusty relic to the male, female, lay, ecclesiastical, civil, and military old women of Hungary, may easily be imagined; and this political toy the philosophical Emperor—a great despiser of prejudices and associations—transported to Vienna. To avert a civil war, and at the earnest intercession of his best and wisest friends, the royal carbonate of iron was restored to the afflicted Hungarians, who submitted, after this, with the usual cheerfulness to the usual abuses of power."

Leopold II. only reigned two years, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Francis II. The reign of this Emperor (1792–1835) is, with one exception, the longest in the whole Hapsburg line. Born at Florence, he was, when a boy, sent to Vienna, to be brought up under the eye of his uncle. The indolent and *poco-curante* lad could not understand the fuss and fidget of the crowned philosopher, who, on the other hand, had a hard task in scolding and drilling into anything like habits of attention to affairs the future Emperor. Throughout his long reign, Francis was never other than popular in his capital. The Viennese were enthusiastic for their good Frazl!

At the very commencement of his reign, Austria had to meet the shock of the giant energies of the French Republic. Her capacity of meeting the onset was not, however, diminished by any disaffection within her own dominions. Far different in this respect was 1792 from 1859. The Lombardy of the former period expressed no discontent with the Austrian Government, and in no way hailed the advent of the republican troops. As many have let this slip from their remembrance, we quote the testimony of a most competent and most reluctant authority, Edgar Quinet: "The French of our days have difficulty in figuring to themselves that the French Revolution encountered only antipathy and hatred among the masses of the Italian population. They generally believe that the soldiers of the Republic, in descending the Alps and driving before them the Aus-

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trian armies, were received as deliverers by the immense majority of the people. It is the contrary that is true. For some time Milan belongs to itself, the Austrians flying, and the French delaying to arrive; during that interval there is seen no desire of an unknown liberty. One must be blind not to see that the hopes of the peasants and towns-people of Italy were in the victories of Austria." (Les Revolutions d'Italie.) The apologists of Austria can, however, derive no triumph from these facts. In so far as the sentiment was enlightened, it was the effect of the reforms of Maria Theresa and her son.

With Francis the long list of the German Emperors closed. As the end of the last century witnessed the extinction of the ancient Venetian State, the commencement of the present century saw dissolved that Empire which had once been in power the first, and still was admitted to be in rank the foremost of the European powers. Half a century before, Voltaire had pronounced it an utter misnomer, for, said he, it is neither Holy nor Roman, nor an Empire. Austria, up to 1806 only an archduchy, now gives its name to a new empire. In the wars with Napoleon, two great services were rendered by Austria to the cause of European independence. The noble resistance of the Tyrolese in 1809 to the united French and Bavarian arms was a tower of strength to patriots everywhere, to down-trodden Prussia, and to struggling Spain. To overpowering numbers they had indeed to succumb. Like Wallace, their leader was put to death as a rebel. But Europe acknowledged that Hofer had as true a claim to its gratitude as Palafox. The Tyrolese innkeeper has bequeathed to posterity an imperishable name.

In the same eventful year another service of yet greater amount was rendered by Austria to the cause of European freedom. In that warrior age the younger sons of reigning houses vied with one another in seeking military laurels. But while the Duke of York only tarnished his country's reputation by his incompetence; while Prince Louis of Prussia only hastened his country's temporary ruin by his boastful rashness; the Archduke Charles proved himself a general of the foremost rank. He met Napoleon at Asperne; and whether we take extent of loss or retreat from a position as the tests of a defeat, it must be owned that the French Emperor suffered defeat. The Roman poet has said of the successful stand of Marcellus at Nola—

"Ille dies primus docuit, quod credere nemo,
Auderet Superis, Martis certamire sisti
Posse ducem Lybiae."

We cannot, indeed, equal Marcellus as a commander with Scipio, but he was a greater benefactor to Rome. The first check to Hannibal was more important than the final overthrow. Zama was but the probable consequence of Nola. And so it may be truly said, that though the battle of Asperne was barren of immediate results, it was of immense benefit to an oppressed Continent, by showing that Napoleon could be driven back. Asperne was not like Leipsic, a battle gained by numbers. The contending armies were nearly equally balanced in force; and it was gained over Napoleon in the full maturity of his genius, as well as the entire command of his material resources. After his Russian campaign, the French Emperor never was the same man, either in his *physique* or his intellect. In Asperne, we repeat, lay in germ the overthrow of the military despotism of France.*

French writers are unanimous in execrating the policy of Austria in the campaign of 1813. First an ally of France, then taking up the interim scheme of an Armed Mediation, and next procuring the Armistice, of which every advantage rested with the Allies; preparing them to encounter, without being dispirited, the check at Dresden, and animating them for the overthrow of France at Leipsic. Both at Dresden and Leipsic, Austria contributed her share of antagonism to Napoleon. That the conduct of Austria was most embarrassing to France there can be no doubt; that it was high-minded and open, not even a partisan will affirm. But it is plain, that in the existing temper of the German people, neither coalition with France, nor even neutrality, was in Austria's power. No dynastic connection could possibly then have withstood the storm of popular hatred to France. With all safety, then, and with a higher reputation in coming time, the Court of Vienna might have declared against Napoleon whenever the disasters of the Russian war became known. Yet from their standpoint the strong hostility of French writers to the then conduct of Austria is perfectly

* How fine are the words put by a French poet into the mouth of the dying Lannes, mortally wounded at Asperne:—

"Retournez en arriere,
Une fois ecoutez, une bouche sincere,
Vous n'aimez rien que vous; et de vos eperons,
Toujours vous harcelez le flane des nations.
Croignez qu'en se cabrant l'indocile cavale,
Ne vous fosse vider la selle imperiale.
Le monde, croyez-moi, n'est pas ce qu'il parait,
Quand on dit: Il vous aime, on vous trompe; il vous hait.
Aux peuples harassés leur esclavage pese:
Ils lèchent votre moin pour vous madre à leur aise."

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intelligible. It was the accession of that power to the cause of the Allies that made possible, with a hope of success, the invasion of France in 1814. With an agony of grief and shame was that successful invasion then witnessed and endured. Nor can we expect that after the lapse even of nearly half a century, such feelings should be extinct, or even much weakened. Yet no dishonour to France was involved in yielding then, or in the following year. Had a Continent in coalition assailed England, and had the Channel been as easily crossed as the Rhine, as easily passed as the Pyrenees, London must have undergone the fate of Paris. Reason, however, urges in vain the truth when feeling has possession of the ground.

The pen of Pellico, the voice of Kossuth, have aroused general dislike to Austria among free nations. Few comparatively will consider other than as a Rugby crotchet the expression of Dr. Arnold, in one of his letters, that he had a liking for the Austrian Government and people. But as few will subscribe to the conclusion, which, from his whole historical narrative, M. Michiels ventures to draw, "Sooner or later France must make an end of Austria." That were indeed to make the remedy far worse than the disease. His preface is dated from Paris, though his title-page bears the imprint of London, and perhaps the above quoted words are merely a piece of unmeaning flattery to Napoleon. But, if the expression has an earnest meaning, if M. Michiels means by it to take full advantage of the perhaps excusable recklessness of exiles, who involved in political suffering, are exempt from political responsibility, he must be reminded that the interests of England, the interests of Europe, demand that France be not permitted to make dynastic or national capital at Austria's expense. Austria, indeed, has been only too much an obstruction to Europe, but she has long ceased to be a danger. In regard to England, she has often been an ally, she has never been our rival, she (destitute as she is of a navy) can never be our invader. Assuredly, England will never permit, nor will Prussia or Germany allow, that Hungary or Bohemia should become kingdoms for Plon-Plon or Achille Murat, or that a Niel or M'Mahon dynasty should be founded in the East of Europe.

We are no alarmists. A careful comparison of the events of the last thirty years with those of the existing time will satisfy any impartial person that England has less ground of complaint against Louis Napoleon than she had against Charles X. and Louis Philippe in the latter days of the Monarchy of the Restoration, and the Monarchy of July. But no wise man can deny that a renewal of the alliance between the former Napoleon and the former Alexander is possible between the present emperors of those names, and no politician can doubt that such a treaty at England's expense, and perhaps for England's invasion, would be greatly facilitated were Austria thrust down from her existing position as one of the Five Great Powers.

We grant that her past has not been a noble one. Spain, Italy, Sweden, Holland — a crowd of inferior states — all have historical associations more thrilling than those of this Hapsburg empire. With the exception of some few historians, Mailath, Hammer, Paloky, none of them of the first order, the contributions of Austria to serious literature have been almost null. In lighter literature she has the pleasant novelist, Caroline Pichler; but England has, at this moment, living and writing, a score of lady fictionists quite as good as the authoress of the Swedes in Prague. Of late the name of Friedrich Halm has acquired deserved celebrity as a tragic dramatist. But, on the whole, we may apply to the nation the words of Sydney Smith, and ask, "In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an Austrian book? or goes to an Austrian play? or looks at an Austrian picture or statue?" Little Saxe Weimar had its Karl August; Bavaria had its Ludwig. But what Hapsburg has been the patron of literature? The intellectual tastes of the race were only too well expressed in the question put by Francis to Châteaubriand at the Congress of Verona: "Ah! M. de C., are you related to that Châteaubriand who — who — who has written something!" Austria claims to be the chief of the Catholic powers. During the last half century the Romanist press of Germany has been incessantly active. Though not in exegetical, yet in dogmatic, in controversial, above all, in historical theology, the German Romanists have maintained a not altogether unequal contest with the Protestants. But Freiburg and Tubingen, Munich and the Rhine-land, not Vienna or Prague, have been the centres of such confessional activity through the press. The works of greatest immediate or permanent interest, the Symbolik of Möhler, the Athanasius of Görres, the religious philosophy of Franz von Baader, have all been produced apart from Austrian control.

Still we have no wish to see Austria dismembered in the interest of France, or for the advantage of Russsia. She has a useful

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Future before her, would she pursue it. To do so, it is indispensable that she retrace her two chief blunders since the end of the Hungarian war—the Concordat of 1855, and the System of Centralization. The evils of the former are too palpable and too generally admitted to be dwelt on here. In regard of the latter, to use the language of a recent thoughtful and well-informed writer in the Revue des Deux Mondes, "Austria is fertile in material resources; she can then get rid of her present embarrassments, if her Government does not lose precious time. To abandon a system of administration at once expensive and unpopular, to throw herself with confidence on the nation,—such are the energetic measures which it is necessary to take. That Political Unity may continue, it must be made popular. Hitherto, unhappily, its name recalls to the people only the ideas of imposts tripled, deficits increasing, constant bureaucratic annoyances. In giving to the country liberal institutions, in according to it a just participation in public affairs, the Government would at one blow destroy all anti-unionist passions, and would communicate general popularity to the idea of Political Unity, which can only be solidly founded on the basis of a national representation: *Bis dat qui cito dat.*

The amount of taxation in Austria has increased 70 per cent. since 1849, a rate perfectly without precedent in history. This enormous increase has been chiefly caused by the new system of centralization, which, sweeping away all previously existing local government, is still more minutely ramified than that of France. In the latter country, the Minister of the Interior has prefets and sous-prefets under his authority; but the corresponding Cabinet official in Austria has three sets of functionaries below him, the governors of provinces, the chiefs of circles, and the chiefs of cantons. In 1847 the expense of administration amounted to 62 millions of florins; in 1856 they had risen to more than 160 millions. This new system has thus oppressed the people by the increased imposts it has necessitated, while it has disgusted the nobility, whom it has excluded from their position of previous local importance.

From the most recent German sources, we extract the following statistics about Austria. Previous to the cession of Lombardy to Sardinia, the Austrian Emperor ruled over 29,000,000 of Romanists, somewhat more than 3,000,000 of Protestants, nearly 3,000,000 of Greeks, and 850,000 Jews. The German population of the empire amounted to 8,000,000, the Slavonian to nearly 15,000,000, and the Magyar to 4,800,000. There were 10 universities,—Vienna, Prague, Pesth, Pavia, Padua, Cracow, Lemberg, Innsbrück, Grätz, and Olmütz. The intermediate education was provided for by 282 "gymasien," and the primary instruction by 20,000 "Volksschulen." The Romish ecclesiastics amounted to nearly 70,000, or about double of the number to which Joseph II. reduced them. Last year there were published within the bounds of the empire 97 political journals—58 in German, 10 in Slavonic, 19 in Italian, 8 in Hungarian, 2 in Romaic, and 1 in Greek. There were 257 journals not political—125 in German, 21 in Slavonic, 89 in Italian, 20 in Hungarian, 1 in French, 1 in Russian. These statistics of journalism afford a fair index of the relative amount of intelligence in the different sections of the population of the Austrian states.

In taking leave of M. Michiels, we can honestly recommend his work to the English reader. The works of Baron von Hormayr and others, which he enumerates in his preface as having furnished him with his materials, have indeed been diligently availed of in Germany for the last dozen of years. But they have hitherto remained, for the most part, closed against the mere English reader. M. Michiels has rendered an important service, by putting them within reach, in a volume of moderate size and price. He intimates his intention of following up the present volume with another, in which Modern Austria will be "shown up." As the apologetic work of Baron von Hortig has been, a few years ago, issued in this country, in a cheap translation, it is desirable, for the general public, to listen to the full statement of the other side. But should the promised second volume appear, or should this one reach more editions, alike for the sake of M. Michiels and of his subject, we would desire a reconstruction of his style. He says, in his Preface, "I have reproduced facts in a simple and severe style. . . . I have abstained from declamation, and almost from reflection." This, unfortunately, is not the case. M. Michiels has a good deal of common-place reflection to get rid of, and a number of inflated epithets to discard. The taste is questionable anywhere, which indulges in such language as this, "Oh, severe and terrible Muse of History! thou who carriest the thoughts through ruins and tombs!" But when we meet with such tawdry grandiloquence in a preface, the effect is irresistibly ludicrous. M. Michiels appears, from his book, not to know much of English literature. His literary allu-

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sions are generally French. We can give him no better advice, than to study, before his next volume appears, the manner in which our best English authors have written history. Let him then try his best to approach — surpass he cannot — the excellence of the English, which Kossuth has, by force of genius and dint of study, learned to employ. As he is not an unpractised writer, it may be somewhat difficult to get rid of his unfortunate mannerism; but M. Michiels may be assured, that only an ill-cultured taste, or an indiscriminate partisanship, can admire it. History, perhaps, above all other themes, demands a noble simplicity of treatment.

Art. VI.—*On Colour, and on the Necessity for a General Diffusion of Taste among all Classes; with Remarks on laying out Dressed or Geometrical Gardens. Examples of Good and Bad Taste, illustrated by Woodcuts and Coloured Plates in Contrast.* By Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., M.R.S.L., M.R.I.B.A., etc. London, 1858. 8vo. Pp. 418.

The subject of the Harmony and Contrast of Colours, and their applications to the arts, has, during the last fifty years, been forcing itself upon the attention both of the philosopher and the artist. The phenomena of accidental, or complementary, or harmonic colours, as they have been called, have been long ago studied and explained by optical writers, and the subject has to a great extent been exhausted by the labours of De La Hire, Castel,* Beguelen, Buffon, Scherffer, Æpinus, Darwin, Laplace, Hauy, Plateau, and others. The law of contrast, or the change which colours undergo when seen simultaneously or successively, was observed by several of these writers, but particularly by Dr. Darwin; but it is to M. Chevreul, a distinguished member of the Institute of France, that we owe the establishment of the important law of the simultaneous, successive, and mixed contrast of colours, and of its application to the numerous arts in which coloured materials are employed.

Under a more limited aspect, the subject of harmonious colouring has been ably treated by our countryman, Mr. D. R. Hay, in several excellent works which have excited much interest.* Adopting the discoveries of Newton respecting the decomposition of white light, and the combination of colours, and guided by a knowledge of those physiological actions of light upon the retina upon which the harmony and contrast of colours essentially depend, Mr. Hay has laid down the rules of harmonious colouring for all the arts of ornamental design, whether they are practised in the interior decoration of houses, or in the various fabrics in which coloured materials are employed.

Previous to the researches of Chevreul and Hay, so early as 1810 indeed, the celebrated Goethe had published his *Farbenlehre*, or *Doctrine of Colours*;† a work which, but for the reputation of its author, and its partial reappearance in an English dress, would have long ago sunk into comparative oblivion. The Farbenlehre, as originally published, was divided into three parts, *Didactic*, *Controversial*, and *Historical*; but Sir Charles Eastlake, who translated it in 1840, has given us only the didactic portion, "with such extracts from the other two as seemed necessary, in fairness to the author, to explain some of his statements." The attack upon Newton's optical discoveries contained in the author's preface, is equally presumptuous and impertinent. The Newtonian theory is described as an old castle, precipitately erected by a youthful architect, and abandoned by those who assisted in its construction and worshipped within its walls, and now occupied only by "a few invalids who, in simple seriousness, imagine that they are prepared to defend it." Thus "nodding to its fall, as a deserted piece of antiquity," the mighty Goethe proclaims to the world of science that he begins at once to "raze the Bastille," and "to dismantle it from gable and roof downwards; that the sun may at last shine into the old nest of rats and owls, and exhibit to the eye of the wandering traveller that labyrinthine, incongruous style of building, with its scanty make-shift contrivances, the result of accident and emergency, its intentional artifice, and clumsy repairs!"

It would be an unprofitable task to examine the pagoda of card-board which Goethe has substituted for the old castle of the prince of philosophers; but it is curious

* L'Optique des Coleurs, fondé sur les simples observations, et tournée surtout a la pratique de la peinture, de la teinture, et des autres arts colorées. 1740.

* *The Laws of Harmonious Colouring, adapted to Interior Decorations; with Observations on the Practice of House Painting.* By D. R. Hay, House Painter and Decorator to the Queen. Sixth Edit. Edin., 1847.

† In 2 vols. 8vo, with a quarto volume of sixteen plates.

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to remark, and not unworthy of being recorded, that Sir Charles Eastlake, and other cultivators of the highest art have chosen it as their residence, and announced it as a truth, "*that the statements of Goethe contain more useful principles, in all that relates to harmony of colour, than any that have been derived from the established* (Newtonian) *doctrine.*" It is needless to say to any well-informed reader, that Newton never contemplated the æsthetic application of his discoveries, nor to any philosophical artist, that laws of colouring that are to guide his hand, and regulate the public taste, must have a better foundation than optical paralogisms and poetical paradoxes.*

In a very different spirit from that of the German savant is the subject of harmonious colouring treated by Sir Gardner Wilkinson. Abjuring all theories "founded upon a fanciful basis," he maintains that a perception of the harmony of colours is a natural gift, —that discords in colour can only be perceived by a correct eye, in the same manner as discords in music can only be perceived by a correct ear,—and that a sound knowledge of the subject "can be derived only from a natural perception of the harmony of colours, improved and matured by observation." This opinion will doubtless require some modification when we have studied it in the light of optical and physiological laws;—but before we enter upon the consideration of this and other parts of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's work, we must make our readers acquainted with the previous and elaborate researches of M. Chevreul, with whose views he has expressed a general concurrence.

This distinguished member of the Institute had entered upon his scientific career as a chemist, and had given to the world ample proofs of his analytical skill, when the Government, in 1825, gave him the superintendence of the dyeing department of the Royal manufactories of the Gobelins. In this office he felt it his duty to place the dyeing on a new basis; and he was therefore led to study two distinct subjects, namely, the contrast of colours, generally considered, either under their scientific relation, or under that of its applications, and the chemical part of dyeing. Having incidentally observed the influence of colours upon each other in juxtaposition, he studied the subject of accidental colours in the writings of Buffon, Scherfer, Rumford, Prieur, and others; but he failed in finding in them any indications of the *law of simultaneous contrast of colours* which he afterwards discovered, and which affords "the means of assorting colored objects so as to obtain the best possible effect from them, according to the taste of the person who combines them; and of estimating if the eyes are well organized for seeing and judging of colours, or if painters have exactly copied objects of known colours."

These views were first given to the public in a lecture, delivered at the Institute an the 7th April 1828. In a more mature and extended shape, they formed the subject of eight public lectures given at the Gobelins, in the course of January 1836 and January 1838; and they were published, in the last of these years, under the title of "The Principles of the Harmony and Contrast of Colours."*

If we place beside one another two stripes of different tones (degrees of intensity) of the same colour, or two stripes of the same tone of different colours, the eye will perceive in the first case certain modifications which affect the intensity of the colour, and in the second case certain modifications which affect the optical composition of the two colours placed in juxtaposition. As these modifications make the stripes appear different from what they really are,—in the first case, different in the intensity of their colour, and in the second case, different in the nature of their colours,—M. Chevreul has given them the name of *Simultaneous Contrast of Colours;* calling the modification in the intensity of colour *contrast of tone*, and the modification which affects the optical composition of the two conjoined colours, *contrast of colour.*

Under the head of *successive contrast of colours*, M. Chevreul includes what have been called accidental colours, or those which are perceived when we turn our eyes from one or more coloured objects to a white or dark ground. Under the name of *mixed contrast of coulours* he includes those which arise from the mixture of a red colour with the colour seen after looking for some time at another colour. When we look, for example, at a *red wafer* for a short time, the eye will see *green;* and when the eye, thus impressed, looks at a *yellow* colour, the union of these is an example of mixed contrast.

In order to show the importance of attending to the phenomena of the *mixed contrast of colours*, M. Chevreul mentions two important facts communicated to him by dealers in coloured fabrics.

* The reader will find a severely critical analysis of Goethe's speculations in the *Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1840, vol. lxxii. p. 99–132.

* This work which appeared in one vol. 8vo, with a quarto volume of plates, was translated in 1854 by Charles Martel, and published without the plates.

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1. "When a purchaser has for a considerable time looked at a *yellow* fabric, and is then shown *orange* or *scarlet* stuffs, it is found that he takes them to be *amaranth red* or *crimson;* for there is a tendency in the retina, excited by *yellow*, to acquire an aptitude to see *violet*, whence all the *yellow* of the *scarlet* or *orange* stuff disappears, and the eye sees *red*, or a *red* tinged with violet. 2. If there is presented to a buyer, one after another, fourteen pieces of *red* stuff, he will consider the last six or seven less beautiful than those first seen, although the pieces be identically the same. The cause of this error of judgment is, that the eyes, having seen seven or eight *red* pieces in succession, are in the same condition as if they had regarded fixedly, during the same period of time, a single piece of *red* stuff; they have then a tendency to see the complementary of *red*, that is, to see *green*. This tendency goes, of necessity, to enfeeble the brilliancy of the *red* colour of the pieces seen later. In order that the merchant may not be the sufferer by this fatigue of the eyes of his customer, he must take care, after having shown the latter seven pieces of red, to present to him some pieces of *green* stuff, to restore the eyes to their normal state. If the sight of the *green* be sufficiently prolonged to exceed the normal state, the eyes will acquire a tendency to see *red;* then the last seven red pieces will appear more beautiful than the others."

In studying the subject of *simultaneous contrast*, when the stripes or coloured spaces have different magnitudes, and are placed either close to each other, or at different distances, M. Chevreul was led to the following results :—

1. The effect is a radiating one, setting out from the line where the stripes meet.

2. The effect is reciprocal between two equal surfaces in juxtaposition.

3. The effect still exists, but in a less degree, when the stripes or coloured spaces are at a distance from each other.

4. The effect exists when it cannot be ascribed to fatigue of the eye.

The principles thus laid down by M. Chevreul have been applied by him, with much ingenuity and success, to almost every case in which coloured materials are employed;—to the Gobelins and Beauvais tapestries; to the Savonnerie and other carpets; to moreens; to coloured glass windows; to colour-printing upon textile fabrics and paper; to calico printing; to written or printed characters on differently coloured papers; to the colouring of maps and engravings; to the decoration of churches, theatres, and houses; to military and other uniforms; to male and female clothing; and to horticulture and flower gardens.

Notwithstanding the importance of M. Chevreul's researches, and their direct application to so many professions and interests, it is a singular fact that they should have remained so long unknown to English readers, and so long overlooked by English manufacturers. They have been long known and fully appreciated by manufacturers and workmen in every part of France; and hence it is that the porcelain, fancy silks, paper-hangings, carpets, ribbands, etc., of French manufacture, have been so superior to those of England in the beauty of their patterns and the richness and harmony of their colours, as well as in the grouping of the figures, the adoption of the finest models of antiquity, and the introduction of flowers, fruit, and foliage, in the very forms and colours which nature has given them.

The inferiority of English art, and the unwillingness of successive governments to patronize it, had, for a long time, excited the notice of several men of science, and it was by their reiterated complaints that a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the subject. Schools of design were subsequently established in various parts of the kingdom; but it was not till the Great Exhibition of 1851 displayed to the world the superiority of foreign art, that a powerful impulse was given to British manufactures.

Admitting the inferiority of England to "other countries in all the various branches of æsthetic art," and desirous "to see her rival, and, if possible, excel them," Sir Gardner Wilkinson composed the work, which we are about to analyse; "venturing," as he says, to point out what appear to him certain errors and misconceptions into which we have fallen, or are liable to fall, and endeavouring to show how important it is that all classes of the community should appreciate the beautiful, and encourage the production of good works." In the execution of this task, our author abjures all theories and speculations whatever. He renounces altogether the aid of physical science, and regards the optical and physiological relations of colour as tending to mislead rather than to guide the inquirer. Those, he maintains, who are to "instruct us in the harmony of colours must be thoroughly imbued with the true feeling for the subject, and must possess that natural perception of colour which, though it may be improved, cannot be obtained by mere study." Although, as will afterwards appear, we cannot entirely concur in these views, yet regarding a knowledge of har-

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monious colouring as depending more on facts than on theories, and believing that its principles and rules may be most correctly obtained from the writings of those who have studied the finest works of art in various countries, we shall endeavour to convey to our readers the opinions and decisions which Sir Gardner Wilkinson has given on the various subjects embraced in his valuable work. That his judgments have been formed after ample opportunities of observation and study, and are therefore entitled to much weight, will appear from a brief notice of his life and writings, which we have been enabled to present to our readers.

Sir John Gardner Wilkinson was born on the 5th October 1797; and was the son of the Rev. John Wilkinson and Mary Anne, daughter of the Rev. Richard Gardner, and great-great-granddaughter of Sir Salathiel Lovell of Harleston, one of the Barons of Exchequer in the reign of Queen Anne. Having lost his father and mother at an early age, he was placed under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Yates, one of the chaplains of Chelsea College. He was sent to school at Harrow in 1813, and in 1816 he matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford. Having met at his father's house the celebrated African traveller, Mr. Jackson, and listened as a child to his interesting adventures, he evinced an early passion for travel; and while he was at Oxford, he availed himself of his long vacations to visit Belgium, France, and Spain. So eager, indeed, was he to gratify his favourite propensity, that he no sooner passed his examination for his B.A. degree in 1819, than he again went to the Continent without putting on his bachelor's gown.

In choosing a profession, Mr. Wilkinson gave a preference to the army, and by the advice of his cousin, Major-General Sir Lovell Lovell, his name was entered on Lord Bridgewater's list for appointment to a cornetcy by purchase in the 14th Light Dragoons. While preparing himself for his profession, it was his intention to make a tour through Italy and the East; but having become acquainted with Sir William Gell at Naples, he was advised by him to make his visit to Egypt something better than one of idle curiosity, and he therefore deferred his departure for Egypt till he had prepared himself by studying all that was then known of that country, from the works of Dr. Thomas Young and other writers on Egyptian antiquities. Substituting, therefore, the study of ancient monuments and the decyphering of hieroglyphics for fortification and military drawing, he abandoned his purpose of entering the army, and in 1821 left Italy for Alexandria.

In pursuing his Egyptian studies with Sir William Gell, they adopted Dr. Young's method of reading the hieroglyphics alphabetically; and their various attempts to decypher the characters according to the alphabetic or phonetic process, which are preserved in the note-books they then kept, afford indisputable evidence of Dr. Young's priority to Champollion in that important discovery.

When our author had reached Cairo, in 1822, with his friend and fellow-collegian, Mr. Wiggett of Allanbury Park, Berkshire, he made a large collection of hieroglyphical and other drawings from the monuments of Egypt and Nubia, many of which, by Dr. Young's advice, were published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. After spending four or five months of 1823 in the Eastern Desert, between the Nile and the Red Sea, he returned to Cairo, and in the following February revisited Upper Egypt, where, after a skirmish with the rebels who had enlisted under Sheikh Ahmed's standard against Mohammed Ali, he took refuge in an island near Sivot from the great plague of 1824, which made such fearful ravages at Cairo, and penetrated even to the upper country. The events which preceded and accompanied this dreadful epidemic were very remarkable.

As in the days of Herodotus, violent rain is still thought to portend calamities to Egypt. Its unusual continuance at the beginning of 1824 appeared to justify the prognostics of one of the "wise men," who had foretold that "in that year Egypt would be visited by rain, fire, sword, pestilence, and famine." The prophecy excited universal interest, and, soon after it was announced, violent rain fell in Cairo and all Lower Egypt. The streets became streams of water; numerous houses, drenched by the rain, crumbled and fell; and in many others, consisting of three stories, the water penetrated through each successive ceiling into the lower rooms, so that a single day more of rain would have laid in ruins every house in Cairo. The damp from so much water, and the alarm spread through the whole population, created a general expectation of the plague, which soon made its appearance. At the same time the arsenal caught fire; and the powder magazine having blown up and destroyed a great part of the citadel, the flames threatened to extend to the whole of Cairo. The terror thus produced had scarcely subsided, when intelligence arrived from Upper Egypt of the rebellion of Sheikh

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Ahmed. The dread of anarchy and plunder was thus added to four out of the five calamities foretold by the mysterious seer; and it was not long before famine, the result of civil war, completed the fatal list.

Towards the close of 1824 our author made two journeys to the Fyoom, and completed his map of that province. In the winter of 1825 he extended his survey to the Little and the two Great Oases, and in 1826 to the Ababdeh Desert, from Kossayo to the emerald mines of Berenice, and about half a degree farther south. Towards the end of the same year, and again in 1830, he was occupied with the survey of the Eastern Desert from Kossayo northwards to Suez, together with the valley of the Nile; but the results of this long and laborious undertaking have, from causes with which we are unacquainted, not been published.

During two or more visits to Thebes, where he remained each time upwards of twelve months, he was enabled to complete the materials which he had previously collected for his great work, "On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," and his large topographical survey of that ancient city; and he was preparing to make another visit to Upper Egypt in 1833, when, from exposure to the sun during his long and frequent journeys in summer, his health gave way, and he was obliged to quit Egypt for its recovery. But though thus interrupted in his researches, he availed himself of the first opportunity of resuming them. He accordingly left England in 1837 for the purpose of revisiting Cairo, but he was stopped by ill health at Paris, and it was not till 1841 that he was able to accomplish the object which he had so much at heart.

The reputation which Mr. Wilkinson had now acquired as an author, and the great value of his Egyptian researches, gave him a just claim to some of those marks of distinction which, even in this country, literary services occasionally command. In 1839 Her Majesty conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and in 1852 he received the degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford.

In 1843 Sir Gardner Wilkinson made a third journey to Egypt, and spent two years abroad, visiting also Syria, Constantinople, Dalmatia, Sicily, the Regency of Tunis, and other countries; and in 1848, in his fourth journey, he went through Upper Egypt to Gebel Birkel, and the fourth cataract in Upper Ethiopia. After spending two years in Italy and other countries, and visiting, in 1850, Belgium and France, he returned for the fifth time to Egypt, in 1855, with the view of examining the Christian remains in that country; but a *coup de soleil* at Thebes prevented him from completing his researches, and he was enabled only to collect some of the principal materials for a work, which we hope may yet be published, as the nucleus of some future examination of those neglected monuments.

In October 1856, Sir Gardner married Miss Lucas, daughter of Henry Lucas, Esq., of Uplands, Glamorganshire, descended from a family well known in the History of England. Lady Wilkinson is already known as the author of an interesting work "On the Wild Flowers of England," and is well suited by her talents and accomplishments to assist her husband in any future investigations which he may desire to make in that country to which he has devoted so many years of his life.

The greater part of the researches to which we have thus briefly referred, form the subject of many valuable and highly esteemed works. The most important of these are—his "Hieroglyphical Extracts, and Materia Hieroglyphica," published in 1827–28; his "Topography of Thebes and Modern Egypt;" his "Modern Egypt and Thebes;" his "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," in six vols.; his "Dalmatia and Montenegro;" his "Popular Account of the Private Life, Manners, and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," in two vols.; his "Handbook of Egypt;" his "Egypt under the Pharaohs;" and the interesting volume on "Colour and Taste," which we shall now proceed to analyse.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson divides this work into three Parts:—

Part I. On Colour.

Part II. On the Necessity of a Diffusion of Taste among all classes.

Part III. On Dressed or Geometrical Gardens.

After endeavouring to show that a knowledge of harmonious colouring can be obtained only "from facts and their results;" that the perception of this harmony is "a natural gift," and can be taught only, in so far as it is teachable, "by those who possess the faculty of perceiving it;" our author, in illustrating these views, discusses several important points which it is necessary to consider.

One of these points, which possesses a considerable interest both in its theoretical and practical aspect, is the proper position of colours in the interior of a building, or when applied to parts of a picture at different distances from the eye. According to some authors, the proper position of colours should be deduced from the manner in which they are presented to us in nature. Because

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the grass at our feet is *green*, the lower part of a wall should bear the same colour; while, as the *brown* earth is beneath the grass, a brown colour should occupy a still humbler place; and as the lofty sky rejoices in azure, so a blue colour should decorate the ceiling. Although our author justly denounces such an order of colours, yet he approves of the blue having a prominent place in a ceiling, not because the sky is blue, but because cold transparent colours are of use in that position, as they not only give lightness to the upper parts of a room, but "convey an impression of *additional height* when it is required, and accord with *the gradations of distance*, and other necessary conditions." It has been denied, indeed, that any effect of distance, or rather of difference of distance, can be obtained by using any particular colour or colours; but Sir Gardner states it as a fact not at all doubtful, that a ceiling may, to all appearance, be raised or lowered by these means, —that blue in many positions seems to recede, and that red comes nearer the eye, as frequently observable on coloured glass windows.

This very remarkable observation, —which, by the way, can only be made with two eyes,—is a scientific fact capable of the most rigorous demonstration. It was first pointed out by Sir David Brewster, and published in his description of what he calls a *Chromatic Stereoscope*.* If we look with beth eyes through a *lens* about three inches in diameter, any object having colours of very different degrees of refrangibility,—such as the boundary lines on a map coloured with red on one side and blue on the other; a red rose among green leaves, and on a blue blackground; or any scarlet object whatever, on a violet ground; or, in general, any two simple colours not nearly of the same degree of refrangibility,—the *differently coloured parts of the object will appear at different distances from the observer.*

If we place, for example, a small *red* and *violet* disc, like the smallest wafer, beside one another, so that the line joining their centres is perpendicular to the line joining the eyes, and suppose that rays from both wafers enter the eyes when their optical axes are parallel, it is obvious that the distance between the violet images on each retina will be *less* than the distance between the real images; and consequently, the eyes will require to converge their axes to a *nearer* point in order to unite the *red* images, than in order to unite the violet images; the red images, consequently, will appear at this nearer point of convergence, just as in the lenticular stereoscope the more distant pair of points in the dissimilar image appear, when united, nearer to the eye.

"It is an obvious result," says Sir D. Brewster, "of these observations, that *in painting, and in colored decorations of all kinds*, the *red* or less refrangible colours should be given to the prominent parts of the object to be represented, and the *blue* or more refrangible colours to the background, and the parts of the objects that are to retire from the eye."

But, independently of the fact that differences of distance are given, in binocular vision, by differences of colours differently refrangible, there are obvious reasons why, in decorated apartments, the colours should be lighter from the floor upwards. Supposing that the windows are equi-distant from the floor and ceiling, the ceiling must always be less illuminated in the daytime, whether the sun is shining or not; and hence it is necessary that, if coloured at all, the ceiling should be as nearly white as possible. In a climate like ours, where the windows of our apartments cannot be very large, and where the ceiling and angles are of necessity but feebly illuminated,—owing to the obstruction of the light by window-curtains,—light carpeting, light furniture even, and light paper-hangings are most desirable, and especially when the walls are covered with engravings or paintings.

Those who argue that the place of colours should be determined by their place in nature, maintain, with apparent consistency, that the colours which we should use, must be determined by their quantity in nature. The prevalence of green, therefore, in our fields and in our foliage, is held to be an argument for the copious introduction of that colour into our apartments; but in our judgment the prevalence of this colour out of doors, is the very reason why we should dispense with it in our apartments. In southern climates, where the brilliant green of our fields is unknown, we might, with great propriety, refresh ourselves with the sight of it in our decorations. Within the arctic circle, an eye accustomed to the blue and white tints of nature, would rest with peculiar satisfaction on the verdant colours of the temperate zone,—and even a sensation of heat might be derived from the warmer colours of the spectrum.

In discussing this subject, Sir Gardner Wilkinson considers "the introduction of large quantities of green as one of the mistakes which always creeps in when society becomes artificial, and as one of the signs of a want or of a decline of taste." In place

* *Treatise on the Stereoscope*, pp. 126–129.

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of adopting "for ornamentation" the quantities and arrangement of colours found in nature, he is of opinion that "we should generally deviate widely from them;" and that it would be absurd to "use the same quantity of green with which nature covers the large expanse of a landscape, or to introduce into any part of a building the mass of green we see in a single tree."

"It may be admitted," he adds, "as Burnet observes, that the colours to which the eye is accustomed in nature are those that are to be sought for in a landscape painting, 'such as blue, white, or grey in skies; green, in trees and grass; brown or warm grey, in earth, wood, or stone.' But this is a totally different question from the treatment of pure, flat, positive colours used for decorative purposes, where no 'toning to those hues most common in nature' is required, or admissible. The painting is a copy of nature; not so a building, or a carpet. Attention to the due 'equilibrium' may be necessary in one as in the other; but from the use of mixed or compound hues in the former, and of positive or pure colours in the latter, their treatment, as well as their effect, is very distinct; and while in paintings, especially landscapes, the colouring chiefly consists of various combinations far removed from the primaries (red, yellow, and blue), in ornamentation the due effect is produced by the union of positive colours, most of which should be primaries."

The same persons who refer us to nature for examples of harmonious colouring, maintain that when two colours are found, as they frequently are, in flowers, they must necessarily be in harmony. If this were true, there could be no such thing as harmonic colours,—for nature presents us with numerous objects in which two discordant colours are combined. For such a combination two reasons may be assigned. By uniting each of the seven prismatic colours with their discords, as well as with their concords, a much greater variety of colouring is obtained, and the natural world is thus decked in a gayer and more gorgeous attire. But flowers and other natural objects are not made to be examined singly. A number of flowers, in each of which the colours are not discordant, may be so placed as to form a harmonious group; and in the conservatory or the flower garden, or even in the fields or in the heath, one of the discordant colours of a single flower or plant may stand in harmonious combination with another discordant colour in its neighbour. Sir Gardner Wilkinson replies differently to the admirer of natural combinations:—

"The same acceptation," he says, "of the colours of nature as *necessary concords*, must be extended to sounds, and we must, at least, allow her the credit of giving them to the notes of birds, and the voices of other animals; yet every one will admit, that the sounds uttered by a parrot and a pig, though quite natural, are far from agreeable. So, too, with flowers; and as some are most beautiful and harmonious in their colours, others are discordant; and few persons will go so far as to maintain, that all nature's works are equally pleasing, or that the figures of all animals being beautiful, we are to admire the hippopotamus, or other hideous creatures, as well as the most graceful. It might be as reasonable to maintain that every odour in nature is agreeable, as that every combination of colour in nature is so."

In support of these views, our author adduces an argument which, though highly interesting in its details, may not be very convincing to the admirers of colours naturally combined. "Those," he remarks, "who appeal to *nature* as their guide, should rather consult the *natural* taste of man in colour," which is "in accordance with the coloured ornamentations of the best periods, and of people most remarkable for taste." In the coloured works of the Arabs, for example, or other orientals, such as in carpets, and other ornamental fabrics, the finest taste has been displayed. The children of an Arab family of taste, if furnished by chance with a number of colours, "will arrange them into a pattern in some pleasing concord, and often produce toys remarkable for the beauty of their coloured ornaments."

Thirty or forty years ago, Sir Gardner saw, even in the streets of Cairo, the most striking combinations of colour, "in the hands of the unsophisticated members of the community;" and he states that Mr. Salt, our late consul-general of Egypt, and a man of great taste, often purchased the playthings of children, on account of the beauty of their fancy designs. Among these, our author saw "an orange, into the surface of which they had cut a mosaic pattern, leaving the orange rind as a ground, and filling in all the triangular and other hollows, with various brilliant colours,—than which nothing could be found more harmonious in the mosaics of Italy or Damascus, or on the walls of the Alhambra."

Among European nations, Sir Gardner considers the Italians as having the truest perception of the harmony of colours, and he warns our English artists to follow the taste of Italy rather than that of Germany, which is unfavourably displayed "in the lower part of the great staircase of the British Museum, in the windows of the south aisle of Cologne Cathedral, and in the corridor and other parts of that frightful building, the Pinakotheo of Munich." The Italians use freely the primary reds, blues, and yellows, and the greens and other compounds in smaller proportions, and they obtain a balance of

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tone by placing deeper colours near the ground, and more transparent ones on the upper parts of a wall.

The preference which is given in this country to dull colours, and our general indifference to the beauty of colour, as shown in the neutral tints or *quiet* colours of our churches and other public buildings, has been ascribed by some writers to our familiarity with the sober and grey tints of a northern climate. Sir Gardner, in admitting the fact, rejects the explanation of it. The inhabitants of North America, Siberia, and other arctic regions, as he states, employ the three primaries and other brilliant colours, and some centuries ago the same taste for highly coloured decoration existed even in England. Public monuments, the interiors of houses, and even churches, were ornamented with rich colours, and the brilliant colours of their glass windows were not isolated in walls of plaster and of stone. According to Mr. Ruskin, the builders of the cathedrals of these days "laid upon them the brightest colours they could obtain;" and he adds, that "there is not a truly noble monument in Europe which has not been either painted all over, or originally touched with paint, mosaic, and gilding in its prominent parts."

From these discussions Sir Gardner is led to treat at considerable length, and with much learning, of coloured glass windows, a subject which is now exciting universal attention. It is a question of some difficulty, and one which our author does not discuss, to what extent the decorations of coloured glass can be properly introduced into private houses and public buildings. It is very obvious that, in apartments commonly occupied by the family, and in which they work and read, such a mode of illumination would be wholly unsuitable. In rooms containing pictures, or objects of natural history or of vertu, coloured glass windows are likewise inadmissible. They must be confined to lobbies, staircases, and corridors, where they are seen only in passing, and where the light which they transmit does not interfere with the general effect, either by the tints which they radiate, or by the patches of colour which, in sunshine, they throw upon the walls. When, in the country, a window looks into an ugly court, or when in town it faces a blank wall or an otherwise disagreeable object, the use of coloured glass would not be inappropriate, though the same end might be attained by employing grey or roughened glass.

It is a point which has yet to be decided by a jury of unquestionable taste, how far churches and other public buildings are really decorated, or how far they are really disfigured, by paintings or by windows of coloured glass. The solemn services of the sanctuary are not likely to be more deeply impressed by glimpses of works of art, or by patches of coloured light straying over Gothic traceries, and discolouring the faces and draperies of the worshippers. Even the holy men, who were driven from temples made with hands, found a more peaceful altar in the time-worn cavern, on the bleak hillside, or on the blank shore, than in the picturesque glen or the rich woodlands of civilisation.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson is of opinion that paintings on panel or canvas are out of place in a Christian church. "When paintings," he says, "were put up in a Greek temple, it was for security, and because beautiful works were honoured by a place in that sacred edifice. This was quite consistent with, and will explain the fact of their not being dedications; and their subjects were seldom connected with religion, or the deity of the place. They were not intended as part of the ornamentation of the temple; and, unless the walls were of some uniform hue, adapted to their effect, they must have ill accorded with its coloured interior. The protection afforded them by the temple was the excuse for their being there: the place was not chosen as one suited to works of art; and if some were dedications, they proved the piety rather than the taste of the donor. So, again, though the finest pictures may have been painted for churches, they are not suited them on any plea. We do not go to church to look at pictures; and churches have seldom either a good light, or any other recommendation possessed by picture galleries; to which, moreover, the best paintings have, in process of time, been tranferred."

Although our author thus abjures the introduction of paintings into churches, he is in favour of coloured glass windows, which, he says, have justly claimed attention in the present day, and which, as our readers know, are rapidly finding their way into our Presbyterian churches. His approbation, however, of this species of ornament is of a very limited kind. He admits that "there are some churches the style and decoration of which neither require nor accord with coloured glass, such as those of the Renaissance painted with large frescoes, where coloured glass windows would conceal and interfere with their effect. Nor would painted glass," he adds, "be suited to a building of Gothic style decorated with *fresco paintings*, such as Giotto's Chapel at Padua. In such buildings, the windows

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necessarily consist of colourless glass, in order to admit the light required for that species of decoration. Our author's approbation of coloured glass windows is still further limited. He considers them as admissible only when the interior of the building *is painted in harmony with them.* The admiration which the English have for coloured glass windows he thinks inconsistent with their objections to colour in the rest of the building, and he pronounces those persons more consistent who object to colour, "both on the window and the wall. A better excuse," he adds, "may be found for their prejudice, *than for the caprice of placing a coloured window only at the east end of a church, where it stands in glaring contrast to all the rest of the white-washed building;* and where, from its generally affecting to imitate a '*painting*,' it has all the appearance of a transparent blind." In this sentence, Sir Gardner Wilkinson distinctly condemns all the coloured windows in England, wherever the interior of the building is not coloured, and coloured harmoniously with the windows.

During the present epidemic in favour of coloured glass windows, and other expensive decorations in our cathedrals and places of worship, it is hardly safe to give utterance to opinions which call in question the taste and congruity of this class of ornaments. As we shall not presume, however, to discuss the question in its religious phase, we hope to evade much of the censure which we should otherwise have incurred. A temple, a cathedral, a church, are buildings essentially different in character from a theatre, a circus, a court of justice, or a presence chamber. The Worshipped and the worshipper are there, and in the awe due to the one, and the humility due from the other, we may discover reasonable grounds for a chaste and even a severe grandeur in the surrounding edifice. Nothing in human art can be more sublime than the interior of the Greek or the Gothic temple, with their gigantic columns, their noble arches, their many-groined roofs, and their spacious domes—their "long-drawn aisles, and fretted vaults." Hewn from the rocks of a pre-Adamite age, which water and fire had prepared, the devout worshipper appreciates their sober hue, which neither the builder nor the sculptor would venture to improve. In order to throw the light of day upon materials so exquisitely combined, windows of large extent are required. The highest art, and the finest taste, have been called forth to give to the Gothic window its magic forms; and there is perhaps no branch of the fine arts which has given so much pleasure to the worshipper who views it from within, or to the stranger who regards it from without. Its rich and varied forms require no foreign ornament. They are beautiful when they transmit the pure light of day, and not less so when the wind howls through their broken mullions.

It is necessary to the stability of every edifice, that the openings in its walls be no larger than is required for lighting it. If a church, therefore, or other public building, has been erected without any reference to the use of coloured glass, nothing could be more absurd than to adopt a decoration which would reduce to more than one-half or one-third the light which is required. But even in the case where the windows had been made large enough to give a sufficient light when reduced by coloured glass, the objections to its use are numerous and well-founded. The eye is doubtless pleased with the display of colours, however rudely combined, whether in the unpatterned oriental carpet, the illuminated missal, or even in the dress of Harlequin. The eye of the sage as well as that of the school-boy, surveys with pleasure the ever-varying forms and colours in the kaleidoscope, the splendid tints of polarised light, or even the most formal combinations of mosaic colouring; and they have ample opportunities of gratifying so harmless a taste. Why, therefore, should we seek within the walls of a church, or even of a palace, for an indulgence which we can obtain by the light of day in the boudoir or in the staircase, or which we may command at night by surrounding our artificial lights with all the colours of the rainbow. There is no sympathy whatever between coloured glass and stone walls, and we might, with as much taste, cover the vestments of the priest, or the gown of the judge, or even the drapery of women, with harmonious patches of primary and secondary colours. The introduction into churches, poorly endowed, of painted glass and coloured borders, is, we trust, the commencement of a revolution, in which the present system of gorgeous colouring will be replaced by a new art, yet to be developed, in which colourless combinations of ornamented ground glass will be enriched with borders of chaste and simple colouring, which may be softened by the interposition of glass of different degrees of roughness, from almost perfect transparency to almost perfect opacity.

As the rage for windows of coloured glass will doubtless continue, like other equally distasteful varieties of church decoration, our readers will not be displeased with a brief notice of the origin of stained and painted

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glass, as given by our author. When glass is of one uniform hue, it is called *stained*, and when colour is applied to the surface of colourless glass, and then burnt in, it is said to be *painted*. In the "enamel method," as it is called, the whole picture is painted and burnt in on the previously colourless surface; while in the simple mosaic method, the picture is composed of pieces of stained glass. In the "mosaic enamel method," both processes are used.

"What is generally called Mosaic glass," says Sir Gardner, "has really some of its details and shadows marked out by colours; and of this kind are the earliest windows of the 1100 and 1200 in France. For, though composed of coloured pieces of glass, held together by the leads, which form the outlines of the designs, the shading is made by lines in bistre laid upon the surface, and afterwards burnt in; and the same colour is used for some of the details and folds of draperies.

The art gradually grew out of the original simple mosaic process. But it has long been a question when and where the first idea originated, of adding the few shades and bistre lines; for in that was the germ of the enamelled process, and *the real origin of painted glass*."

Our author does not mention a process, in which two or three plates of stained glass are welded alternately to two or three plates of colourless crown glass. The writer of this article, when in Switzerland in 1814, found a specimen of this glass, in the Abbey of Konigsfelden, near Brugg. It consisted of six plates, three of common greenish glass, and other three of stained glass, of a reddish pink colour. The effect of the combination was a very pale pink,* different from that of the plates, so that by this process any tint whatever may be produced.

Windows of stained glass seem to have been used in the fourth century, in the age of Constantine, and probably a century earlier. From Byzantium, the repository of all the arts after the age of Constantine, coloured glass windows passed into the west of Europe. About 400 they were used in the San Paolo-fuorile-mura at Rome, built by Constantine; and in the sixth century, in the Apse of S. Giovanni Laterano, at Rome. Before the 1100, they were employed in France; and in Flanders and Germany, in the 1200. Although there can be no doubt that we owe to the Byzantine Greeks the art of painting upon glass, yet France had the merit of bringing the art to a perfection which the Greeks could never have attained, and of giving to the paintings a brilliancy which constitutes its real merit.

In reference to "the choice of style in coloured windows," Sir Gardner Wilkinson recommends for study and imitation the mosaic glass of the 1200. That of the next century, he admits, is often richer in the colour of the material, but inferior "in the arrangement of the colours and the character of the ornamentation." According to Lavarte,* quoted by our author—

> "The merit of the windows of the 1200 is their perfect harmony with the general effect of the edifices to which they belong. . . . . In the middle of the fifteenth century, the revolution in the art of painting upon glass was complete. . . Thenceforth glass was nothing more than the material subservient to the painter, as canvas or wood in oil painting. Glass painters went so far as to copy upon white glass, as upon canvas, the masterpieces of Raffaelle, Michael Angelo, and the other great painters of the Italian Renaissance. . . . . We also find entire windows painted in mono-chromatic tints. . . . But the era of glass painting was at an end. From the moment that it was attempted to transform an art of purely monumental decoration into an art of expression, its intention was perverted, and this led of necessity to its ruin."

In the mosaic windows are placed a series of medallions, or lozenges—circular, oval, or of other shapes—containing Scripture subjects and surrounded by a coloured mosaic ground; the medallions, with a rich border, form the whole window; and hence they are called *medallion windows*, to distinguish them from *canopied windows*, which contain the figures of saints under canopies. Very fine specimens of the medallion window are found in the cathedrals of Rheims, Chartres, Bruges, Auxerre, Sens, and the Sainte Chapelle in Paris.

In the latter part of the 1300, the coloured window assumed gradually the character of a large picture, until, in 1500, the whole window, though consisting of several lights, was covered with one picture; "and mosaic yellow canopies, and monstrous transparent columns, with other architectural accessories, defied all harmony of colour, proportion, and possibility." In the middle of the fifteenth century, the revolution in the art of glass painting was complete, and "its era was at an end." Glass was merely the ground which a painter substituted for canvas; and

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* This specimen, when cut and polished on its edges, to show the combined plates, was presented to Sir Walter Scott, who fitted it up on a stand, and is probably now at Abbotsford.

The choir of the church at Konigsfelden is lighted by *eleven* coloured glass windows, by whose light, we believe, are displayed the portraits of all the knights that fell in the battle of Sempach.

* Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages.

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the works of Raffaelle, Michael Angelo, and other great painters, were copied upon white glass. "The attempt to transform an art of purely ornamental decoration into an art of expression, led, according to our author, to its ruin."

Our limits will not permit us to follow Sir Gardner, in his interesting inquiry, into the true principles of glass painting; but such of our artists or readers, who are interested in the subject, will be gratified with the following list of the conditions or properties of coloured glass windows:—

"They should be subservient to the general ornamentation, their object being decorative; they should assimilate to, and aid the decorations and style of the building; they should not be a contrast to a white wall, nor pretend to be a painting or large picture; the small figures in the medallions, though conventional, should be good, not imitations of a rude style, and should be part of the coloured effect of the window, when seen at a distance; broad opaque shadows should not be introduced, nor an attempt be made to convert the flat into a round style; figures larger than life should be avoided, as injurious to the proportions of a building; no great expanse of one colour in one place should catch the eye; and a picture extending over two or more lights, cut by an opaque mullion, is inconsistent and offensive. A quantity of white glass is bad and poor, and yellow is better than white for preventing red and blue from appearing purple at a distance. The border should be in proportion to the size of the light; too small, and even too large a quantity of ground between medallions, should be avoided; but the medallions should not be all of the same form, and the patterns should not be too small, nor have a spotted appearance, as in a kaleidoscope;* the primary colours should predominate over the secondary and tertiary; and the best windows for imitation are those of the 1200. In rosette windows, the tracery lights, or openings, should radiate from the centre, rather than be concentric, But coloured glass is not required in buildings of the Renaissance style."

From the subject of coloured glass windows, and the principle of glass painting, our author passes to the consideration of the perception of colour, the balance of colour, and the manner in which colours affect each other. The perception of the harmony of colours he considers, as we have already seen, a natural gift; and he asserts, that those who possess it can no more help perceiving at first sight whether their arrangement forms a concord or a discord, than they can help distinguishing *red* from *green*, which one out of every 750 cannot do.* "To *give an eye for colour*," he says, "is no more possible than to *give an ear* for sound; and though both might be improved by study, if *possessed*, so both may be impaired by bad habit."

In order to improve our natural perception of colours, we must not only ascertain "what two, or more, when placed together, are concords or discords," but also the "quantity of each," as well as their "proper position." We have already explained the opinions of M. Chevreul on the contrast or mutual influence of colours. Sir Gardner, adopting similar views, mentions *harmony by contrast* as the most important, namely, *red* or *scarlet* with *blue*, and *orange* with *blue*. Some, he says, are contrasts by coldness, as those just mentioned; and some by difference of lucidity, as *yellow* contrasted with *black* or with *brown*. The next is *harmony* by *analogy*, as *crimson* and *red brown*, *purple* and *crimson*, *yellow* and *gold*. There is also *harmony* of tones, as different *blues*, *reds*, etc., the light one being the ground for the darker; and lastly, *harmony* of *hues*, as *verdigris green* to lighten up *blue green*, and *scarlet* with *dark red*. Harmony by *contrast* and harmony by *analogy* consist in the due proportion of two or more colours which are concords.

In all our inquiries into the harmony of colours, it is necessary to classify them, an operation which has been performed very differently by different individuals. The following is adopted by Sir Gardner Wilkinson:—

"A. PRIMARIES (*Simple colours*): blue, red, and yellow.
B. SECONDARIES (*Compound colours*): purple (composed of blue and red); orange (composed of red and yellow); green (composed of blue and yellow.)
C. TERTIARIES (*Mixed colours*): russet (composed of purple and orange); citrine (composed of orange and green); and olive (composed of green and purple).
D. (*Irregular colours*): brownish greys, neutral tints, drabs, stone colour, etc.
E. (*Extreme colours*): black and white."

As it is difficult to ascertain what idea is conveyed by the mention of any colour, whether primary, secondary, or tertiary, Sir

* As very few persons have seen a really good kaleidoscope, we presume that our author may not be of this number. When the instrument is good, and the ground properly chosen, and the objects of a right colour, and properly illuminated, there can be no such thing as spotting in the patterns, which never have been, and never can be, equalled by the most skilful artist.

* This is a mistake, as it will be seen from our Review *On Colour Blindness*, in vol. xxiv., p. 342, that Dr. George Wilson, to whose researches our author refers, found, from the examination of 1154 persons of different professions, that 1 in every 18 was colour blind, the ratios in different classes being from 1 in every 8.4 to 1 in every 50.

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Gardner is of opinion, in reference to primary colours, that *red* is best represented by the colour of the *Verbena melindris*, *yellow* by *gamboge* moistened with water, and *blue* by the deepest colour of the sky, or by lapis lazuli, or French blue.

In order to give an idea of what is meant by different colours in different languages, Sir Gardner has drawn up a very interesting table, occupying eight closely printed pages, in which he has given the names of the principal colours in English, Arabic, French, German, Greek, Latin, and Italian. This valuable table, the result of much learning and research, is followed by an elaborate discussion of the arrangement of colours, in *twenty-one* sections, occupying upwards of seventy pages. In the sixteenth section he begins by treating of the arrangement of colours by *twos*, showing their agreement or disagreement, in order to establish their effect upon each other by juxtaposition, without reference to the quantity of each. The following are the most pleasing:—

"1. Blue and orange or gold.
2. Blue and scarlet.
3. Blue and white.
4. Blue and black.
5. Blue and horse chesnut.
6. Purple and orange or gold.
7. Green and gold.
8. Black and orange or gold.
9. Horse chesnut brown and orange (or gold).
10. Brown and gold.
11. Brown and gold."

This table is followed by one of thirty-two pages, showing the concords and discords of several colours, and mentioning the plants whose colours, either simply or in combination, illustrate his views. Although the details in this table are of great practical value to the artist and the amateur, we can find room only for a specimen of it:—

1. "*Blue* and *red* harmonize, but want *yellow*, and scarlet is preferable to red. In flowers, *Double Delphinium*."

2. "*Red* and *green* wanting. When the red approaches to dark, a discord. When the red has a scarlet hue, and the green is bright and rather yellow, the combination is less disagreeable than when the latter is bluish green; and though this may be contrary to theory, which requires more blue to balance the red and yellow of the scarlet, *the fact is proved by experience;* thus the flower and leaf of the *scarlet geraniums* accord better than the same flower with the blue leaf of the *Iris* or *Flag*."

3. "*Yellow* and *green* harmonize, but inferior to orange and green. Yellow and pink discord, disagreeable and poor."

4. "*Scarlet* and *green* better than *red* and *green*, and still better than *crimson* and green, but wanting."

5. "*Crimson* and *blue* harmonize, but wanting yellow, they do not combine so well as *blue* and *scarlet*."

In the interesting table, of which this is a specimen, our author treats of the combination of two, three, four, five, six, seven, and eight colours, and refers to the succeeding sections of his work for explanatory information.

In order to illustrate by examples the effect of a combination mentioned in the table, Sir Gardner refers to the actual combinations as given in the coloured plates of several works, such as Waring and Macquoid's Architectural Art in Italy and Spain; Grüner's Fresco Decorations of Italian Churches and Palaces; Digby Wyatt's Memoirs of the Middle Ages; Mr Owen Jones' great work on the Alhambra, and his Grammar of Ornament; and the Messrs Day's Treasury of Ornamental Art.

In the last or twenty-first of the sections we have mentioned, our author gives an account of the very interesting and elaborate researches of Mr. Babbage on the employment of coloured papers for printing, with the view of determining the colours of inks and of papers which are least fatiguing to the eye. With this view Mr Babbage provided THIRTY vols., each containing paper of different colours, and having tables of logarithms printed on them in black ink; and also twenty-one vols., two of which were printed with *black* ink; two with light, and two with dark *blue;* two with *purple;* two with dark, and two with light *red;* two with dark, and two with light *green;* two with *olive*, and one with metallic ink. The coloured sheets of paper employed were—

	No. of Sheets.		No. of Sheets.
Purple,	14	Yellow, orange, buff, etc.,	42
Blue,	13	Greys and neutral tints,	40
Green,	23		—
Red, pink, etc.,	18		150

After a careful examination of these papers, Mr Babbage found that the *order of distinctness* in which coloured papers with black ink are most suited for use, are as follows:—

"1. White paper cream coloured.
1. Do. do. bluish.
3. Light ochrous yellow tinge.
4. Light ochrous with warm or redder tinge.
5. Light ochrous with yellow tinge.
6. Light greenish tinge.
7. Light pink tinge.
8. Light straw colour.
9. Light purplish grey.
10. Light bluish grey.
11. Bright yellow.
12. Bright pea green.
13. Bright yellow orange.
14. Bright blue.
15. Vermillion.
16. Purple.
17. Carmine pink."

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When black ink is used upon white paper, the distinctness is a maximum; but it is said to be more fatiguing to the sight than on some other colours, especially in a strong light, and it is stated "that a light tone of ochrous yellow is more comfortable to the eye for long-continued use. This is a more important point to determine than the degree of distinctness; and it appears from a careful comparison by Mr. Babbage, that, with black ink, papers Nos. 3 and 4 are better for long use than No. 1; the green of No. 12 more comfortable than Nos. 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17; No. 6 better than No. 12; and Nos. 15 and 17 very fatiguing, and red far more so, especially by candle-light. The general result of these observations is, that black ink upon red ochrous yellow paper, when not too yellow, is the best for the eyes by candle-light. Dr. George Wilson, in his book on Colour Blindness, has mentioned an opinion of Sir David Brewster's, that orange yellow light exercises a more powerful action upon the retina than white light of greater intensity; so that, if this should prove generally true, it would explain the superior distinctness of black upon yellowish paper.

Having had occasion to repeat Mr. Babbage's experiments on the coloured papers referred to, which he kindly presented to us, we found it very difficult to decide upon the degrees of distinctness and fatigue which they produced. We are persuaded that different eyes have different degrees of sensibility to the same colour, and we know that the eyes of the same individual are not equally sensitive to colours, just as one ear will hear the chirp of the cricket while the other is deaf to it, and yet the vision and the hearing in both cases perfect. The subject must, therefore, be studied inductively, and that which is found to be true with a great number of individuals may be received as scientific truth.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson concludes the first part of his volume *On Colour* with the following summary of "necessary conditions" for harmonious combinations:—

"1. The eye is the proper judge of colour, and the perception of colour is a natural gift.

2. We should abstain from theories till the subject is understood.

3. Flowers and other ornaments should be conventional, not *direct* copies of natural objects; nor should we tread on these in carpets, nor walk on the tracery of architecture.

4. The three primary colours, red, blue, and yellow, which are a concord, should predominate in ornamentation; yet scarlet (which is really a compound colour) looks better than red, even with blue and yellow, and always so when with blue alone, with which it does not assume the same purple hue as does a red (or a crimson) in juxtaposition with blue, owing to the yellow in the scarlet.

5. A fillet of yellow (or some other colour when there are many) should be placed between, or near to, red and blue, to obviate their purple effect.

6. The two accidental colours do not necessarily harmonize.

7. Harmony is not limited to similarity of colour; but there is harmony by contrast also, and contrasts are of different kinds.

8. The effects of simultaneous contrasts is to be considered.

9. The intensity of tones of colours should be equal in the same composition, but a dark and a light hue may be used together with good effect.

10. The quantity of colours is to be balanced, and some may be in a smaller quantity when combined with certain others.

11. The proper relative position of colours is to be consulted.

12. Some colours by candle-light and by daylight have a different effect, and allowance is to be made for this.

13. Colours that accord well, both in their hues and in certain quantities, do not always suit every kind of ornament, and some combinations which suit a carpet and a wall do not answer well for a dress.

14. In some compositions, and particularly in the painted walls of a church, or other building, the coloured patterns should not cover the whole space. The eye requires some repose, and is fatigued by any object overloaded with ornament.

15. A great quantity of the same colour in one part, and little or none of it in another, are fatal to the general effect.

16. Large masses of one single colour should not catch the eye. There may be a mass or ground of one colour in the centre, and a border of several colours round it.

17. Bright green may be introduced to lighten up a composition, but not in masses except as a ground. Green as a ground must be a glaucous green.

18. Greys and some other neutral colours answer well as a ground, and soften the abruptness of contrast when required.

19. Two of the primaries may harmonize better with each than other two of them, and they accord in *different ratios*; so, too, between any two of the secondaries, and so between the primaries and their (accidental) secondary colours."

We have thus endeavoured to give our readers as correct an account of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's system of harmonious colouring as our narrow limits will permit. The system is founded on *facts* or experience alone, and it is placed in direct opposition to theories of accidental or harmonic colour, which our author pointedly abjures. As he has referred to experiments which we have made, and as we have on many occasions maintained what may be called the *optical or physiological doctrine or theory* (if that word is more suitable) *of harmonious colour-*

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ing, we are called upon to submit the question to a rigorous examination.

If the laws of colouring are to be obtained from facts, we must begin by ascertaining *what a fact is.* It is the *opinion* of a person who has the natural gift, or the perceptive faculty, of appreciating harmonious combination; and in order to obtain such facts, we must collect the opinions of men of undoubted taste, or gather the facts from an examination of the works of art of all ages. Now, the person who possesses this perceptive faculty must first decide what colours are concords, and secondly, their due proportions, before he pronounces on their harmony. In order to obtain *one fact*, we must have the concurrent opinions of a large number of individuals of acknowledged taste and experience; but these can only be collected from the study of the best coloured glass windows, or from the paintings of the most distinguished masters. That no concurrence is to be found in the perceptions of colour by the artists of coloured glass windows, or in the perceptions of the most eminent painters, we venture to assert. If such a concurrence exists, it must be exhibited in a number of facts capable of generalization. It would be easy to point out, in the finest works of coloured art, as many discords as concords; and there is no painter in whose works we cannot point out combinations of colours which are reconcileable with no system or theory whatever, whether they profess to be founded on facts or optical and physiological principles. It is quite different in the case of harmonies in music, with which our author compares those of colour. No discords will be found in the works of the great composers; and did they exist to any extent, they might be explained by a state of the ear in which it is deaf to certain grave or acute sounds. There is, therefore, no system or set of rules for harmonious colouring, which can be said to be founded *in fact*, so as to entitle us to question the results of any rational theory entirely independent of the varieties of individual organization.

When the perceptive theory tells us that *red* and *blue* are *concords*, which we deny, and maintain that they are *discords*, we ask what kind of *reds* and *blues* have been placed in combination. Were they colours of the spectrum, or were they the colours of mineral, vegetable, or animal substances? The red and blue of the spectrum may be discords, as they are in theory, while the red and blue submitted to the perceptive faculty may be concords. *Red* and *green* are said perceptively to be discords, which they are when primary, while in theory they are perfect concords when not primary. The cause of this is, that different kinds of red and green have been combined, and therefore the perceptive faculty has not run counter to theory. These views will be rightly appreciated when the true theory of harmonious colouring is understood, the colours being, of course, the pure primary colours of the spectrum—produced by the decomposition of white light; or compound colours, produced by thin plates, as seen in common or in polarised light.

In the true theory of harmonious colouring, the harmony depends on two conditions—one *optical*, and the other *physiological*. The optical condition is, that the colours, whether two, three, or more, *shall form white light;* and hence it is that the three colours, red, yellow, and blue, are in harmony. The physiological condition, to take the case of two colours, is, that *when the retina is impressed with one of these colours it is simultaneously impressed with the other*—that is, when it sees red it at the same instant sees green, the two making white. When the eye, therefore, contemplates in succession red and green wafers supposed to be correctly complementary, it transfers the complementary red of the green to the red, and increases its tint, and then the complementary green of the red to the green, and enhances its colour. Had the green wafer been blue, its complementary yellow would have made the red scarlet, and the complementary green from the red would have made the green bluish green. Now, these effects are perfectly analogous with what takes place in music. When a string gives out its fundamental sound, it gives out at the same time its harmonics, the two being simultaneously heard, just as the two complementary or harmonic colours are simultaneously seen.*

The harmony produced by the complementary colours may be thus explained. The retina is put into different states of vibration by different colours. The complementary vibrations from the *green* wafer, namely, those that give *red*, are in perfect concord with the stronger ones of the *red* wafer; and the complementary vibrations from the *red* wafer, namely, those that give green, are in perfect concord with the stronger ones of the green wafer. When the colours are compound, each of the component colours producing vibrations of different kinds, the concord may not be so perfect as when they approximate to primary colours;

* The old theory of the fatigue of the eye produced by looking at one colour, and referred to by our author, has been long ago abandoned.

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but even in the extreme case, where the compound colour consists of rays from opposite ends of the spectrum, the general effect is to produce pure white light, which is not a discordant result.

The second part of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's volume, "On the Necessity of a Diffusion of Taste among all Classes," is substantially a Treatise "On Taste in Ornamental Design," which, indeed, is the running title of the whole part, occupying no less than 200 pages. It treats of a great variety of interesting subjects, and in a large number of woodcuts it presents to the reader examples of good and bad taste in the numerous articles of household furniture, and in various architectural structures. After pointing out the advantages of diffusing a taste for ornamental art among the lower classes, and showing that the most beautiful designs may be given to the commonest and cheapest utensils and objects in the humblest households, he adopts the three maxims given by Vitruvius for architecture, namely,—

1. That the articles should answer the purposes for which they are intended;
2. That they should be durable, or of solid workmanship; and
3. That they should possess beauty—not the beauty obtained from capricious ornament, with which so many of our modern productions are overloaded.

"Taste," our author adds, "to be useful, must pervade all classes; and by this means graceful and beautiful objects for everyday use will come into general demand, and be generally made. They will also be obtained at a moderate price, and thus be placed within the reach of all, instead of being confined to the wealthy few who happen to be possessed of cultivated taste. For it is not by making what is elegant dear to the purchaser, that it will be generally appreciated —this is an impediment, not an encouragement to it; and until good things are within the reach of all, and recognised by the majority, it is in vain to hope for excellence in any country."

After remarking with Mr. Wornum that the prosperity of the inhabitants of the small island of ancient Samos was a singular instance of the great national benefit to be derived from the judicious application of art to manufactures, Sir Gardner ascribes the deficiency of taste in articles for common use in England to the want of taste among the workmen. The manufacturer, when a man of taste, often manufactures beautiful articles which the public refuse to buy; and our author mentions an Italian who was compelled, in order to support his family, to manufacture what did sell—the most commonplace ornaments, among which were "dogs and flowers, Canova's three lanky Graces, and elongated vases equally deficient in proportion, form, and decoration." Hence he considers it as a first step to know "what to avoid in choosing," and therefore that the public should be taught "what is *bad*, and *why* it is so," rather than what is in good taste and what is worthy of notice.

Among the causes to which our author ascribes the general deficiency of taste in England, he mentions the want of Museums in our manufacturing and other provincial towns, and the shutting up on Sundays of the Museums we do possess, especially the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. The first of these causes is doubtless the most prominent, and one which it would not be difficult to remove. The second is one of more doubtful propriety, and which might bring evils in its train that would be poorly compensated by the amount of diffused taste which it might introduce. The diminution in the working hours of the population, the increased number of holidays which are given and taken, and the number of excursion trains which carry crowds of the people, both from town and country, to visit all the objects of interest, and the Museums we have in the larger towns, might, if Museums were more general, supply the place of art-study on the Sabbath.

In discussing the various points on which good taste depends, Sir Gardner mentions the great importance of a perception of the harmony of *proportion*, which is nowhere better shown than in the buildings of the Greeks and the later Italians. "Symmetry," he says, "in one sense may be called the harmony of proportion, though there is really a difference between proportion and symmetry; the latter applying to the concord of the different parts with each other, as well as with the whole, as in the human figure; while an object which is of one simple form, without detachable parts, is regulated by proportion, such as an obelisk, and other simple geometrical figures." The faculty of perceiving proportion and symmetry our author considers as a natural gift, which may be taught like music, but not acquired by rules, however good and well-defined; thus concurring with Professor Cockerell, who observes, "that we begin by admiring ornaments, details, and forms, but it is in a more advanced stage only that we make all these subordinate to that sense of mythical proportion, and that harmony of quantities, which affect the mind like a

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mathematical truth; and, like a concord of musical sounds on the ear, are perceived and confessed as obvious and unalterable."

Among the errors in taste committed in the middle ages, and even in modern Europe, Sir Gardner mentions the custom of representing landscapes, or a number of distant figures, in bas-relief, upon metal, stone, and similar materials,—a practice not followed by the Greeks, who never represented distance or perspective as the ground of their basso-relievos. For a similar reason, he reprobates landscapes upon fictile vases, or even upon a porcelain cup, as is done in the sumptuous vases of Sèvres manufacture, and in porcelain plates "where the landscape is buried beneath meat and vegetables." No less offensive is the practice of employing natural objects as ornaments in decorative art, which our author regards as indicating poverty of invention, and a deficiency of taste for design. The Greeks never used servile copies of flowers or other natural objects. "They took the idea, the *motive* of the object, and made it an ideal imitation, which was much more pleasing to the eye." The patterns of the Arabs, which are more varied than those of the Greeks, had the same character, and evince an extraordinary talent for combinations of forms. "In all the best periods of art," as Mr. Owen Jones remarks, "all ornament was rather based upon an observation of the principles which regulate the arrangement of form in nature, than on an attempt to imitate the absolute forms of those works; and that, whenever this limit was exceeded, in any art, it was one of the strongest symptoms of decline—*true art consisting in idealizing, and not copying the forms of nature.*"

The mixture of materials of different kinds in articles of furniture is justly denounced by our author, such as the union of bronze with wood, and, above all, of bright brass with wood,—wooden tables inlaid with stone,—stone doors either wholly or partly of malachite,—and rich cabinets inlaid with costly jewels. The highly-prized and expensive tables of Florence in *pietre dure*, imitating birds, flowers, etc., are equally inconsistent with true taste.

In illustration of his proposal to diffuse taste by exhibiting to the eye forms and combinations in which it is violated, Sir Gardner has given a large number of woodcuts representing vases of bad forms,—inconsistent combinations,—good designs badly copied,—tasteless columns, obelisks, colossi, domes, spires, pediments, arches, weathercocks, pinnacles, chimneys, etc.

In treating of the decoration of houses, our author confines himself to a few passing observations which are well-deserving of public attention. In a climate like ours, where we spend so much of our life in our libraries and public rooms, nothing is more desirable than that our eyes should derive all the pleasure which can be imparted by harmonious colouring, beautiful forms, and fine proportions. Every house, tastefully decorated, and containing examples of high art, would thus be a school of design in which our visitors, and even our domestics, might add to their knowledge, as well as improve their taste. In private as well as in public buildings, ornaments, whether coloured or sculptured, should not extend over the whole surface of the walls. The eye requires repose, and the general effect should be that of broad masses, displaying minuteness when not seen at a distance. Small uncoloured spaces in the midst of coloured patterns afford an agreeable relief and variety; but in employing paper-hangings with equi-distant coloured patterns, we must combine them in such a manner that they are not likely to produce, in certain abnormal states of our vision, the strange and almost supernatural phenomena which we have described, at great length, in a former article.*

In painting the rooms of a house, or in selecting a paper for them, when pictures are to be introduced, the walls should be of one colour, *without patterns;* and that colour, according to our author, should be *red* or *tea-green*, either of which we should think too absorptive of light in rooms where it is almost impossible to obtain a proper illumination, owing to the smallness and position of the windows, and the darkness produced by the curtains. We should, therefore, prefer a very light blue, which would harmonize with the gildings of the picture-frames, while it reflected light upon those portions of the pictures which receive no light directly from the windows. In a room covered with pictures, a ceiling almost white, a carpet as light as possible, and furniture of the same hue, are necessary to obtain sufficient light to display the pictures. The proper exhibition of the pictures is the object to be accomplished by every available means, whether they are consistent or not with good taste.

In Egypt, Assyria, Greece, Etruria, and, in later times, in Christian churches, painting was a necessary part of architectural decoration. Statues, obelisks, and even monuments of granite, were painted; and the Greek bas-reliefs were in the oldest times of

* On Binocular Vision, in vol. xvii. p. 192, 193–196.

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a uniform red colour, with a background of blue. The question of colouring statues, which is now exciting much interest, is viewed in very different lights. Although it is certain that statues were coloured by the Greeks, yet, as the effect was successful only when it was produced by the first artists, Sir Gardner Wilkinson is of opinion that it should not be attempted in the present day. Accustomed to admire statues of white marble, it is not easy to reconcile ourselves to a coloured Venus, or to the coloured bust of a relative or friend. The attempt, however, has been made, to a small extent, by two distinguished artists to whom our author has not referred. The Venus of Mr. Gibson of Rome, decked with ornaments of gold, and with a slight coloring in her drapery, has been denounced by one party and admired by another; and the bust of the Queen, by Baron Marochetti, presented by Her Majesty to the Earl of Aberdeen, and other coloured busts by the same artist, have experienced a similar reception. These two works of art, however, both of which we have seen, and partially admired, are treated in a very different manner. The bust of the Queen is simply stained, as it were, with a solution of coffee, which is darker in the dress and the hair than in the flesh; and the effect, though at first startling, like that of Mr. Gibson's Venus, is more agreeable after we have looked at it for some time.

Our limits will not permit us to follow our author through the remaining pages of his Second Part, in which he discusses a great number of most important subjects, which cannot fail to interest a very large class of readers. After treating of the proper place for Pictures and Statues—of the pointed style of Architecture—of the invention and history of the Arch—of the similarity of Greek to Egyptian inventions—of early Christian Art—of the history of Mosaics—of the rise of Painting in Italy—of the decay of Art—of the Beautiful, and the difference between the Beautiful in Art and Nature—and of the different styles of Architecture, he concludes the Part with the following brief summary of the more important points of which he has treated :—

"One of the most important points is, that taste be *general* among all classes. These, too, are essential :—that the beautiful be combined with the useful ;- that proportion, good form, and (when required) harmonious colours, be combined in objects of everyday use ;—that rare and costly *materials* be not preferred to *excellence of design* ;—that good examples be imitated, rather than new designs invented, merely for the sake of novelty ;—that no design be made up of parts put together to form it without reference to their compatibility ;—that one object be not employed for another of a different character ;—that *authority* be not an excuse for a faulty design ;—that the spirit, not the direct imitation, of natural objects be adopted for ornamentation ;—and that the education of the Eye be preferred to a mechanical adhesion to mere rules."

In the *Third* and concluding Part of our author's volume, entitled *On Dressed and Geometrical Gardens*, he does not propose to give all the necessary instructions for the laying out of gardens. His principal object is to show "how advantageously form and colour may be combined in formal beds, and how necessary is their proper combination for giving full effect to the geometrical patterns of a dressed garden."

In order that an ornamental garden near the house may be in harmony with the formal character of the building, it should be laid out in geometrical patterns, and bounded by terraces and balustrades of masonry. Beyond the terraces "a less formal garden, with borders and winding walks, might succeed, leading gradually from the symmetrical and artificial part to that which bears a nearer resemblance to the wildness of nature."

The gentle slope of a hill is considered particularly suitable for a terrace garden, with a succession of different levels connected by flights of steps; but it is commonly on a level field or lawn that geometrical gardens are laid out. When the space allotted to the garden is limited, a number of high, formal yew, or other clipt evergreen hedges, are not appropriate, and in no case should trees be made to imitate birds, or be cut into grotesque shapes. No trees should be near the house; and the approach to it may be by an avenue of fine trees, though the road, before reaching the avenue, may be as circuitous as is consistent with the character of the ground. The lawn nearest the house may be planted with cedars and other fine trees; but no large piece of water, whether natural or artificial, should be near the house. Sir Gardner recommends trees of vertical growth and dark colour, as forming a good contrast with a building in the Italian or Grecian style, the horizontal lines of the building being opposed to the long vertical stems of stone pines, or old Scotch firs, just as the long level of a meadow is agreeably contrasted with the upright poplar.

It is not necessary that dressed gardens should be large. Sir Gardner Wilkinson has seen one "with a terrace walk, and the usual beds, not a hundred feet square, which, when bright with flowers, gave the impres-

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sion of far more importance than it had any right to claim from its extent."

When the geometrical pattern has been fixed upon, the next step is to determine the colours for harmonious combinations, and select the flowers by which these colours are to be obtained. Flowers that have the same height, and that blossom at the same period must be chosen, in order that the designs may be continued during successive seasons. Rare plants are not necessary, some of the most common being more eligible.

In order to exhibit the arrangement of colours, Sir Gardner has given coloured drawings of three geometrical gardens, with their flower-beds, in none of which there is perfect symmetry either of form or of colour, which we think would have added greatly to their beauty. We might dispense with symmetry of colour, but symmetry of form would be pleasing even in winter, when no colour is to be seen. The principal colours recommended by our author, are blue, red, scarlet, pink, purple, lilac, yellow, orange, and white; and he has given an interesting table, occupying nine pages, which contains the names of the plants, with their different colours, the times when they flower, and observations on their treatment.

If the analysis we have so imperfectly given of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's interesting volume should induce our readers to peruse it themselves, we shall have conferred upon them no ordinary favour. The subjects of which it treats are so numerous, so closely connected with our daily life and pursuits, and so calculated to subdue and purify the aspirations of wealth and rank, and to refine and elevate the hardworking children of toil, that its lessons should be impressed upon the young and the thoughtless, upon the old and the wise, as great moral truths to guide and to cheer them amid the corruptions and sorrows of our social life. The beautiful in Art and Nature, equally the gift of the Great Giver, may be enjoyed by the humblest as well as the highest of our race. The cup of cold water will taste the sweeter, and the goblet of rich wine the richer, when the eye rests with pleasure upon their lovely forms. The village Lavinia will be "adorned the most," when she has exchanged the meretricious decorations borrowed from the ball-room for the simple drapery of homely life; and the court beauty will not be the less attractive when she has replaced her gaudy and costly attire with the chaste and hallowed models of a less luxurious age. Nor will the cottage family be less joyous when in their plot of flower garden they revel in the harmonies of colour, or when the mantel-piece and walls of their dwelling exhibit to them the choicest forms of art, or those scenes of the picturesque and the sublime with which modern science can so cheaply supply them.

The pleasures of the Eye and the Ear are the cheapest and the sweetest of our luxuries; and when they shall be equally appreciated by the classes whom no common sympathy had previously blended, or whom the usages of a barbarous age had too widely severed, society will be welded together by more enduring bonds, and new buttresses added to the social fabric. The artisan or the labourer who devotes his leisure hour to the observation of Nature, or the admiration of Art,—who gathers for his family the curious plant, or the tiny organism, or the travelled pebble, or who presents to them the elegant flower-vase or graceful statue, is not likely to seek for excitement in village revels, in political clubs, or in dishonest combinations. His moral nature will rise with his material tastes; and while his less instructed neighbour will look up to him as a model for imitation, his more educated superior will appreciate his acquirements as a companion or a friend.

It is only in those studies where the Eye becomes our teacher, that we can expect to unite in a common pursuit the dissevered classes of society. It is in the Galleries of Art,—in the rich Museums of our cities,—in our Botanical, Zoological, and Horticultural Gardens,—or in our Crystal Palaces, where Art and Science are rivals, that the children of wealth and of toil can assemble in the common admiration of all that is beautiful in Art and Nature; and if our rulers should listen to the appeals which have been so long and so urgently made to them, they would establish Museums in every town, and furnish them from the hoarded treasures of the Metropolis.

The extension of education, the improvement of our schools and universities, and the advancement of science, are all objects worthy of a great nation; but it is not through their agency that we can refine and elevate and unite the various masses of the community. The depths of science are not to be sounded, nor the heights of philosophy attained, even by the most favoured classes, and still less by the uneducated and neglected sections of society. Science and philosophy, therefore, can afford no common ground of study or of converse to the rich and the poor. It is among the remains of ancient, and the achievements of modern Art, and amid the beauties which we daily appreciate, and the lovely forms of organic life which are ever before us, that we can all, high and low, breathe the same pure air, and rise to a higher morality and a nobler civilization.

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Art. VII.—*The Life of Jabez Bunting, D.D.; with Notices of Contemporory Persons and Events.* By his Son, Thomas Percival Bunting. Vol. I. London: Longmans, 1859.

In the year 1785, well nigh half a century after the rise of Methodism, a sapient society in London discussed, for three nights in succession, this question: "Have the Methodists done most good or evil?" The disputants do not appear to have been either a company of free-thinkers, or a set of frolicsome and reckless young men. It seems to have been a grave and earnest affair. Thomas Olivers, of whom Southey, in the Life of Wesley, gives such an interesting sketch, joined the society to be present at the debate, and his speech on the occasion was published long afterwards in the form of a pamphlet. How the question was decided we do not know; nor is it of any consequence. It is the discussion, not the decision, of the question that is at all curious. That serious men should at that date have made this a subject of prolonged debate, is not a little remarkable. We cannot but think that, in our own day, Methism is better understood and better appreciated. Looking at its extensive labours at home and abroad, and estimating—if it can be estimated—the value of its services to the human race, we might smile at, but should never think of discussing, the question which the London sages so laboriously debated. Doubtless, there are still whole classes of men who would promptly give their vote against Methodism. Infidels would do so; so would Papists; so would the enemies and revilers of evangelical religion; and so, we fear, would many who consider themselves zealous Christians in that church which the Wesleys loved so well and treated so tenderly. We are told by John Wesley, that up till the time when he commenced field-preaching, he thought it "almost a sin to save souls out of a church;" so there are some who seem to think that it is almost a sin—if, indeed, it be not an impossibility—to save souls out of the Church of England; and that it is both almost and altogether a sin to detach them from her communion. But among intelligent and earnest Protestants, who will, of course, treat such pretensions with derision, there can, we imagine, be only one opinion as to the debt which the world owes to Methodism. That debt we cordially acknowledge, without qualification or reserve. We do not say, of course, that we are prepared to subscribe all its dogmas, or to approve of all its ecclesiastical regulations. It might be easy enough to find things in the Wesleyan creed and organization to which we should be disposed to take exception; but this does not hinder us from expressing our hearty admiration of the zeal and devotedness with which Methodism has prosecuted the great work of promoting the best interests of mankind.

Our readers will have no difficulty in discerning, that the special ground of our esteem for this branch of the Church of Christ is the amount of good which it has done to the souls of men. Indeed, it is only when we look at man as an immortal being, and take eternity into our reckoning, that we can duly appreciate the services of Wesleyan Methodism. We cheerfully admit that it claims our respect and gratitude upon other grounds. It has done much to elevate and civilize the lower orders of society in England and elsewhere, and thus to diffuse elements of order and stability through our social system. By its efforts multitudes in heathen lands, who, a few years ago, were debased and brutal savages, are now "sitting clothed, and in their right mind." It has produced many men of distinguished talent, and the literature emanating from its book-room has neither been scanty in amount nor contemptible in quality. But we strongly feel that Wesleyan Methodism would be unfairly treated if it were tried by such standards of judgments as these. For however great may have been the material, or social, or intellectual benefits flowing from its labours, these were rather the incidental accompaniments of the Christianity which it sought to diffuse than the direct object of its efforts and aims. If it were the main business of a church to polish and refine human society, to add extensively to the stock of general literature, to maintain a body of dignified, well-bred, and scholarly ecclesiastics, or even to frame an orthodox creed, and construct symmetrical systems of divinity, and exhibit a stately and harmonious development of correct ecclesiastical order, we might probably be of opinion that Methodism must retire from competition with some other denominations. But it was not any of these things which it set before it as its leading object. "Your business is to save souls," was Wesley's pointed and oft-repeated admonition to his preachers. And if this be, in truth, the primary and principal mission of the Church of Christ, then we cannot but regard Methodism as having, from the first, done the great work of the Church vigorously and well. And the more adequately we realize the incalculable value of immortal souls, the higher will be our estimate of all that Wesleyan-

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ism has done, and is still doing for their welfare.

It is not necessary that we should affirm that the erection of the Wesleyan Institute was the very best thing that could have occurred in England at the time when it arose, — that it was better, for example, than would have been an extensive revival of true religion in the Establishment, or better than if some one or more of the Non-conformist bodies had taken the place and performed the part which fell to Wesley and his coadjutors. But, if the religious condition of the Church was such as to call for supplementary efforts for the Christianization of the people, and if none of the other ecclesiastical systems afforded them, then we are surely not only at liberty, but bound to rejoice in the rise of Methodism, and to look with complacency upon its progress.

The annals of Methodism form a curious chapter in the ecclesiastical history of England. The reign of the second George is a singularly dreary and uninviting period to contemplate, both as respects the political, and social, and religious, character of the nation. Corruption rioted in all the public departments of the state; a withering Socinianism infested the Church, and, as a consequence, gross immorality and avowed irreligion widely prevailed. Nor did evangelical religion fare much better among the Dissenters in England than in the Established Church. The fervent piety of the early Non-conformists had grievously declined; and many of the ministers had lapsed, or were fast lapsing, into a virtual and practical, if not an open and professed Socinianism, and many of the people into utter ungodliness. It was at the time when the gloom seemed to be deepening all around, and every source of illumination becoming hopelessly obscured, that a light dawned at Oxford, which, faint and struggling at first, soon shed its rays into the surrounding darkness, and ultimately did not a little to dispel it.

The Wesleys sprang from a good stock. The parents had been educated as Puritans, though they subsequently "conformed." The Father—the rector of Epworth—was a diligent and conscientious minister. The mother—like so many mothers of eminent men — was remarkable for strong sense, high principle, deep piety, uncommon natural talent, energy, and force of character. It is easy to prophecy after the event; but one feels disposed to say, that the sons of such a woman could hardly turn out mere ordinary men.

Under deep religious convictions John and Charles Wesley, with three or four kindred spirits, formed at Oxford about one hundred and thirty years ago, what was called, in derision, the "Holy Club," and were nicknamed "Methodists." Braving the storm of ridicule,—that most formidable of all modes of assault against educated young men,—they resolutely held on their course. Prominent even then, as ever after, was the distinctive aim of Wesley, to which we have before adverted. And, as their work went on, the broad and placid surface of ecclesiastical routine was stirred; the waters were put in motion, and though there might be here and there, a turbid eddy visible, yet even the wildest rush of the torrent was infinitely preferable to the sluggishness and stagnation which reigned before. The Wesleys and Whitefield were soon surrounded by listening thousands, many of them men for whose souls no one had hitherto cared, and on whose ears now fell, for the first time, the warnings and offers of the Gospel. Church dignitaries fretted and fumed at these disorderly proceedings; though they might have remembered that, as Wesley says, "one pretty remarkable precedent of field-preaching" is to be found in the Sermon on the Mount. But with all their reverence for the Church, these fervid evangelists were not to be driven from their labour of love, even by a bishop's frown. "You have no business here," said the Bishop of Bristol to Wesley, "you are not commissioned to preach in this diocese." "My Lord," said Wesley, "my business on earth is to do what good I can. Wherever, therefore, I think I can do most good, there must I stay so long as I think so. At present I think I can do most good here, therefore here I stay." The pulpits were generally shut against them; but this, instead of silencing, only drove them the more to preach in the open air, where tens of thousands listened to their message, who never would have entered within the walls of a church to hear it.

But the frown of the regular clergy, was far from being the only or the most formidable opposition, which the early Methodists had to encounter. They were violently persecuted,—and the narrative of these persecutions is one of the strangest chapters in their history. It is sad to think that, in a Christian land, those who were preaching the Gospel of the grace of God, and who could have no other aim or object than the good of their hearers, should be assailed and put in peril of their lives by fierce and brutal mobs, composed of men and women who had themselves been baptised into the Christian Church, and who called themselves Christians. We read, till we are absolutely

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sickened with the details, of Methodist preachers being hustled, pelted with stones and filth, dragged by the hair of the head through the streets, and trampled bleeding in the mire; of men and women plundered and maltreated; of soldiers sentenced, one to receive two hundred, and another five hundred lashes, for attending a Methodist meeting, *when off duty*, etc., etc. We might fill pages with the hideous recitals, and yet the worst would remain to be told. No honourable mind can learn, without indignation and disgust, that these abominble atrocities were, in many cases, openly encouraged by the gentry and the clergy; not unfrequently by some of both these orders who were in the Commission of the Peace, and occasionally by some of *both* these orders, who were at the moment in a state of intoxication. "We find and present," said an English jury, when receiving — or rather when throwing out — the depositions of some of the sufferers, "We find and present Charles Wesley to be a person of ill-fame, a vagabond and a common disturber of his Majesty's peace, and we pray he may be transported."!

When scenes like these occurred in England, one cannot be surprised to read of men and women present at a Methodist meeting in Ireland, being "beaten without mercy;" the preacher being knocked down, "one thrusting a stick into his mouth, another tramping upon his face, swearing that he would 'tread the Holy Ghost out of him,'" etc., etc. It is pleasing to us, as North Britons, to think that though Wesley might occasionally have to complain of a Scottish congregation, "which seemed to know everything and to feel nothing," no similar proceedings disgraced our Presbyterian country. Meanwhile, fed continually by the untiring labours of its founder and the preachers appointed by him, and organized by the sagacity and administrative talent which so pre-eminently characterised him, the system of Methodism began to take shape and consistency. Wesley was not content, like Whitefield, simply to Christianize great multitudes of men. He would not leave the "babies in Christ" to walk alone, or find support to their tottering steps wherever they could; whether from the clergy, or in the chance fellowship of private Christians. He surrounded each of them with suitable counsel, and provided needful superintendence,—thus linking the several parts of the mechanism together by a strong yet flexible chain. With a zeal which burned like a fire, and consumed every personal feeling of reluctance or self-indulgence; with a courage which braved the most appalling dangers; with a determination which bore him right onward over obstacles which would have staggered the timid and repulsed the feeble; with a capacity for work which hardly knew weariness or claimed repose, and a capacity for administration, which moulded with plastic skill the rough materials with which he had to deal, into form and symmetry; with a heaven-inspired devotedness which breathed the spirit of his Divine Master,—"My meat is to do the will of my Father, and to finish His work;" and with a band of ardent coadjutors, whom he raised up, or rather whom God raised up, to second his efforts and to share his toils; and above all, with the blessings of the Most High upon his and their labours, Wesley soon had thousands belonging to his societies, and calling themselves without scruple by the once despised name of Methodists.

But we are to keep it full in view, that in all this, John Wesley never intended to establish a separate ecclesiastical community, or to detach his converts from the Church of England. This pregnant and remarkable fact should at least exempt him from the imputation of ambitiously aiming at making himself a name as the founder of a sect. But it deserves careful consideration on many other grounds. His resolute and tenacious clinging to the Established Church, and his desire to frame his own institute—or rather to regulate his *societies* —so as to give scope to this strong attachment, and harmonize, if possible, with this fond adherence, materially affected the constitution of the Wesleyan system, and modified its course. Indeed, the relation of Wesley and Wesleyanism to the Church of England, is one of the departments of this subject which deserve special attention. As to Wesley himself, it is certain that, amid obloquy and insults heaped upon him for half a century, and fierce opposition to his efforts for the salvation of souls, he cherished an undying love for the Church, and was most unwilling to become, or to be called, a separatist. No man was more tender of her reputation or more anxious for her welfare. No man with a spirit so high as Wesley's, and, as has been sometimes alleged, so imperious and impatient of contradiction, could, unless animated with profound reverence and affection, have borne the treatment which he had to endure from his mother church and her clergy, without being driven into hostility and hatred. Towards her, at least, he largely manifested that charity which "suffereth long and is kind," which "envieth not, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not

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easily provoked, thinketh no evil, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things;" and, in this respect, as in so many others, his mantle has, to a wonderful extent, fallen upon his successors. Even in the state of separation, into which the Church did so much to *force* them to enter, they have cherished towards her feelings, not merely of forbearance, but of kindness and good-will, which have been but coldly acknowledged and but scantily reciprocated.

We remarked that Wesley's stanch adherence to the Church had an important bearing upon the constitution of his societies. It followed from it that Methodism, as it came from the hands of its founder, was not properly *a Church*, but *a society within a Church;* not a distinct and complete ecclesiastical institute, but an auxiliary, or supplement, or appendage, to the national institute already existing. Thus, he admonishes his preachers to attend the Church at least two Sundays every month, and denies that the service of the Methodists is "public worship," in such a sense as to supersede the Church service. "It presupposes public prayer, like the sermons at the University." "If the people put ours in place of the Church service, we *hurt* them that stay with us, and *ruin* them that leave us." In harmony with these views, so frequently and forcibly expressed, was the constant declaration of Wesley, that his preachers were mere laymen, having no right to administer the sacraments, or to assume the designation of ministers, or clergy, or the title of *reverend.*

From all this it follows that the Wesleyan system was not framed after what was in reality—or even after what appeared to its founder to be—the New Testament model of a Church, just because it was not designed to be a Church at all. It was constructed piece-meal, as experience required, and as new emergencies called for new provisions. The Conference, the District, and Quarterly, and Leaders' Meetings, the Circuit and Superintendent, the Class and its Leader, Itinerancy and Lay Preaching,—these and other parts of the vast machinery of Methodism, were instituted, not primarily or professedly, because Scripture expressly prescribed them as necessary component parts of, and as together constituting, the external economy of a Church of Christ, but because they were deemed important auxiliaries, and useful arrangements in carrying on, *in the bosom of the Church of England*, the great work of converting sinners, and building up believers in their most holy faith. Hence it occurs, that intelligent and candid Wesleyans, like the biographer of Dr. Bunting, freely admit that "Methodists do not profess to rest their ecclesiastical policy upon any *jus divinum.*"—P. 84, *note.* It is interesting to observe how, in spite of Wesley's fond predilections, and strong prejudices, and resolute struggles, and firm will, and sovereign authority, his societies were gradually falling, even in his own day, into a distinctive ecclesiastical mould, and admitted an organization which paved the way for a separate denominational existence. Some lament that he did not bind his societies indissolubly to the Church: we can only marvel at the tenacity with which he clung to her. What was anticipated by others, and dreaded by himself, occurred soon after his death. Yet so reluctant were many, even then, formally to withdraw from the Establishment, that we find, in the life of Dr. Bunting, that when he was on probation in the Macclesfield Circuit, in 1803, "service during church hours not having been yet introduced into the Methodist Chapel, he was able frequently to attend the vigorous ministry of Mr. Horne"—an Episcopal minister—"and he communicated occasionally at his church."—P. 148.

Ere we pass from the Methodism of Wesley's day, and the career of that extraordinary man, we have a few additional remarks to offer. We have seen that Wesley did not owe his success, in any measure, to the exhibition of a new church, claiming to be more scriptural and complete in its constitution than the existing Establishment. Nor did it flow from the promulgation of new doctrines, although so obsolete had the old doctrines become in many parishes, that we read of the people, in one place, engaging in high debate as to what religion the preacher (Wesley) was of, some averring that he was a Quaker, others insisting that he was an Anabaptist, till a village oracle solved the problem and settled the controversy, by pronouncing him to be a Presbyterian Papist.

Nor did Wesley attract men to him by speaking smooth things, and crying, "Peace, peace," while there was no peace. He and his fellow-labourers proclaimed the total depravity of the natural man, and the absolute necessity of the great and thorough spiritual change called conversion, and offered to their hearers a free and present salvation through an all-sufficient Saviour. Under God, we ascribe Wesley's success, *instrumentally*, to that noble characteristic which pre-eminently distinguished him, and which has distinguished all great men, and been productive of all great achievements,

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the characteristic of *hard work.* It was not by the magic of genius that he won his triumphs. Universally, indeed—at least the exceptions are marvellously few—it has been by strenuous, persevering toil—by *sheer hard work*—that even great men have achieved great results.

So it was with Wesley. When we read his journal and letters, we discover the secret of the spread of Methodism, in so far as it depended upon human instrumentality. For example, under the date of Friday—not *Sunday*, be it observed—the 11th July 1765, when he was in his sixty-third year, we have this record, "Preached at five; again at nine, in the new house at Stokesley; came to Gainsborough a little before twelve, and preached immediately; then rode on to Whitby, and preached at seven." Writing from Dumfries, on June 1st 1790, he says, "I doubt I shall not recover my strength till I use the noble medicine, preaching in the morning." Well may Mr Bunting exclaim, "To think of an early morning preaching"—*i.e.*, at five A.M.—"curing the ailments of a man in the eighty-eighth year of his age!" All the pages at our disposal might be filled with similar illustrations of this splendid capacity for work.

And these labours of Wesley and his confreres were carried on amid many outward discomforts. We have referred to the persecutions which they endured, but they had other hardships to encounter. "Brother Nelson," said Wesley, one morning about three o'clock, to his companion, as they lay on the floor, where they had lain every night for near three weeks, one of them having a greatcoat for a pillow, and the other "Burkitt's Notes on the New Testament;" "Brother Nelson, let us be of good cheer, I have one whole side yet, for the skin is off but on one side." Then look at Mr. Thomas Taylor, paying 3s. a week for room, fire, and attendance in Glasgow, often telling the landlady not to provide anything for dinner, dressing himself a little before noon, and walking out, then coming in to his "hungry room with a hungry belly," thus making her think that he had dined out, and so saving his credit. We read of an entry in the society book of a certain city to this effect, "7s. 6d. for turning the assistant preacher's coat to make it fit the second preacher." In the Bradford Circuit book for 1770, the whole annual income of the preacher for food, clothes, books, and all other necessaries, *for himself and his family*, is stated to be less than L.33. Assuredly it could not be for filthy lucre that *any* man, educated or not, could engage in a work of which the wages amounted to such a pittance as this. These circumstances made the hard work of the early Methodist preachers harder still. Yet we find Wesley labouring after the fashion now indicated, from day to day, and from year to year, through more than half a century. It is truly a noble spectacle to contemplate, such a long lifetime of toil expended in such a cause. We must not, of course, say that it absolutely *deserved* success, but we do say that it was the most likely of all things to obtain it.

And when treating of this subject, we may observe that the example of Wesley has been extensively followed by his successors. No one, indeed, will affirm that they have universally or generally manifested a zeal and assiduity equal to his. Had they done so, there would scarcely, we believe, have been at this momant, a man, woman, or child, in England, ignorant of the way of salvation. This, however, was not to be expected. Men like Wesley are not so rife. But the volume before us contains ample evidence of the possession by others of an admirable aptitude for work. "My circuit," wrote John Bennet in 1750, "is one hundred and fifty miles in two weeks, during which time I preach thirty-four times, besides meeting the societies and visiting the sick," p. 3. Half a century later, "Brother Solomon Ashton" describes his *walks* and labours in the Lancaster circuit. "Eighty-two miles and eleven sermons the first week; forty-three miles and nine sermons the second," and so on. "This," he adds, "was my first month's work on foot. The fatigue of walking and talking, rain by day, damp beds by night, etc., have caused me to suffer very much in health," p. 123. During the two years which young Bunting spent in the Oldham circuit, "he preached six hundred and twenty-eight times in his own circuit, and twenty-two times out of it," p. 126. In his four years of probation, "he preached thirteen hundred and forty-eight times," p. 149. We are told of an old gentleman, still surviving, who "walked with Adam Clarke, during the three years of his residence in London, six thousand miles, heard him preach nine hundred sermons (eight hundred and ninety-eight of which were from different texts)." Work like this carried on for a long course of years, and over the whole empire, could not fail, by the blessing of God, to be extensively successful.

In sketching, however rapidly, the history of Methodism, one loves to linger upon the character and career of Wesley. He lived so long and bulked so large, that it is not easy to lose sight of him. Fettered as he

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was by his devoted allegiance to the Church of England, hampered and hindered as was his rare talent for organising, by the fear of invading existing ecclesiastical authority, yet impelled irresistibly onwards by his ardent zeal for the conversion of sinners, and his anxious concern for the growth in grace of his converts, this great evangelist went resolutely on, doing most energetically the work to which he felt himself called, preaching the Gospel, tending and training his spiritual children, and providing for the oversight and government of his rapidly multiplying societies. We follow his footsteps with unflagging interest for upwards of sixty years, from the days of the "godly club" at Oxford, onwards to the time when, in 1790, he presided over his last Conference, and when the circuits in the British dominions numbered 119, served by 313 preachers, and comprising 77,000 members; and, in addition to these, there were 97 circuits, 198 preachers, and 43,000 members in the United States. With what feelings must the venerable Wesley have contemplated the prodigious results of his apostolic labours! Before another Conference, he had entered into his rest and reward; and when *at length* he rested from his labours, of few men that ever lived could it be said with so much truth and emphasis, that "his works do follow him." "There may come a time," said Southey, some forty years ago, "when the name of Wesley will be more generally known, and in remoter regions of the globe, than that of Frederic or of Catherine." Assuredly that time has already come.

Wesley passed away; but the vast mechanism which he had constructed did not fall in pieces or come to a stand. The hopes of enemies, and the fears of friends, were alike disappointed. Another Wesley, indeed, could not be found, nor could any one stand in the same relation to the societies which he had formed. It was impossible, therefore, to perpetrate such an autocracy as he had exercised, and if it had been possible, it would not have been desirable. But the conference which had met annually for almost half a century, through which, and in whose name, Wesley had governed the societies, and which he had formally designated, by the legal Deed of Declaration, his successors in power, now firmly grasped—if we must not say the *sceptre*—at least the *helm*, and the good ship moved steadily forward in her course. She did not, indeed, escape some stiff gales, which now and then rent a sail, and snapped a spar, and on more than one occasion severely tested the seaworthiness of the vessel, but she bore bravely on; and though she sometimes reeled and staggered in the storm, she never foundered, nor, though once or twice very near the breakers, did she ever run aground.

In looking at Methodism after the death of Wesley, we miss, of course, the grand central figure—the master-spirit which had so long directed all its movements; and the men whom he left behind must have missed him much more. They would feel every hour the want of his sagacity and authority in couusel, his skill and promptitude in administration, his energy and unquenchable ardour in action. But it was not merely that his seat of supremacy was empty, and that the blank was sorely felt. There were grave questions, which a respectful deference to his feelings and authority had kept in abeyance while he lived, and, we were about to say, *reigned*, which now urgently clamoured for a settlement. Were the tens of thousands who had grown up in the bosom of Methodist families, or had been converted by Methodist preachers, both of which classes had scarcely known, and had never valued any other religious services than those held in Methodist chapels — were they still to profess a nominal adherence to the Church of England, and were they to deny themselves, or suffer themselves to be deprived of sealing ordinances within what they could not but esteem their *own* communion? They had in the Wesleyan preachers the only ministers of the Gospel from whom they had ever derived spiritual benefit; were they to go to others, of whom they knew nothing, and who might possibly refuse and repel them, for the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper? They had hitherto yielded to Mr. Wesley's wishes; hut was the glaring anomaly to continue? In short, was Wesleyan Methodism to be *a church*, or was it to be a mere appendage or supplement to the English Establishment? The moment was critical, the question vital. Warm and wide-spread discussion took place as to whether the sacraments should be administered in Wesleyan chapels, and by Wesleyan preachers; and it required all the cautious wisdom of the Conference to prevent an explosion. The danger was averted by the adoption of a prudent "Plan of Pacification," which permitted, under certain regulations, the sacraments to be administered; and thus was Wesleyan Methodism launched as a distinct and independent branch of the Church of Christ.

Then came the controversy raised by Alexander Kilham regarding the infusion of the lay element into Wesleyan legislation, and the admission of the people to share in the management of all Connexional affairs. A small secession was the immediate result;

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but often since that period has the struggle been renewed.

It was while these controversies were going on, that young JABEZ BUNTING began to look with an inquiring and intelligent eye at the working of Methodism. And so controlling did his influence speedily become, that his biography will be found to include the history of the Connexion for more than half a century. "During this period," says Grindrod, in his "Compendium of the Laws and Regulations of Methodism;" referring to the thirty years preceding 1841—and the remark would be equally applicable to the subsequent fifteen years—"Our legislation bears intrinsic evidence of being the production of one superior mind; other parties may have contributed original suggestions and emendations; but it is obvious that one master-hand, for the last generation, has framed the great majority of the acts of our Conference. Besides many minor regulations dispersed through our annual minutes, the invaluable system of finance, particularly in the department of the Contingent Fund, the entire constitution of the Missionary Society, of the Theological Institution, and of our Sunday schools, were framed by the same honoured minister."—*Introduction*, p. xv. Of course, the "honoured minister" referred to can be none other than Dr. Bunting; and we shall find, that the services here indicated form only a small, though in themselves important part of what he did for Methodism, during his long and active career. On the occasion of his death, the Irish Conference spoke of him as the "ever-to-be-venerated Jabez Bunting." The French Conference say, "A great moral light has disappeared in England; a sun has set among you." And the British Conference reply, "In the death of Dr. Bunting we have lost our wisest counsellor and our most able defender." And, in the minute upon his death, this sentence occurs: "The most precious gifts of nature, rich and copious endowments of heavenly grace, and a favourable conjunction of providential circumstances, improved with extraordinary faithfulness and diligence, made him, during more than half a century, whether in or out of office, 'more honourable than his brethren,' in a degree at once wonderful and indubitable."—*Minutes of Conference*, 1858. Such was the estimation in which Dr. Bunting was held in his own Connection. We might fill pages with similar testimonies from eminent men in other communions. We content ourselves, for brevity's sake, with quoting one of the pithiest and most comprehensive of them all, viz., that in which Dr. Chalmers pronounced him to be "one of the best and wisest of men."

Dr. Bunting owed little of his fame or his high position to his published writings, for these were exceedingly few and unobtrusive. But as a man of action and counsel, as a preacher and debater, as a ruler of men and administrator of affairs, and consequently, as a man of weight and momentum, of power and influence, he was without a rival in the Wesleyan Connexion since the days of its founder. It cannot be uninteresting, and it ought not to be uninstructive, to trace the career of the individual who left his mark so deeply engraven upon the whole system of Methodism, and through it upon the world at large. We must confine ourselves to the more prominent incidents recorded in this Memoir; or those which may seem best fitted to illustrate the character of the man, or the distinguishing features of the community to which he belonged, and of the times in which he lived. We hoped and expected to have had the completed biography in our hands before commencing this article; but we have still to regret the want of that part of the work which, of necessity, will specially treat of the public life of Dr. Bunting. While, however, the absence of this volume is, in one sense, the more to be regretted on account of the prominence and publicity of the topic of which it will have to treat; in another, it is of less moment on that very account, inasmuch as the leading incidents which it will record, are already before the world,—and the part which the principal actor performed, is tolerably well-known, or may be readily ascertained from other sources. Besides, apart from the subjects with which the next volume must deal, and upon which we can only touch slightly at present, we shall find, in the portion of the Memoir already published, ample materials to occupy all the remaining space at our disposal.

Jabez Bunting was born at Manchester in 1779. "Of my father's ancestors," says the biographer, "I read in quiet church-yards in the Peak of Derbyshire, the simple story that they lived and died." And in connection with this we have, at the outset, one of the many genial and suggestive remarks in which this volume abounds. "It was soon after the birth" of Mary Redfern, Dr. Bunting's mother, "that the first Methodist preachers began their mission in the Peak. Wesley had sent them, not so much to the masses, already partially supplied with Christian ordinances, as to those 'who needed them most;' and on many a broad parish, and into many a dark hamlet throughout the land, the doctrine of a personal, happy, and active religion, flashed as with the brightness of a new revelation from

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heaven. In this age of great cities, let not the claims of the few and destitute be forgotten; of the plain and impressible country-folk, who still form the strength and staple of the English people. Such was one of the latest counsels bequeathed by Jabez Bunting to his successors in the work of Methodism."—P. 2.

Mary Redfern heard Richard Boardman preach from the text, "And Jabez was more honourable than his brethren, etc.," 1 Chron. iv. 9, 10. That sermon made a deep and lasting impression upon the maiden; and ten years afterwards, she gave the name Jabez "to her first and only son, a solemn record of her pious gratitude, and a presage, not then understood, of his future character and history," p. 9. Of this estimable woman it is recorded, — and but for the feminine noun and pronoun, one might fancy that the description was designed for her son,—"She was a woman of excellent judgment, quick perception, firm will, and very active habits; and if somewhat haughty, was yet of a generous and tender spirit. Grace subdued her pride, and sanctified her various faculties to the service of God in her own vocation," p. 15. A mother like this would train her son wisely and well; and among other amiable traits in that son's character, were the sentiments of profound gratitude, and respect, and affection, which he cherished for his mother. "Before his marriage, he regularly gave her one-half of his income; which, board and lodging being provided for him wherever he chanced to reside, never amounted to twenty pounds a-year. In his poorest and most pinching days afterwards, —if, indeed, they can be distinguished from the rest,—he took upon him the sole charge of eking out her scanty resources, so as to provide her with comforts at least equal to his own," p. 16.

Mary Redfern's husband and Jabez Bunting's father, was a tailor by trade, a Methodist in religion, and a radical in politics. For a tailor to be a radical is nothing extraordinary; but a radical *Wesleyan* tailor is, we presume, a phenomenon much less frequently met with.

The only memorable circumstance recorded of Bunting's infancy, is his being taken by his mother to be presented to Wesley, in Oldham Street Chapel, and his being devoutly blessed by the venerable apostle. Wesley, we have said, had no successor in the government of his societies; but if any one was ever to make an approach to his lofty position, the child who then received his benediction was to be the man. The parents of Jabez Bunting gave him a superior education. We read that at the school which he attended for several years, "the Septuagint and the Greek Testament; the Greek and Latin Classics; English, Greek, and Latin composition, both in prose and verse; the translation of French; the Psalter in Hebrew; the correct and emphatic reading and recitation of English; Geography; Astronomy; and the elements of Natural Philosophy, were all included in the *curriculum* through which he passed," p. 25. We must not lay too much stress upon the circumstance of all these subjects of study being *in the curriculum*, for from what we know of such schools in England, we surmise that putting them *there* and getting them into the heads of the pupils, are two very different things. But there can be no doubt, that the young scholar was diligent and successful in his studies, and became—Methodist as he was—a favourite both with his schoolfellows and his teacher.

Introductory to the account of Jabez Bunting's conversion, we have a paragraph on the subject of baptismal regeneration, which we do not altogether comprehend, and which we may say, is the only passage in the volume with respect to which we are in this uncomfortable predicament. Then we are informed how the mother watched, with anxious and prayerful longing, for tokens of grace in her son, and how, at length, in his sixteenth year, the fervent desire of her heart was satisfied. Joseph Benson's preaching had deeply impressed his soul; and Alexander Mather's discipline, accompanied by a solemn word from his mother, brought him to a decision. He joined the society; and on his first ticket of membership, prepared and printed in London, he formed a part of the Prayer of Jabez, "Oh that Thou wouldest bless me indeed, and that Thou wouldest keep me from evil!" "I can imagine him," says the biographer, "taking it home and showing it to his mother, but scarcely how she felt when she read it."—P. 39.

At the age of sixteen he entered the house of Dr. Percival, a distinguished Manchester physician, to act as the doctor's amanuensis, and at the same time to acquire a knowledge of his profession. This arrangement promised great worldly advantages to the young pupil; but his careful mother stipulated that he should sleep at home, "thus gently detaining him under the spell of domestic piety." With Dr. Percival he read and conversed upon all subjects, wrote extensively to his dictation, studied general literature, and "familiarized himself with the discussion of public events, in their relation to order, happiness, and religion." He associated on free and friendly terms with the intelligent and well-bred visitors of the fa-

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mily; and this intercourse, acting upon the substratum of his own inherent good feeling and good sense, communicated insensibly that politeness and polish which sat so gracefully upon him, and which led some one, in after years, to say of him, with reference to Wesley's injunction to his preachers, not to "affect the gentleman," "Dr. Bunting does not *affect* the gentleman, he *is* one." "Altogether," says the biographer, "he was, by the time he attained his twentieth year, a man ripe for the business of life; with well-tried tools in well-skilled hands, ready for use in whatever kind of speculative or practical labour he might be called to follow. Best of all sciences, he had learned thoroughly how to work."—P. 53.

It would be mere pedantry to deny that the training through which young Bunting passed comprised in it many of the elements of a really *good* education; yet it would not be fair, either to the author or the subject of this biography, to refrain from quoting the candid and sensible view taken by both, of the importance of a strictly professional training to a minister of the Gospel: "It is impossible to repress a feeling of regret that he was not subjected to courses of study more directly relating to the sacred calling. He himself always mourned over his irreparable lack of such an advantage."—P. 49.

At the age of seventeen he founded a young men's religious society, which exercised and strengthened both his gifts and graces, and soon he became a regular "prayer-leader." And here occurs a beautiful passage, for which we must make room, both on account of what it tells of the Methodism of the period, and the hint which it furnishes to other churches in dealing with what is confessedly one of the greatest and most difficult of problems, "the evangelization of the masses." "In those days the main strength and efforts of zealous young Methodists were spent upon the adult rather than upon the young; and Manchester was pervaded by a system of prayer-meetings, held principally after chapel hours, on Sunday evenings, by means of which the "water of life," fresh from the fountain of the sanctuary, was carried to large multitudes of people, who themselves never fetched it. Small companies were collected together, generally in cottages; and the simple services attracted ready and general sympathy. Short hymns, short prayers, and short, but earnest addresses—exercises suited, not to the stated worship of the church, but to the awakening of ignorant and careless sinners, roused the attention of the people; and a respect for religion was induced, where its power was unknown, or but little felt. At these meetings, too, many who longed for the privileges of the Sabbath, but busy, persecuted, or ashamed of ragged poverty, habitually went without them, hailed its dawn as its curfew sounded; and while the bell rang out the day, seized eagerly its evening blessing. And great was the advantage realized by those who led the humble devotions. It was the drill of the private: it was that and much more to those who were thereafter to head the armies of Israel. City missions are a great modern institute; but the agency of which I now speak, is something even simpler and more extensive, and bores more deeply and directly into the lowest strata of society. It is not the casual, nor even the periodical visit, however useful, of the hired missionary, but the erection, in every lane and alley, of the standard of Gospel ordinances. And all of average intelligence may, under proper regulations, engage in this work. It requires no pecuniary outlay; it may be set about the very next Sunday evening; and, even when conducted on the largest scale, it is happily disencumbered of all that apparatus of wheel and weight which impedes so many efforts to do good."—Pp. 66, 67.

When he had completed his nineteenth year, Jabez Bunting, without at once abandoning the study of medicine, began to act as a local preacher. Some who heard his first sermon in a cottage, always maintained that it was never excelled by him afterwards, "either as to its matter, manner, or manifest effect." But the biographer anxiously and wisely interposes the remark, that this "early popularity and influence were due, not so much to his rare talents, as to his careful cultivation of them." "And thus," he adds, in that quiet vein of caustic humour in which he sometimes indulges, "those in every position to whom 'much,' and those to whom 'little is given'—all, indeed, except the men who, having little, think it so much, that they do not care to make the most of it, may learn a profitable lesson."—P. 96.

But the all-important question had now to be decided, Was this young man to prosecute his medical studies, and become a Manchester physician, with, probably, an extensive practice and a large income, or was he to devote his life to the hard, and pecuniarily ill-requitted work of the Wesleyan ministry? And in dealing with this question, we have a striking and characteristic specimen of his manner of looking at a subject in all its bearings, stating the reasons *pro* and *con* with great candour and distinctness, numbering them in order, 1, 2, 3, etc., and calmly and deliberately making up his mind as to the course of duty, ready and

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resolved to adopt *that*, at whatever cost. Happily, if not in number, at least in weight, the reasons in favour of the ministry preponderated, and cheerfully, and without a murmur, surrendering the prospects of affluence which were opening before him, he embraced the profession in which he was persuaded he should be "most happy and most useful;" and in 1799 he set out on foot for Oldham, on his first circuit, as a probationer, carrying his luggage in a pair of saddle-bags, his uncle and class-leader, Joseph Redfern, walking with him some distance, and at a lone spot on the road, kneeling down, and asking the blessing of God upon the young preacher.

Along with notices of his pulpit and pastoral labours, we have the characteristic tradition, that even at that early period he "stood by his order." He refused to retire from a quarterly meeting, as the preacher had been expected to do, during the discussion of certain questions; and it was indignantly remarked, that "a good old rule had that day been set aside, to please that proud son of Adam, Jabez Bunting."

From Oldham he went to Macclesfield, where he completed his four years' term of probation. We have quoted a passage referring to the operations of Methodism among the scattered population of rural districts; it is but just to quote another, which speaks of its no less effective labours in the midst of the densely peopled manufacturing towns:

"Macclesfield, like Manchester, and other towns in the district, was then rising rapidly into importance as a great seat of industry; and, during the latter half of the last century, Methodism seized as its own, though not with a selfish exclusiveness, the places where men gathered thickly together. The historians of our country have failed to tell how Methodism, with its simple agencies for the conversion of the common people, attended upon the rise of the manufacturing system; and in the dearth or famine of all other provision, made safe and beneficial the vast and sudden increase of the population, and of its means of wealth."—P. 155.

It certainly would not be easy to estimate, though it is a pleasure to acknowledge, the deep debt which the nation owes to Wesleyan Methodism, for its services to the ever-accumulating swarms of our mining and manufacturing population.

While at Macclesfield, we learn that this popular young Methodist preacher was offered Episcopal orders and an incumbency, but that "he promptly rejected all such overtures." It is vain to speculate upon what might have followed if they had been accepted. One thing is tolerably clear, that with the existing constitution of the Church of England, and the obstructions to a leading mind making its influence felt through all her borders, Methodism would have lost more by Bunting's conformity than the Episcopal Church would have gained; and as to himself, instead of the Dr. Bunting with whose name and fame the distant isles of the sea are familiar, he would have dwindled into a comfortable, creditable rector, useful to his parishioners, and perhaps rather troublesome to his bishop, from a stubborn propensity to judge for himself and to take his own way. He did well—for others and for himself—to remain where he was.

We are told that at this time "the pulpit received his first attention, not so much because its claims were instant and almost daily, as because he knew that the secret of ministerial influence lies chiefly there. He never missed an opportunity of hearing a sermon. He carefully copied and preserved skeletons and sketches. His own preparations were full and elaborate, and were subjected to continual revision," p. 148. As the period of his probation drew to a close, we find preparations of another kind. "Every Methodist preacher, when his probation has ended, and he is fully received and recognised as a minister, but not before, is entitled to charge the Connexion with the maintenance of a wife," p. 149. The curious record drawn up on the occasion is frankly given by the biographer, with the very just remark, that "it supplies many suggestions to young ministers whose thoughts may be similarly occupied; and it is a striking exhibition of the writer's characteristic qualities." For the latter reason, if not for the former, we greatly value the record; and if our space had permitted, we should gladly have transferred it to our pages for our readers' gratification and benefit, both as "supplying suggestions to those whose thoughts may be similarly occupied," and as being highly characteristic of the subject of this memoir. There is first of all a clear statement of the question at issue, and, for a lover, a marvellously calm and candid discussion of it; and combined with all this, there is manifest throughout a quiet but thorough determination to do whatever should be seen to be the *right* thing. "There are two questions," he says, "to be seriously considered. May God graciously direct my paths, and enable me to judge aright! 1. The first question is *general*, viz., *Shall I marry, or take any step toward marriage at present?*" Then he states in order what may be urged, first, on the *affirmative* side, and, secondly, on the *negative* side of this general question, and concludes—"After the most deliberate

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consideration, accompanied with solemn abstinence and prayer, my judgment is that the balance of argument is greatly in favour of matrimony as soon as convenient;" and in vindication of the soundness of this conclusion, he proceeds quietly and effectually to demolish and pound to atoms the whole array of objections to the step. But then comes a *second* question: "Is Miss —— a proper person to be addressed by me on the subject?" Then follow ten good strong reasons *in favour* of the proposed application, and six weak ones *against* it. No one can doubt for a moment either what the decision is to be, or that in arriving at it strong affection was linked to and controlled by a still stronger sense of duty. We cannot help saying that the portrait of the lady in question, drawn by the hand of her son, is one of the most exquisite of the many charming sketches of this fascinating volume.

Immediately on being "received into full connexion," young Bunting was stationed in London. We have from the pen of the venerable Dr. Leifchild a beautiful notice of him as he appeared at that period. The writer speaks of him as "calm and self-possessed in the pulpit," of the "clear and commanding tones of his voice," of "the flow of strong manly sense in his sermons;" and dwells upon that singular richness and fervency of prayer which even then characterised him, and for which he was all his life remarkable. "I was charmed and delighted while I was instructed. Never before had I heard such preaching. Other preachers, indeed, excelled him in some points, but none that I ever heard equalled him as a whole."—P. 166.

Fortunately we have the benefit of the letters which at this time he wrote to his betrothed, and are thus admitted to the privacy of his inmost thoughts, as well as to the inspection of his daily work. And we must say, that the perusal of these letters, written in such circumstances, greatly enhance our estimate of his piety and devotedness, his warmth of heart, soundness of judgment, sterling good sense, and the manliness, and worth, and weight of his whole character. At a still earlier period, we find this young man writing to one of his most intimate associates in terms which, for friendliness and fidelity, we consider too characteristic and remarkable to omit:—"As I am never likely to be able in any other way to testify my grateful sense of the obligations under which your friendship has placed me, I will endeavour to do it by acting towards you the part of a faithful friend, if I should ever have the pain to see you, while busied about many things, grow weary and faint in your mind concerning the one thing needful. I entreat you to perform the same brotherly office towards me, and to watch over me in love."—P. 140.

In the letters from London, we have many similar utterances of mingled affection and faithfulness, and many curious glimpses of the life of a Methodist preacher in the metropolis half a century ago. Among other things, the writer refers frequently and feelingly, though, we must say, in a different strain from that which John Wesley was wont to use, to the early morning preaching, at five o'clock. For example:—"*Thursday evening, September 8th.* I was so weary and drowsy this morning at five o'clock, that though I heard Mr. Taylor going out to preach, I had neither curiosity enough nor piety enough to rise and hear him. To-morrow I must be up, as it will be my own turn to conduct the early devotions of the sanctuary." But alas! the resolution had no better fate than many other *evening* resolutions of early rising, for we find it recorded next day—"I was very unfortunate this morning. I did not rise, for I did not wake, after day-light appeared, until half-past five o'clock. However, it does not appear to have been of much consequence. They seem to have been accustomed to such disappointments for some years; so that when Mr. Taylor preached yesterday, and informed them that they might expect me this morning, Mr. Lovelace, an old worn-out barrister, could not help expressing his belief that 'now there would be a revival in London, for there had been little good done since the morning preaching had been discontinued; and that the abandonment of this practice was the true cause of the present war.'" On this unlucky morning the extraordinary number of *twenty-one* had assembled to hear the new preacher. The average attendance seems to have ranged from *eight* to *thirteen.* "This seems to be the *ne plus ultra*, beyond which the attractions of my morning eloquence cannot avail." And he adds, in plain terms, "I view this service as a complete work of supererogation." Shade of Wesley! has it come to this? Seriously, however, we must confess that, looking at the change in the usages of society, we are entirely of young Bunting's opinion.

His old love for hearing sermons—so that they were not preached at five in the morning—remained strong within him. And very interesting are the notices which he gives of various celebrities of the period; some of them long since departed, and others but recently withdrawn from us, but *all* of them now gone. For example:—"After finishing my letters, I hastened to St. Mary Woolnoth, and had the pleasure of seeing

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and hearing, for the first time, the rector, Mr. Newton, 'venerable in virtues as in age.' He appears to be quite worn out, and tottering over the brink of the grave. His text was, 'Rejoice the soul of Thy servant.' There was nothing particularly interesting in his sermon, except as viewed in connection with the character and circumstances of the preacher. I love to hear old ministers." —P. 181. Again: "I went to Surrey Chapel, and heard a sort of lecture from Mr. Jay. Few preachers are able to extort tears from me, but he conquered me. When I hear such preaching as Mr. Jay's I am always ashamed of myself, and wonder that the people should ever like to listen to my poor swashy sermons."—*Ibid.* Again: "We went to hear Mr. Cecil. On the whole, I was very much delighted, though I acknowledge the justice of a critique on Mr. Cecil as a preacher, made in my hearing by Mr. Symons, a pious clergyman. He said, 'Mr. Cecil is a very wise preacher. He is a second Book of Ecclesiastes. Yet I should like him better, and he would do more good, if he were rather a Second Epistle to the Romans.'"—P. 217. One is disposed to smile at the terms in which the future financier of Methodism speaks of the steps—"bold, but certainly necessary"—which were taken about this time with respect to the management of the missionary funds. To us the *necessity* of the steps is much more obvious than the *boldness*, though we doubt not that, to a Methodist of that day, the boldness would seem much more palpable than the necessity. Hitherto the whole direction of this, as of all other *Connexional*, as distinct from *local*, funds, had been entrusted to, or assumed by, the preachers, or rather the Conference. The very gentlest and most limited infusion of the lay element was now attempted. "A committee of finance and advice" was appointed, and on that committee a few trusted laymen were placed. In a previous enactment, that circuit stewards should have a right to be present at the meetings of the district, and to *advise* at the settlement of all *financial* matters; and in the appointment, in 1803, of the committee, "to guard our religious privileges in these perilous times," of which the majority happened to be laymen, and one *a representative*, viz., the general steward of the London Circuit *for the time being*;—in these provisions is here traced the germ of the present financial policy of the Connexion,—a policy which, it is remarked, Jabez Bunting did not then conjecture "was to be distinctively and emphatically his own." As to missions, the "bold" measure of appointing a committee, in which there were *a few* laymen, issued at next Conference in the appointment of a committee, composed exclusively of preachers, "as *they choose* to manage their missions in future only by their general superintendent, and a committee chosen out of their own body." "So ended," says Mr. Bunting, "my father's first essay at developing the constitution of Methodism."

Jabez Bunting's next "essay" in a matter of public interest was not more successful. We find him, young as he still was, voted into the chair at a meeting of ministers of various denominations, for the purpose of establishing a Review, on the basis of "the doctrinal articles of the Church of England," but free from sectarian principles and peculiarities, for the defence and advancement of a common Christianity. The experiment failed. The Review—the *Eclectic*—was established, but its basis soon became less broad and catholic. The age was not ripe for the enterprise as originally planned, and other circumstances tended to render the well-meant design abortive. Wesleyan Methodists were not regarded with cordiality, either by the Nonconformists on the one hand, or by any section of the Established Church on the other. But Mr. Bunting points out, in a very striking passage, that there was a still more serious difficulty. "The frozen Establishment had begun to thaw, and, waking and warming into conscious life, had stretched its limbs, had begun to look about it, and discovering its powers, had displayed them in the sight of friend and foe. 'The common people' always 'heard it gladly,' and its parochial system gave it a quick, firm, and simultaneous grasp upon the entire country. No wonder, then, that those who thought they discerned in all state churches a tendency to evil rather than to good, were startled when they saw the Church of England in downright earnest, and would not feign friendship when they felt nothing but suspicion and dread. So it came to pass that when this strong man became a rejoicing competitor in the race for usefulness, and Methodism running all the faster, yet breathed out a welcome, bade him play fairly, and wished him quickly at the goal, the old Dissent stopped and questioned, saying now, that the strange racer carried too much weight, and now, that he had undue advantage; all which little heeding, he went on his way, and, as many think, got a fair century's start of those who tried to hinder him. But may all win!"—Pp. 237, 238. We are told that from this incident Dr. Bunting learned the lesson of caution respecting schemes of united action among

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Christians of different denominations, looking at them *keenly* rather than *coldly;* and while cordially supporting such institutions as the Bible Society and City Missions, and becoming an attached member of the Evangelical Alliance, as a manifestation of the substantial unity of Christians; yet, when a specific course of action was proposed, preferring that it should be carried on under the recognized direction and responsibility of some one branch of the Church of Christ.

When Jabez Bunting left London, after a residence of two years, at the early age of twenty-six, he was already a man of mark and high standing in the Connexion, and was looked upon as rapidly rising to the foremost place. In such a body, a young minister with his power in the pulpit, his general intelligence, his energy and fearlessness, his admirable good sense, his turn for business, and his over-mastering force of will, could never rest in a position of mediocrity.

His next circuit was Manchester, where he was distinguished for "that *active every-day discharge of the duties of a Methodist preacher, which is the best preparative for the general service of Methodism.*" We may extend very widely this just remark, and say, generally or universally, that the best preparative for our next sphere, whatever that may be, is the thorough and conscientious performance of the duties of our present one, whatever *that* may-be.

He was now a family man, yet his annual income, from all professional sources, did not exceed L.83. His letter to the Income-Tax Commissioners brings before us the Wesleyan system of ministerial support. "The societies do not support their ministers, as is usual among other religious denominations, by fixed and regular salaries; but by sundry small allowances, which differ considerably in different places, and which are varied, from time to time, according to the actual wants of the preachers, and in proportion to the number and necessities of their families." No wise man, familiar with the difficulties which beset this subject, and looking at the peculiar system of itinerancy subsisting in the Methodist Connexion, will venture captiously to criticise this method of supporting the ministry. We already know in part, and we hope to learn more in detail in the second volume, how Dr. Bunting laboured to ameliorate the pecuniary condition of Wesleyan ministers and their children. It is understood that Wesley's old rule of a penny a week and a shilling a quarter from each member, afforded important hints to Dr. Chalmers when devising the system of Free Church "economics," and that he anxiously consulted with Dr. Bunting on the subject. We are confident that, in so far as the different circumstances of the two churches would permit the application to the one of the experience of the other, the suggestions of the great Wesleyan financier and leader would be highly prized by his Presbyterian friend. Traces of the strong and steady hand and clear intelligence of Jabez Bunting, are to be found in the legislation of the Conference of 1807, as in the rule "insisting on the immediate emancipation of slaves belonging to any minister in the West Indies, or to his wife," that which regulates the jurisdiction of Conference considered as an appellate court, rather than a court of first instance, etc.

In his next circuit—Sheffield—he prosecuted vigorously his ministerial work, and, at the same time, looked around with a clear and comprehensive glance over the whole Connexion and all its affairs. His thoughts were now anxiously turned to the establishment of a collegiate institute for training young men for the ministry. He did not, indeed, advocate the systematic education of every man whom the grace and providence of God called to the work of the Methodist ministry; but he believed, as stated by his biographer, that "culture will, in most cases, improve both the flower and the fruit;" while at the same time he was ready to say, "If culture would weaken or destroy the plant, let it grow wild." After the persevering efforts of a quarter of a century, this object was at length accomplished. While in the Sheffield circuit, he strenuously assailed a practice which had come to be common among the Methodists in the north of England,—that of teaching writing in Sunday schools. How religious men and teachers of religion could reconcile this practice with the reverence for the Sabbath which they inculcated, it is not very easy to imagine. But so prevalent had the evil become, that it required all the commanding energy of Jabez Bunting to put it down; and, after his departure, it revived. His manner of dealing with this subject, and with some misunderstandings springing out of it, is highly characteristic; but we have not room for extracts.

As to his treatment of general Connexional affairs, we have the following succinct account:—"It was his policy to promote simultaneous improvements in all directions. Let the entrance to the ministry be still diligently guarded; let all the ancient usages of mutual inquiry and supervision, of itinerancy, and of sententation, be sacred-

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ly preserved; let the standard of literary, theological, and religious attainment be made higher and more uniform; in short, let the ministry be such as should command, without controversy or reluctance, the recognition and confidence of the people. But, at the same time, respect their rights," *i. e.*, the rights of the people; "secure their services in every department not assigned by the New Testament exclusively to the minister or to the pastorate; relieve the clergy from a burden which was greater than they could bear, and from wretched suspicions, ill-natured insinuations, and bitter calumnies; and pour the light of noon-day upon the smouldering fires of faction, so putting them out for ever. The two lines of action, so far from being diverse, were the two component parts of one complete and comprehensive system; and, as each was steadily and prudently pursued, it promoted and secured the other."—Pp. 360, 361.

When Lord Sidmouth proposed his nefarious Bill for *amending* the Toleration Act, Jabez Bunting stood boldly forward in opposition to the measure. It was in connection with this subject that he was first brought into contact with Richard Watson, and a friendship was begun which may truly be said to have been productive of momentous consequences to millions of the human race.

With the Conference of 1811 the first volume of this most interesting memoir closes, leaving its subject moving steadily upward to his inevitable pre-eminence,—a pre-eminence which was rather yielded to him than arrogated,—rather made over to him and recognised as being his by right of merit than ambitiously grasped at or eagerly assumed; and which, if referred to in Conference, must have been spoken of under another name than pre-eminence or supremacy.

The rest of Dr. Bunting's long and active career was passed, to a large extent, in the full view of the religious world. This will not make the second volume less welcome, —it only renders it less *necessary* for filling up the sketch of his life and character. Such a sketch we had designed to present; but our rapidly narrowing limits compel us to touch very slightly upon the subsequent events of his history, and to satisfy ourselves with indicating, in a very general way, some of the leading topics with which the coming volume will have to deal. It will exhibit the subject of the memoir in 1812—so early *for him* and so late *for the transaction*—taking a prominent part in procuring the passing of the law which repealed the *Five Mile* and *Conventicle* Acts, and which adjusted the relations of Nonconformists to the state; and, about the same time, zealously and energetically supporting the movement for opening India to Christianity. It will present him before us projecting that mighty enterprise, the establishment of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and, in conjunction with Morley, Watson, and others, presiding over its inauguration,—an event fraught with unspeakable important consequences and blessed results to myriads of mankind. We look for interesting details regarding Dr. Bunting's resolute adherence to the Anti-slavery Society at all hazards and at whatever cost; of his labours as editor of the *Wesleyan Magazine*, and the new and high tone which he imparted to the Connexional literature; of his advocacy of Catholic emancipation in opposition to the views of almost every minister and member of the religious body to which he belonged; of his other opinions and actings with respect to important measures of state policy; and of his London life when permanently located in the metropolis as missionary secretary, being now beyond all question the foremost man and the recognized representative of Wesleyan Methodism, and as such mingling in and influencing all the prominent religious movements of his time. We shall doubtless hear of his undisputed and skilful leadership of the Wesleyan counsels and Conference for the long period of thirty years, —of his great power in debate and singular administrative talent, and the profound respect and deference paid to him throughout the Connexion. And when this is spoken of, we shall not be surprised if we find it acknowledged in this frank and candid biography, that the great man before us had his failings,—that, for instance, there might occasionally be some reason for the offence which was now and then taken at the scathing sarcasms flung abroad in hot discussions, and that some of the complaints of imperiousness and arrogance which at one time were so rife, may possibly not have been altogether destitute of foundation. The faithful biographer of Luther would have to make the same admission. But it will also be shown that his immoveable adherence to the position which he took up so resolutely, and defended so stoutly or so sternly, was never for a moment linked to any mean or paltry scheme for his own aggrandisement. The narrative will, we believe, make it clear, that if Jabez Bunting had a giant's strength, and sometimes used it like a giant, he was only wielding not merely the influence which he had fairly won, but what his brethren had almost thrust upon him, and that all was done with a pure and single eye to the prosperity of the Wesleyanism which he so

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fondly loved. Among the many tributes to Dr. Bunting which we have seen, one of the most masterly is that which appeared some twenty years ago in an extremely clever book, with the foolish title of "Wesleyan Takings," from which we extract a passage bearing upon this particular feature of character. And we quote from this sketch the more readily, that it is understood to have been drawn by a very decided opponent of Dr. Bunting's policy, one of the leaders of the recent large secession from the Wesleyan ranks, Mr. Everett. After speaking of the feelings of jealousy which had been excited by Dr. Bunting's overwhelming influence in the Connexion, the writer proceeds :—

> "All acquit him of selfishness; all unite in giving him credit for the purest motives; and when his proceedings are viewed in the aggregate, he will be found to be generally philanthropic in his views, feelings, and purposes. And we again inquire, How has he obtained such ascendency in the body? Not by fraud, not by misconduct, but by lending his superior talents to promote the best interests of the Connexion. He has not satisfied himself with barely preaching, and quietly eating the bread of his labours; with pinning his mind down to the circuit in which he moved, like a fly whose prospect is bounded by the breakfast-table on which it alights; with taking Methodism as it had been handed to him, resolved to allow it to pass on in the same state: but he has taken an enlarged view of the whole; has looked upon Methodism as the mere creature of providential circumstances; and has been always on the watch for times and seasons, in order to mould its laws to the temper of the age—the changes and improvements experienced in society at large. He has kept his eye fixed on the working of the whole machinery, while others have attended to the rotatory motion of a single wheel; he has watched while others have slept; he has laboured while others have loitered. By attending to the interest of the whole, knowledge has poured in upon him from every quarter; men of inferior talent have committed their concerns into his hand; and now he reigns supreme, is equal to a king in Israel; with this security to the body—He is wise and good. No man was ever more useful—not Wesley himself—in the various offices he has sustained. He is, properly speaking, a man of business; not as it regards its bustle, for he might do more, but in the knowledge he brings to it, and the number of hands employed. The politics of Methodism have been his meat and drink, his daily study; and its laws and usages, subsequent to his entering upon public life, bear the impress of his mind."—*Wesleyan Takings*, pp. 11, 12.

We confidently anticipate that the completed record of his public career will show that he honestly did all that he deemed the Methodist constitution permitted, and all that, within that range, the highest talent and the soundest judgment, combined with the most intimate acquaintance with every portion of the complicated Wesleyan machine, and the most ardent desire for its efficiency, could accomplish, both for the independence and authority of the ministry, and in the way of recognising the rights, and enlisting the sympathies, and utilizing the energies of the people; admitting them extensively into committees, and employing them freely not only in managing the secular affairs of the Connexion, but summoning as many of them as possible to the exercise of spiritual functions, as local preachers, class leaders, etc. And whatever difference of opinion may have existed, or may still exist, regarding Dr. Bunting's policy, his biographer may well be permitted to point to the fact, that when he became a preacher, the members of the Wesleyan community, exclusive of those in the United States, numbered 120,000, and that when he retired into private life, the number had swelled to upwards of 400,000; and this in spite of considerable secessions, and notwithstanding all of the revived zeal of the Church of England, which Methodism had done so much to quicken and evoke, and which now provided for and absorbed multitudes who would otherwise have found their way into the Wesleyan ranks. And he may also point to the kindred fact, that the annual contributions from the Connexion for the support of missions to the heathen,—which, when Bunting originated the Missionary Society in 1813, amounted only to some L.5000, and when he, assumed the management on Watson's death in 1833, had advanced to L.47,000,—reached, when he retired in 1851, the noble sum of upwards of L.100,000, with more than a hundred thousand converts enrolled as members of society. And in addition to all that Dr. Bunting did for his own church, the biographer may point to his eminent services to the general cause of Christianity, and his readiness to aid what he believed to be the cause of truth and righteousness in communions far removed from his own, of which his ardent support of the Free Church movement in Scotland may serve as a specimen.

Of the manner in which the biographer has performed his part we can scarcely speak in too high terms. He has told the story of his father's life—so far as it has yet gone—with admirable tact, ability, and skill. This memoir is a singularly fresh and interesting work, containing much important information, and many valuable and suggestive remarks, and pervaded throughout by a genial, manly, Christian spirit, which it does one good to meet with. If we complain of anything, it is, that with exuberant good feeling the author has devoted too much space to sketches of his father's early friends. With

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all respect for these worthies, we must confess that we rather grudge them their room; and we shall be surprised if the biographer himself do not come, ere his next volume see the light, to be of our opinion. However, we condone the venial fault, partly because of the kindly feeling which led to it, and partly because these sketches are really very interesting in themselves, and are remarkably well executed. Altogether, we can express no better wish for Mr. Bunting as an author, than that he may be as successful with his second volume as he has been with the first. He will have to touch some delicate connexional questions, and to walk "per ignes suppositos cineri doloso." But we have great confidence that he will step firmly and freely, yet gently; and that, by the frank and honest record of his father's actings and opinions, he will not stir the embers of former controversies, or give reasonable offence to any.* And we are sure that he will have more to say of his warm affections, his urbanity and genuine kindness of heart, his modesty and lofty disinterestedness while intolerant of selfishness and conceit in others, his quiet unostentatious demeanour as a Christian gentleman, with the easy dignity of a venerated Christian minister, and of his gentle and genial manners in the bosom of his family. And after tracing his career through many trying and some stormy scenes, the record will tell of the tranquillity of his latest years, and the honours which crowned his hoary head; of the calm and peaceful evening in which his sun declined to its setting, and his happy death in the faith and hope of the Gospel. The author is rendering an important service to the universal Church,— to which, indeed, Dr. Bunting belonged; for, as Angell James said of him to some Wesleyan ministers, "He is *ours* as well as *yours*,"—and it is nothing more than the barest justice to the subject of the memoir that such a record should be drawn up. Jabez Bunting has left little in the world of letters to keep his name alive. And never do we look upon him with greater respect and reverence than when, with all his lofty aspirations, his refined literary taste, and his consciousness of the possession of powers which would have raised him to a lofty niche in the temple of Fame, we find him addressing a friend in these simple yet sublime words: "The die is cast. If I give to our missions the attention they require, I shall not have any time hereafter for literature." His monument was to be of another kind. Standing in the centre of modern Methodism, and looking abroad upon its well-compacted institutions, or pointing to the distant isles of the sea, and the whole wide mission field of the Wesleyan Connexion, to churches rising in the spiritual waste, and Gospel light dispelling pagan darkness, he might have said—or the myriads who honour his name and memory may say for him, for he would have been the last to say it himself—"Si monumentum requiris, circumspice." And in the world of literature this admirable biography will constitute Dr. Bunting's worthy and enduring memorial.

ART. VIII.—*Ceylon: An account of the Island—Physical, Historical, and Topographical; with Notices of its Natural History, Antiquities, and Productions.* By Sir JAMES EMERSON TENNENT, K.C.S., LL.D., etc. Illustrated by Maps, Plans, and Drawings. Third Edition. London: Longmans and Co. 1859.

"I AM going Overland," said a friend to us some months ago, when about to start for India, "and will write to you long accounts of Gibraltar, Malta, Egypt, the Red Sea, Aden, and Calcutta." Ceylon had not occurred to him. "We touch," said another, "at Point de Galle, but I suppose there is not much to interest one there." This ignorance of what turns out after all, to be for several reasons, the chief point of interest in the overland route, is almost universal, even among well educated men. It seems strange that it should be so, when works like those of Major Forbes, Dr. Davy, Henry Marshall, and Dr. Hoffmeister,* are easily accessible to all. The able work of Sir James Emerson Tennent will make this ignorance without excuse for the future. But if the traveller to India expect little at Point de Galle, his surprise and pleasure are all the greater when he finds himself amidst scenes from which he had not hoped for a new sensation. "It is now a week," writes one friend, "since we sailed from that charming anchorage—Galle. Our approach to it had been magnificent. The coast, from the time we caught sight of it, was uninterruptedly beautiful. Stretches of bright yellow sand, intervals of rocky beach and low cliffs, with here and there craggy points and reefs running out into the sea, all adorned by a luxuriant forest of

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* *Travels in Ceylon, etc.* Translated from the German. Edinburgh: W. P. Kennedy. 1848.—In the list of works on Ceylon given by Sir J. E. Tennent, Hoffmeister's Travels are not mentioned. It is, however, full of most interesting information.

cocoa-nut trees and big-leaved plantains, the stems and roots of which are washed by the salt surf, meet the eye. The surf, too, greatly adds to the charms of the scenery. Its bright white masses ever and anon rise up out of the blue expanse, rush up the beach, or over the rocks, or up the cliffs to unaccountable heights, and then from those cliffs rejoining parent ocean in hundreds of white rills and pretty cascades. Nor does the beauty terminate in all this; for beyond the beach, and the groves of which we get a glimpse, and the thickly set native huts which stand out with an occasional smoky plume nodding over them, rise hills and swelling uplands all crowned with dense woods; while yet above all these are lofty mountains, looking grandly as their pointed summits reach towards the sky. In all my Continental wanderings never had I seen anything so beautiful as this entrance to Point de Galle. The freshness, the luxuriance, the variety of outline in the scenery, the pretty bungalows peeping out from their embosoming groves, the streets with their deeply shaded side-ways, the avenues of great, old trees, the lovely and dazzling flowers of tropical shrubs and creepers, the bustle, animation, and perpetual movement of the Singhalese in their grey-toned garments, all conspire to excite and to interest. Above all, it was the first ushering into the new forms and dazzling specialities of tropical life, vegetable and animal." These were first impressions. But that even a protracted residence on the island, and much familiarity with its scenery do not modify them, is plain from Sir James Tennent's work. The grandeur and beauty of the scenery rise ever freshly before him. Thus, remembering first impressions, and glancing at some general features of the island, he says,—"No traveller fresh from Europe will ever part with the impression left by the first gaze upon tropical scenery, as it is developed in the bay, and the wooded hills that encircle it; for although Galle is surpassed both in grandeur and beauty by places afterwards seen in the island, still the feeling of admiration and wonder called forth by its loveliness remains vivid and unimpaired. . . . The sea, blue as sapphire, breaks upon the fortified rocks which form the entrance to the harbour; the headlands are bright with verdure; and the yellow strand is shaded by palm-trees that incline towards the sea, and bend their crowns above the water. The shore is gemmed with flowers; the hills behind are draped with forests of perennial green; and far in the distance rises the zone of purple hills, above which towers the sacred mountain of Adam's Peak, with its summit enveloped in clouds."

But Point de Galle has other attractions besides its scenery. It was the "Kalah" at which the seamen of the renowned Haroun Alraschid "met the Chinese junks, and brought back gems, silks, and spices from Serendib to Bassora;" and there is every likelihood that it is the long lost Tarshish of Scripture. The reasons for this conclusion are fully stated by the author. The details are interesting, as suggesting to us how much light may yet be shed on Scripture topography. Again, Sir James says,—"The nucleus of its mountain masses consists of gneissic, granitic, and other crystalline rocks, which in their resistless upheaval have rent the superincumbent strata, raising them into lofty pyramids and crags, or hurling them in gigantic fragments to the plains below. Time and decay are slow in their assults on these towering precipices and splintered pinnacles; and from the absence of more perishable materials, there are few graceful sweeps along the higher chains, or rolling down in the lower ranges of the hills. Every bold elevation is crowned by battlemented cliffs, and flanked by chasms in which the shattered strata are seen as sharp and as rugged as if they had but recently undergone the grand convulsion that displaced them.

"The soil in these regions is consequently light and unremunerative; but the plentiful moisture arising from the interception of every passing vapour from the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, added to the intense warmth of the atmosphere, combine to force a vegetation so rich and luxuriant, that imagination can picture nothing more wondrous and charming: every level spot is enamelled with verdure; forests of never-fading bloom cover mountain and valley; flowers of the brightest hues grow in profusion over the plains; and delicate climbing plants, rooted in the shelving rocks, hang in huge festoons down the edge of every precipice.

"Unlike the forests of Europe, in which the excess of some peculiar trees imparts a character of monotony and graveness to the outline and colouring, the forests of Ceylon are singularly attractive from the endless variety of their foliage, and the vivid contrast of their hues. The mountains, especially those looking towards the east and south, rise abruptly to prodigious and almost precipitous heights above the level plains; and the emotion excited when a traveller, from one of these towering elevations, looks down for the first upon the vast expanse of the low lands, leaves an indelible impression on the memory. The rivers

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wind through the woods below like threads of silver through green embroidery, till they are lost in a dim haze which conceals the far horizon; and through this a line of tremulous light marks where the sunbeams are glittering on the waves upon the distant shore.

"From age to age a scene so lovely has imparted a colouring of romance to the adventures of the seamen who, in the eagerness of commerce, swept round the shores of India, to bring back the pearls and precious stones, the cinnamon and odours of Ceylon. The tales of the Arabians are fraught with the wonders of 'Serendib;' and the mariners of the Persian Gulf have left a record of their delight in reaching the calm havens of the island, and reposing for months together in valleys where the waters of the sea were overshadowed by woods, and the gardens were blooming in perennial summer."—P. 6.

Again—"In its general outline the island resembles a pear, and suggests to its admiring inhabitants the figure of those pearls which, from their elongated form, are suspended from the tapering end. When originally upheaved above the ocean, its shape was in all probability nearly circular, with a prolongation in the direction of north-east. The mountain zone in the south, covering an area of about 4212 miles, may then have formed the largest proportion of its entire area; and the belt of low lands, known as the Maritime Provinces, consist to a great extent of soil from the disintegration of the gneiss, detritus from the hills, alluvium carried down the rivers, and marine deposits gradually collected on the shore. But in addition to these, the land has for ages been slowly rising from the sea; and terraces abounding in marine shells, imbedded in agglutinated sand, occur in situations far above high-water mark. Immediately inland from Point de Galle, the surface soil rests on a stratum of decomposing coral; and sea-shells are found at a considerable distance from the shore. Farther north, at Madampe, between Chilau and Megombo, the shells of pearl oysters and other bivalves are turned up by the plough, more than ten miles from the sea."—P. 12.

The geological features of the island are not of very much interest. On the crests of the mountains, stratified crystalline rocks, with massive veins of quartz, are found distorted and broken by great intruded masses of granite. Gneiss prevails; and as this assumes remarkably eccentric forms, both in position and in the process of disintegration, the surface of the country is everywhere extremely picturesque. Breccias are found along the western coast, formed by the agglutination of corallines, shells, sand, and disintegrated gneiss. Incorporated with these are small sapphires, rubies, tourmaline, etc. In the Northern Provinces a recent coral formation is the prevailing rock. "Nearly four parts of the island," says Sir James, "are undulating plains, slightly diversified by offsets from the mountain system, which entirely covers the remaining fifth. Every district, from the depths of the valleys to the summits of the hills, is clothed with perennial foliage; and even the sand-drifts, to the ripple on the sea-line, are carpeted with verdure, and sheltered from the sunbeams by the cool shadows of the palm groves. But the soil, notwithstanding this wonderful display of spontaneous vegetation, is not responsive to systematic cultivation, and is but imperfectly adapted for maturing a constant succession of seeds and cereal productions. But the chief interest which attaches to the mountains and rocks of this region, arises from the fact that they contain those mines of *precious stones* which, from time immemorial, have conferred renown on Ceylon. The ancients celebrated the gems as well as the pearls of 'Taprobane;' the tales of mariners, returning from their eastern expeditions, supplied to the story-tellers of the Arabian Nights their fables of the jewels of 'Serendib;' and the travellers of the Middle Ages, on returning to Europe, told of the 'sapphires, topazes amethysts, garnets, and other costly stones' of Ceylon, and of the ruby which belonged to the king of the island, 'a span in length, without a flaw, and brilliant beyond description.'

"The extent to which gems are still found is sufficient to account for these early traditions of their splendour and profusion; and fabulous as this story of the ruby of the Kandyan kings may be, the abundance of gems in Saffragam has given to the capital of the district the name of *Ratnapoora*, which means literally, 'the city of rubies.' They are not, however, confined to this quarter alone, but quantities are still found on the western plains between Adam's Peak and the sea, at Neuera-ellia, in Oovah, at Kandy, at Mattelle in the Central Province, and at Ruanwelli, near Colombo, at Matura, and in the beds of the rivers eastwards towards the ancient Mahagam,"—P. 33.

This glance at the outstanding physical features and mineralogical peculiarities of the island, may form a fitting introduction to a general outline of its civil history. The descriptions in which Camoens, in his great epic, sets before us the regions

——Where Ceylon lifts her spicy breast,
And waves her woods,

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were, at best, but feeble echoes of the gorgeous pictures which, from earliest times, had been given of "the land of the hyacinth and the ruby," "the island of jewels," the "second Eden." Greek and Roman, Christian and Mahometan, Chinaman and Hindoo, have vied with each other in exalting the praises of Ceylon. Its geographical position, the wildly luxuriant beauty of its scenery, and the rich variety of its *fauna* and its *flora*, were sure to attract the attention of nations whose spirit of enterprise was directed either by the lust of conquest or the love of gain. But the island, universally talked of, was till recently, little known; less indeed, historically, than India or China. As inquirers searched into the remote past of these wondrous lands, they found, even in their most extravagant myths, resting-points of historic certainty standing out at one dimly defined period and another, like objects shrouded in the mists of the morning. But for many generations every attempt to make out the true history of Ceylon was after a season given up as hopeless, because of the deep darkness resting over it. "It was not till about the year 1826 that the discovery was made and communicated to Europe, that whilst the history of India was only to be conjectured from myths, and elaborated from the dates on copper grants, or fading inscriptions on rocks and columns, Ceylon was in possession of continuous written chronicles, rich in authentic facts, and not only presenting a connected history of the island itself, but also yielding valuable materials for elucidating that of India. At the moment when Prinsep was deciphering the mysterious Buddhist inscriptions which are scattered over Hindustan and Western India, and when Cosma de Korrôs was unrolling the Buddhist records of Thibet, and Hodgson those of Nepaul, a fellow-labourer of kindred genius was successfully exploring the Pali manuscripts of Ceylon, and developing results not less remarkable nor less conducive to the illustration of the early history of Southern Asia. Mr. Turnour, a civil officer, of the Ceylon service, was then administering the government of the district of Suffragam, and, and being resident at Ratnapoora, near the foot of Adam's Peak, he was enabled to pursue his studies under the guidance of Gallé, a learned priest, through whose instrumentality he obtained from the Wihara, at Mulgiri-galla, near Tangalle (a temple founded about 130 B.C.), some rare and important MSS., the perusal of which gave an impulse and direction to the investigations which occupied the rest of his life."—P. 312.

The Mahawanso, thus brought to light, is a metrical chronicle, written in Pali, containing a dynastic history of Ceylon. Contributed by various authors, it embraces a period ranging from 543 B.C. to 1758 A.D. A dead letter to all but those initiated in the mysteries of Buddhism, the Mahawanso had happily been the subject of a running comment, accompanied by a literal annotated version of the original text. With the help of this, Turnour rendered it into English prose, and thus opened up the authentic early history of Ceylon to the public. Sir James Emerson Tennent takes the Mahawanso for a starting point, and gives his readers an admirable sketch of Singhalese history under the three great divisions, "Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern." As the ground is comparatively little known, the materials fresh and full of interest, we propose to follow Sir James' most interesting and able outline, marking what seems to us the leading links in the chain of events, from the conquests of the island by Wijayo, 543 B.C., to the British possession in 1798.

Wijayo was the founder of "the Great Dynasty." Having with a few followers left Bengal, the adventurer landed in Ceylon, where he found the Yakkos, the aboriginal inhabitants, pursuing the peaceful art of husbandry. Differing in language and general social characteristics from the ruling classes on the Indian continent, the Yakkos appeared to have belonged to a race broadly distinguished from the Bengalese strangers. Wijayo soon ingratiated himself with the natives, married a Yakko princess, and in time, was recognised by them as king. Pride grew with power. The patrimonial name of Wijayo was Sihala, to which he changed the name of the island; whence Singhala, Singhalese, Seylan, and Ceylon. When he had obtained a firm footing as king, he repudiated his Yakko wife, and married the daughter of an Indian sovereign. Wijayo and his immediate successors were anxious to encourage by all means the introduction of people from the continent, and prided themselves on the toleration of every form of religion. Brahamanism soon began to prevail, and appears to have been the superstition which stood most out until 307 B.C., when Tissa, the *Déwána-pia*, or beloved of the saints, began to reign. At this time an apostle of Buddhism arrived on the island, and gained over Déwánapiatissa and his people to that faith. The rites of Brahamanism yielded to the worship of Buda, and Tissa's satisfaction was complete when a branch of the sacred Bo-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) was planted in his kingdom. A slip taken from the identical tree in Magadha, under which Gotama reclined when he received

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Buddhahood, was brought in a golden vase to Ceylon, and planted at Anarajapoora, "where," says Sir James, "after the lapse of more than 2000 years, it still continues to flourish and to receive the proferred veneration of the Singhalese." The stupendous ecclesiastical structures, whose remains arrest the attention of travellers, appear to have been all built about the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon. As in Europe, the great Gothic cathedrals may be said to have been the expression of the skill and the taste of one or two generations, or of one or two leading minds, so the sacred fabrics of Ceylon stand associated with one brief period in the history of the island.

The next important political change occurred about 237 B.C. Two youths from Malabar rose to great power and distinction among the Singhalese. Having formed a strong political faction in their favour, they put the reigning king to death, and divided between themselves the supreme power for a period of twenty years. Overthrown in their turn, the legitimate line was restored, but only to enjoy the throne at that time for a period of ten years, when it was again usurped by a Malabar named Elala, who held possession of it for forty years. "In the final struggle for the throne," says our author, "in which the Malabars were worsted by the gallantry of Dutugaimunu, a prince of the excluded family, the deeds of bravery displayed by Elala were the admiration of his enemies. The contest between the chiefs is the solitary tale of Ceylon chivalry, in which Elala is the Saladin and Dutugaimunu the Cœur-de-lion." The successful claimant is noted in Singhalese history for his piety not less than his prowess. In his reign, the far-famed brazen palace was built, whose ruins still testify to its original grandeur. Roofed with plates of brass, "it was elevated on 1600 monolithic columns of granite twelve feet high, and arranged in lines of forty, so as to cover an area of upwards of two hundred and twenty square feet. On those rested nine stories in height, in addition to one thousand dormitories for priests, containing halls and other apartments for their exercise and accommodation."

Members of the "Great dynasty held the throne, with the exception of one or two interruptions, for more than eight hundred years, from Wijayo, its founder, to Mahasen. The dynasty of the *Sulu-wanse*, or 'infer race' succeeded, and amidst invasions, revolutions, and decline, continued, with unsteady hand, to hold the government down to its occupancy by the Europeans in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Both dynasties continued to be regarded by the aborigines as usurpers, and though the conquering race spread over the whole island, the Yakkos were slow in mixing with them. Marks of their gentilitial separation still exist in the island, in the remains of their ancient superstition." Traces of the worship of snakes and demons are, to the present hour, clearly perceptible amongst them. The Buddhists still resort to the incantations of the "devil dancers" in cases of danger and emergency. A Singhalese, rather than put a cobra de capello to death, encloses the reptile in a wicker cage and sets it adrift on the nearest stream ; and, in the island of Nainativoe, to the south-west of Jaffa, there was, till recently, a little temple dedicated to the goddess Naga Tambirau, in which consecrated serpents were tenderly reared by the Pandarams, and daily fed at the expense of the worshippers. Notwithstanding the abounding political troubles and intestine divisions which characterised the lengthened period of the Sula-wanse dynasty, the island progressed in material comfort. Agriculture was extended, public buildings were reared, the arts of social life were fostered, great tanks were formed, and a national literature sprung up, based on the doctrinal system of Buddha which had been reduced to writing.

Sir J. E. Tennent has succeeded in throwing much interest into his elaborate sketch of Singhalese Mediæval history. The copious notes which accompany the able narrative, bear witness to the learning, industry, and varied information of the author. Here, as in other parts of this valuable work, we have clear proofs that no pains have been spared to make it a complete monograph on Ceylon. The fame of the beauty and wealth of Taprobane had reached the soldiers of Alexander the Great in their Indian campaign, and, on their return to Europe, they "brought back accounts of what they had been told of its elephants and ivory, its tortoises and marine monsters." The attention of the nations of the West thus called to it, continued ever on the alert for additional information. About twenty years after the death of Alexander, Magasthenes was sent as ambassador to the Prasii, "from whose country Ceylon had been colonized two centuries before by the expedition under Wijayo," and though the reports which he made of Taprobane and of its inhabitants, the "Palæongi," or sons of Pali, were greatly exaggerated, they nevertheless added much to the existing knowledge of the island. But it was reserved for a Roman seaman, in the reign of Claudius, to open the route to the "island of spices," and to put

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Europeans in the way of becoming fully acquainted with it. "Hippalus observing the steady prevalence of the monsoons which blew over the Indian Ocean alternately from east to west, dared to trust himself to their influence, and, departing from Arabia, he stretched fearlessly across the unknown deep, and was carried by the winds to Muziris, a port on the coast of Malabar." "An extensive acquaintance was now acquired with the sea coast of India; and the great work of Pliny, compiled less than fifty years after the discovery by Hippalus, serves to attest the additional knowledge regarding Ceylon which had been collected during the interval." About seventy years later, Ptolemy described it so fully in his "System of Geography," as to show how rapidly correct information of the island was finding its way to Europe. "The extent and accuracy of Ptolemy's information was so surprising, that it has given rise to surmises as to the sources whence it could possibly have been derived."

Cosmas, an Egyptian merchant in the reign of Justinian, wrote an account of Ceylon from information given him by Sophater, a Greek trader, who had visited it. The particulars stated are full of interest. They embrace its government, products, and ecclesiastical affairs. One sentence is worth quoting. "The island," he says, "has also a community of Christians, chiefly resident Persians, with a presbyter ordained in Persia, a deacon, and a complete ecclesiastical ritual."

In this imperfect general outline of its Mediæval history, we have confined ourselves to the intercourse of the European nations with Ceylon. Sir James, however, deals with the relations between the Singhalese and the people of Arabia, India, and China. This we must pass over, and come to the last division, namely, the Modern History of Ceylon. This may be said to commence with the expedition of the Venetian voyager, Marco Polo, who touched at Ceylon in 1291. But, without doing more than thus refer to the Venetian, we ask our readers to follow us as we glance at the story of Portuguese adventure. "Begin by preaching, but, that failing, proceed to the decision of the sword," formed one of the instructions given by the Government of Portugal to the adventurers who, more than three hundred years ago, went forth in search of riches in India and the adjacent islands. The advice was faithfully followed. It was not likely that the preaching would be very influential; and, we accordingly find recourse to the sword, universally characteristic of the Portuguese dealings with the people of the East. "They appeared in the Indian Seas in the threefold character of merchants, missionaries, and pirates. Their ostensible motto was "amity, commerce, and religion." The third character too frequently absorbed the other two. Rapacity took the place of the lawful commercial spirit, bigotry, on the side of a superstition very little better than that of the Yakkos, usurped that of the true missionary of Christ; while, for amity, the natives everywhere were treated by a cruelty which knew no relenting, when aggrandisement stood in the way.

The Portuguese flag appeared for the first time in the waters of Ceylon in 1505. Twelve years elapsed before it was again seen there. They had, however, meanwhile been obtaining influence and a firm footing on the Indian Continent. Ormuz had been captured; Goa and the coasts of Malabar had been fortified; and Malacca had yielded to their power. "Midway between their extreme settlements, the harbours of Ceylon rendered the island a place of importance. And, at length, in 1517, Lopo Soarez de Albergaria appeared in person before Colombo, with a flotilla of seventeen sail, and with materials and workmen for the creation of a factory, in conformity with a promise alleged to have been made by the king to Don Lorenzo de Almeyda, in 1505; that the apprehension of the Singhalese court were aroused by the discovery that seven hundred soldiers were carried in the merchant ships of the Viceroy, and that the proposed factory was to be mounted with cannon." After a good deal of diplomacy on the part of the strangers, and many scruples on the part of the king and his people, they were allowed to land, "and the first European stronghold in Ceylon began to rise on the rocky beach of Colombo." The footing thus gained was made the most of. Repeated concessions were wrung from the Singhalese; and, for a time, the attempts to free themselves from the troublesome strangers tended only to strengthen their position in the island. Sanguinary wars raged frequently between the parties, characterized by atrocities almost without a parallel in the history of European intercourse with the East. This state of matters continued during the whole period of Portuguese influence in Ceylon. "But a new and formidable rival now appeared to contend with Portugal for the possession of Ceylon. The Dutch had obtained a footing at the Kandyan court, and formed an alliance with the king, alike disastrous to the missionary zeal and the commercial enterprise of the Portuguese, who, after a struggle of nearly fifty years' dura-

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tion, were finally expelled from that island, which their kings had magniloquently declared "they would rather lose all India than imperil." The leading Singhalese authorities were forward to welcome and to enter into alliance with the Dutch; when it was made evident to them that they were bitterly at enmity with their tormentors. The Portuguese held their ground till 1658, when they were expelled from the island and replaced by the Dutch, who set vigorously to work to make the most of their position and to enrich themselves in their commercial relations with the natives. "Throughout all the records which the Dutch have left us of their policy in Ceylon, it is painfully observable, that no disinterested concern is manifested, and no measures directed for the elevation and happiness of the native population; and even where care is shown to have been bestowed upon the spread of education and religion, motives are apparent, either latent or avowed, which detract from the grace and generosity of the act. Thus, schools were freely established; but the avowed object was to wean the young Singhalese from their allegiance to the emperor, and better to impress them with the power and ascendancy of Holland."

The tales of wealth which had reached Europe, connected with the Portuguese possession of Ceylon, so influenced British merchants, that they resolved to become sharers in it. The Turkey Company sent four adventurous merchants to India. One of these, Ralph Fitch, visited Ceylon in 1589, "probably the first of his nation who had ever beheld the island." British interest in the island was kept up for many years by the visits paid to it by Englishmen; and, in 1796, they obtained possession of it from the Dutch without striking a blow. "Private property was declared inviolable; the funds of charitable foundations were held sacred; the garrison marched out with the honours of war, piled arms on the esplanade, and returned again to their barracks. Night closed on the descending standard of Holland, and at sunrise the British flag waved on the walls of Colombo." The island thus acquired was handed over to the East India Company, and its management was intrusted to the Council of the Madras Presidency. The Singhalese first experience of British rule was anything but satisfactory. Portuguese and Dutch had whipped them with cords, but their new masters seemed resolved to whip them with scorpions. The result inevitable in such circumstances followed. About a year after, the misdeeds of men employed by the British drove the natives to open revolt; and, though the rebellion was speedily suppressed, much blood was shed in doing so. The home authorities resolved to withdraw the island from the control of the East India Company, and to put it under the immediate direction of the Crown. In 1798 the Hon. Frederick North, afterwards Earl of Guildford, was sent out as the first British Governor. Governor North found his task a difficult one. He succeeded, however, in soon putting matters on a much more satisfactory footing than they had formerly been; and, had he kept clear of the intrigues at the Kandyan court on the death of the king Rajadhi Raja Singha, in 1798, his period of rule would have passed without any great shadows on it. But it appears that he did not discourage the conspiracy of the adijar, or prime minister of the late king, to procure the violent dethronement of the reigning king, and to take possession of the Kandyan crown. Governor North's complicity led to most serious consequences. The views of the unscrupulous and ambitious adijar seemed about to be realized—the ball was nearly at his feet. There was only one hinderance to perfect success, namely, the presence of the British troops who had come to his aid, but whom he found unwilling to carry out all his designs. He formed the daring design to massacre the British troops, now enfeebled by disease. This was so successfully realized, that only one soldier escaped, and lived to tell the tale of the slaughter. Vengeance ultimately overtook the prime minister. Detected in an attempt to assassinate the king, he was beheaded in 1812, and his nephew Eheylapola, raised to the office of adijar.

"But Eheylapola inherited, with the power, all the ambitious duplicity of his predecessor; and availing himself of the universal horror with which the king was regarded, he secretly solicited the connivance of the governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, to the organisation of a general revolt. The conspiracy was discovered and extinguished with indiscriminate bloodshed, whilst the discomfited adijar was forced to fly to Colombo, and supplicate the protection of the British. And now followed an awful tragedy, which cannot be more vividly described than in the language of Davy, who collected the particulars from eye-witnesses of the scene. 'Hurried along by the flood of his revenge, the tyrant, lost to every tender feeling, resolved to punish Eheylapola, who had escaped, through his family, who still remained in his power; he sentenced his wife and children, and his brother and his wife, to death; the brother and children to be beheaded, and the females

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to be drowned. In front of the queen's palace, and between the Nata and Maha Vishnu Dewales, as if to shock and insult the gods as well as the sex, the wife of Eheylapola and his children were brought from prison, where they had been in charge of female gaolers, and delivered over to their executioners. The lady, with great resolution, maintained her and her children's innocence and her lord's, and at the same time submitting to the king's pleasure, and offering up her own and her offsprings' lives, with the fervent hope that her husband would be benefited by the sacrifice. Having uttered these sentiments aloud, she desired her eldest child to submit to his fate; the poor boy, who was eleven years old, clung to his mother, terrified and crying; her second son, of nine years, heroically stepped forward, and bade his brother not to be afraid, he would show him the way to die! By a blow of a sword the head of this noble child was severed from his body; streaming with blood, and hardly inanimate, it was thrown into a rice mortar, the pestle was put into the mother's hands, and she was ordered to pound it, or be disgracefully tortured. To avoid the infamy, the wretched woman did lift up the pestle and let it fall. One by one the heads of her children were cut off, and one by one the poor mother . . . . but the circumstance is too dreadful to be dwelt on. One of the children was an infant, and it was plucked from its mother's breast to be beheaded: when the head was severed from the body, the milk that it had just drawn out mingled with its blood. During this tragical scene, the crowd who had assembled to witness it wept and sobbed aloud, unable to suppress their feelings of grief and horror. Palihapane Dissave was so affected that he fainted, and was expelled his office for showing such sensibility. During two days the whole of Kandy, with the exception of the tyrant's court, was as one house of mourning and lamentation; and so deep was the grief, that not a fire, it is said, was kindled, no food was dressed, and a general fast was held. After the execution of her children, the sufferings of the mother were speedily relieved. She and her sister-in-law were led to the little tank in the immediate neighborhood of Kandy, called Bogambara, and drowned.' This awful occurrence, in all its hideous particulars, I have had verified by individuals still living, who were spectators of a scene that, after the lapse of forty years, is still spoken of with a shudder. But the limit of human endurance had been passed; revolt became rife throughout the kingdom; promiscuous executions followed, and the terrified nation anxiously watched for the approach of a British force to rescue them from the monster on the throne. At length the insatiate savage ventured to challenge the descent of the vengeance that awaited him. A party of native merchants, British subjects, who had gone up to Kandy to trade, were seized and mutilated by the tyrant; they were deprived of their ears, their noses, and hands, and those who survived were driven towards Colombo, with the severed members tied to their necks. An avenging army was instantly on its march. War was declared in January 1815, and within a few weeks the Kandyan capital was once more in possession of the English, and the despot a captive at Colombo."

This bloody tale very fully illustrates the terrible tyranny under which the Kandyans then lay, and the disgusting atrocity of their supreme ruler. The day of vengeance came speedily; and the mode in which the ruthless tyrant was dealt with, was well fitted to strike with terror all who, like him, were willing to set at defiance the power of the British. Yet scarcely two years had elapsed, when the people, who had welcomed the British as deliverers, rose in arms against them. After many difficulties, this rebellion was put down; and since that time, 1817, British rule has been undisputed. Under the protection of this country, the native population have enjoyed a degree of liberty to which formerly they had been complete strangers. The arts of Christian civilisation have been introduced. Roads have been made, courts of law established, domestic slavery abolished, education fostered, and commerce encouraged. "The blessings of peaceful order, the mild influence of education, and the gradual influx of wealth, will not fail to produce their accustomed results; and the mountaineers of Ceylon will, at no distant day, share with the lowlanders in the consciousness of repose and prosperity under the protection of the British Crown." It might be added, that Sir James, during his tenure of office, has done much to realise the hope which he here expresses; and that when the after history of the island shall come to be written, his period of rule will form one of its most attractive chapters. We might dwell on this, but it is time our readers were admitted more fully to the interesting pages in which Sir James has described Ceylon. Here is a notice of its climate, of the pretty phenomenon "Anthelia" and of a Ceylon May.

"The climate of Ceylon, from its physical configuration and insular attachment, contrasts favourably with that of the great Indian peninsula. Owing to the moderate dimensions of the island, the elevation of its

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mountains, the very short space during which the sun is passing over it in his regression from or approach to the solstices, and its surrounding seas being nearly uniform in temperature, it is exempt from the extremes of heating and cooling to which the neighbouring continent of India is exposed. From the same causes, it is subjected more uniformly to the genial influences of the trade winds that blow over the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal."—P. 54.

"May is signalised by the great event of the change of the monsoon, and all the grand phenomena which accompany its approach.

"It is difficult for one who has not resided in the tropics to comprehend the feeling of enjoyment which accompanies these periodical commotions of the atmosphere; in Europe they would be fraught with annoyance, but in Ceylon they are welcomed with a relish proportionate to the monotony they dispel. Long before the wished-for period arrives, the verdure produced by the previous rains becomes almost obliterated by the burning droughts of March and April. The deciduous trees shed their foliage, the plants cease to put forth fresh leaves, and all vegetable life languishes under the unwholesome heat. The grass withers on the baked and cloven earth, and red dust settles on the branches and thirsty brushwood. The insects, deprived of their accustomed food, disappear under ground, or hide beneath the decaying bark; the water-beetles bury themselves in the hardened mud of the pools, and the *helices* retire into the crevices of the stones or the hollows, amongst the roots of the trees, closing the apertures of their shells with the hybernating epiphragm. Butterflies are no longer seen hovering over the flowers; the birds appear fewer and less joyous; and the wild animals and crocodiles, driven by the drought from their accustomed retreats, wander through the jungle, and even venture to approach the village wells in search of water. Man equally languishes under the general exhaustion; ordinary exertion becomes distasteful, and the native Singhalese, although inured to the climate, move with lassitude and reluctance.

"Meanwhile the air becomes loaded to saturation with aqueous vapour drawn up by the augmented force of evaporation, acting vigorously over land and sea; the sky, instead of its brilliant blue, assumes the sullen tint of lead, and not a breath disturbs the motionless rest of the clouds that hang on the lower range of hills. At length, generally about the middle of the month, but frequently earlier, the sultry suspense is broken by the arrival of the wished-for change. The sun has by this time nearly attained his greatest northern declination, and created a torrid heat throughout the lands of southern Asia and the peninsula of India. The air, lightened by his high temperature and such watery vapour as it may contain, rises into loftier regions, and is replaced by indraughts from the neighboring sea, and thus a tendency is gradually given to the formation of a current bringing up from the south the warm humid air of the equator. The wind, therefore, which reaches Ceylon, comes laden with moisture, taken up in its passage across the great Indian Ocean. As the monsoon draws near, the days become more overcast and hot, banks of clouds rise over the ocean to the west, and, in the peculiar twilight the eye is attracted by the unusual whiteness of the sea-birds that sweep along the strand to seize the objects flung on shore by the rising surf.

"At last the sudden lightnings flash among the hills and sheet through the clouds that overhang the sea, and with a crash of thunder the monsoon bursts over the thirsty land, not in showers or partial torrents, but in a wide deluge, that in the course of a few hours overtops the river banks, and spreads in inundations over every level plain.

"All the phenomena of this explosion are stupendous; thunder, as we are accustomed to be awed by it in Europe, affords but the faintest idea of its overpowering grandeur in Ceylon; and its sublimity is infinitely increased, as it is faintly heard from the shore, resounding through night and darkness over the gloomy sea. The lightning, when it touches the earth, where it is covered with the descending torrent, flashes into it, and disappears instantaneously; but, when it strikes a drier surface, in seeking better conductors, it often opens a hollow like that formed by the explosion of a shell, and frequently leaves behind it traces of vitrification. In Ceylon, however, occurrences of this kind are rare; and accidents are seldom recorded from lightning, probably owing to the profusion of trees, and especially of cocoa-nut palms which, when drenched with rain, intercept the discharge, and conduct the electric matter to the earth. The rain at these periods excites the astonishment of a European; it descends in almost continuous streams, so close and so dense, that the level ground, unable to absorb it sufficiently fast, is covered with one uniform sheet of water, and down the sides of acclivities it rushes in a volume that wears channels in the surface. For hours together, the noise of the torrent, as it beats upon the trees, and bursts upon the roofs, flowing thence in rivulets along the ground, occasions an uproar that drowns the ordinary voice, and renders sleep impossible."—P. 61.

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"A curious phenomena, to which the name of 'Anthelia' has been given, and which may probably have suggested to the early painters the idea of the glory surrounding the heads of beatified saints, is to be seen in singular beauty, at early morning, in Ceylon. When the light is intense, and the shadows proportionally dark—when the sun is near the horizon, and the shadow of a person walking is thrown on the dewy grass—each particle furnishes a double reflection from its concave and convex surfaces; and to the spectator his own figure, but more particularly the head, appears surrounded by a halo as vivid as if radiated from diamonds. The Buddhists may possibly have taken from this beautiful object their idea of the *agni*, or emblem of the sun, with which the head of Buddha is surmounted. But unable to express a *halo* in sculpture, they concentrated it into a flame."—P. 73.

Very much attention has been paid by the author to the zoology and botany of the island; and the pages in which they are described are among the most interesting of the volume. While in both departments of natural science Ceylon has much in common with the neighbouring continent, it can lay claim to an interesting *fauna* and *flora* of its own. Sir James, and the accomplished men who lent him their invaluable assistance, deserve the thanks of every naturalist, for the great care they have devoted to this. We are introduced to the birds of Ceylon thus:—"In the glory of their plumage, the birds of the interior are surpassed by those of South America and Northern India; and the melody of their song will bear no comparison with that of the warblers of Europe; but the want of brilliancy is compensated by their singular grace of form, and the absence of prolonged and modulated harmony by the rich and melodious tones of their clear and musical calls. In the elevations of the Kandyan country, there are a few, such as the robin of Neuera-ellia, and the long-tailed thrush, whose song rivals that of their European namesakes; but, far beyond the attraction of their notes, the traveller rejoices in the flute-like voices of the oriole, the Dayal-bird, and some others equally charming; when, at the first dawn of day, they wake the forest with their clear *reveille*.

It is only on emerging from the dense forests, and coming into the vicinity of the lakes and pasture of the low country, that birds become visible in great quantities. In the close jungle one occasionally hears the call of the coppersmith, or the strokes of the great orange-coloured woodpecker, as it beats the decaying trees in search of insects, whilst clinging to the bark with its finely-pointed claws, and leaning for support upon the short stiff feathers of its tail. And on the lofty branches of the higher trees, the hornbill (the toucan of the East), with its enormous double casque, sits to watch the motions of the tiny reptiles and smaller birds, on which it preys, tossing them into the air when seized, and catching them in its gigantic mandibles as they fall. The remarkable excrescence on the beak of this extraordinary bird may serve to explain the statement of the Minorite friar, Odoric of Potenau, in Friuli, who travelled in Ceylon in the fourteenth century, and brought suspicion on the veracity of his narrative, by asserting that he had there seen "*birds with two heads*."

As we emerge from the deep shade, and approach the park-like openings on the verge of the low country, quantities of pea-fowl are to be found, either feeding amongst the seeds and nuts in the long grass, or sunning themselves on the branches of the surrounding trees. Nothing to be met with in demesnes in England can give an adequate idea either of the size or the magnificence of this matchless bird, when seen in his native solitudes. Here he generally selects some projecting branch, from which his plumage may hang, free of the foliage; and, if there be a dead and leafless bough, he is certain to choose it for his resting-place, whence he droops his wings and suspends his gorgeous train, or spreads it in the morning sun, to drive off the damps and dews of the night.

In some of the unfrequented portions of the eastern province, to which Europeans rarely resort, and where the pea-fowl are unmolested by the natives, their number is so extraordinary, that, regarded as game, it ceases to be "sport" to destroy them; and their cries at early morning are so tumultuous and incessant, as to banish sleep, and amount to an actual inconvenience. Their flesh is excellent, when served up hot; but, when cold, it contracts a reddish and disagreeable tinge: it is said to be indigestible. But of all, the most astonishing in point of multitude, as well as the most interesting, from their endless variety, are myriads of aquatic birds and waders, which frequent the lakes and water-courses, especially those along the coast, near Batticaloa, between the mainland and the sand formations of the shore, and those which resort to the innumerable salt marshes and lagoons to the south of Trincomalie. These, and the profusion of perching birds, fly-catchers, finches, and thrushes, which appear in the open country, afford sufficient quarry for raptorial and predatory

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species—eagles, hawks, and falcons, whose daring sweeps and effortless undulations are striking objects in the cloudless sky."—P. 165.

Ceylon is rich in cheiroptera:—

"The multitude of *bats* is one of the features of the evening landscape; they abound in every cave and subterranean passage—in the tunnels, on the highways, in the galleries of the fortifications, in the roofs of the bungalows, and the ruins of every temple and building. At sunset they are seen issuing from their diurnal retreats, to roam through the twilight in search of crepuscular insects; and as night approaches, and the lights in the rooms attract the night-flying lepidoptera, the bats sweep round the dinner-table, and carry off their tiny prey within the glitter of the lamps. Including the frugivorous section, about sixteen species have been identified in Ceylon, and of these, two varieties are peculiar to the island. The colours of some of them are as brilliant as the plumage of a bird—bright yellow, deep orange, and a rich ferruginous brown, inclining to red. The roussette of Ceylon (the "flying-fox," as it is usually called by Europeans) measures from three to four feet from point to point of its extended wings; and some of them have been seen wanting but a few inches of five feet in the alar expanse. These sombre-looking creatures feed chiefly on ripe fruits—the guava, the plantain, and the rose-apple, and are abundant in all the maritime districts, especially at the season when the silk-cotton tree, the *puluri-imbul*, is putting forth its flower-buds, of which they are singularly fond. By day they suspend themselves from the highest branches, hanging by the claws of the hind legs, pressing the chin against the breast, and using the closed membrane attached to the fore-arms, as a mantle to envelop the head. At sunset, launching into the air, they hover, with a murmuring sound, occasioned by the beating of their broad membranous wings, around the fruit trees, on which they feed till morning, when they resume their pensile attitude, as before. They are strongly attracted to the cocoa-nut trees, during the period when toddy is drawn for distillation, and exhibit, it is said, at such times, symptoms like intoxication.

The flying-fox is killed by the natives for the sake of its flesh, which I have been told, by a gentleman who has eaten it, resembles that of the hare.

There are several varieties (some of them peculiar to the island) of the horse-shoe-headed *Rhinolophus*, with the strange leaf-like appendage erected on the extremity of the nose. It has been suggested that bats, though nocturnal, are deficient in that keen vision characteristic of animals which take their prey at night. I doubt whether this conjecture be well-founded; but at least it would seem, that in their peculiar economy, some additional power is required to supplement that of vision, as in insects that of touch is superadded, in the most sensitive development to that of sight. Hence, it is possible that the extended screen stretched at the back of their nostrils, may be intended by nature to facilitate the collection and conduction of odours, as the vast development of the shell of the ear in the same family is designed to assist in the collection of sounds, and thus to reinforce their vision when in pursuit of their prey at twilight, by the superior sensitiveness of the organs of hearing and smell, as they are already remarkable for that marvellous sense of touch, which enables them, even when deprived of sight, to direct their flight with security, by means of the delicate nerves of the wing. One tiny little bat, not much larger than the humble bee, and of a glossy black colour, is sometimes to be seen about Colombo. It is so familiar and gentle, that it will alight on the cloth during dinner, and manifests so little alarm, that it seldom makes any effort to escape, before a wine-glass can be inverted to secure it."—P. 137.

Here is a pleasant sketch of the cobra:—

"The cobra de capello is the only one exhibited by the itinerant snake-charmers; and the accuracy of Davy's conjecture, that they control it, not by extracting its fangs, but by courageously availing themselves of its accustomed timidity and extreme reluctance to use its fatal weapons, received a painful confirmation during my residence in Ceylon, by the death of one of these performers, whom his audience had provoked to attempt some unaccustomed familiarity with the cobra; it bit him on the wrist, and he expired the same evening. The hill near Kandy, on which the official residences of the Governor and Colonial Secretary have been built, is covered in many places with the deserted nests of the white ants (termites), and these are the favourite retreats of the sluggish and spiritless cobra, which watches from their apertures the toads and lizards, on which it preys. Here, when I have repeatedly come upon them, their only impulse was concealment; and on one occasion, when a cobra of considerable length could not escape sufficiently quickly, owing to the bank being nearly precipitous on both sides of the road, a few blows from my whip were sufficient to deprive it of life. There is a rare variety which the natives fancifully designate the "king of cobras;" it has the head and the interior half of the body of so

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light a colour that at a distance it seems like a silvery white. A gentleman who held a civil appointment at Kornegalle, had a servant who was bitten by a snake, and he informed me that on enlarging a hole near the foot of the tree under which the accident occurred, he unearthed a cobra upwards of three feet long, and so purely white, as to induce him to believe that it was an albino. With the exception of the rat snake, the cobra de capello is the only serpent which seems from choice to frequent the vicinity of human dwellings, but it is doubtless attracted by the young of the domestic fowl, and by the moisture of the wells and drainage. The Singhalese remark that if one cobra be destroyed near a house, its companion is almost sure to be discovered immediately after,—a popular belief which I had an opportunity of verifying on more than one occasion. Once, when a snake of this description was killed in a bath of the Government House at Colombo, its mate was found in the same spot the day after; and again, at my own stables, a cobra of five feet long, having fallen into the well, which was too deep to permit its escape, its companion of the same size was found the same morning in an adjoining drain. On this occasion the snake, which had been several hours in the well, swam with ease, raising its head and hood above water; and instances have repeatedly occurred of the cobra de capello voluntarily taking considerable excursions by sea. When the "Wellington," a government vessel employed in the conservancy of the pearl banks, was anchored about a quarter of a mile from land, in the bay of Koodremalé, a cobra was seen, about an hour before sunset, swimming vigorously towards the ship. It came within twelve yards, when the sailors assailed it with billets of wood and other missiles, and forced it to return to land. The following morning they discovered the track which it had left on the shore, and traced it along the sand till it disappeared in the jungle. On a later occasion, in the vicinity of the same spot, when the "Wellington" was lying some distance from the shore, a cobra was found and killed on board, where it could only have gained access by climbing up the cable. It was first discovered by a sailor, who felt the cold chill as it glided over his foot."—P. 194. Again,—"The use of the Pamboo-Kaloo, or snake-stone, as a remedy in cases of wounds by venomous serpents, has probably been communicated to the Singhalese by the itinerant snake-charmers who resort to the island from the coast of Coromandel; and more than one well authenticated instance of its successful application has been told to me by persons who had been eye-witnesses to what they described. On one occasion, in March, 1854, a friend of mine was riding, with some other civil officers of the government, along a jungle path in the vicinity of Bintenne, when they saw one of two Tamils, who were approaching them, suddenly dart into the forest and return, holding in both hands a cobra de capello, which he had seized by the head and tail. He called to his companion for assistance to place it in their covered basket, but in doing this he handled it so inexpertly that it seized him by the finger, and retained its hold for a few seconds, as if unable to retract its fangs. The blood flowed, and intense pain appeared to follow almost immediately; but, with all expedition, the friend of the sufferer undid his waistcloth, and took from it two snake-stones, each of the size of a small almond, intensely black and highly polished, though of an extremely light substance. These he applied one to each wound inflicted by the teeth of the serpent, to which the stones attached themselves closely, the blood that oozed from the bites being rapidly imbibed by the porous texture of the article applied. The stones adhered tenaciously for three or four minutes, the wounded man's companion in the meanwhile rubbing his arm downwards from the shoulder towards the fingers. At length the snake-stones dropped off of their own accord; the suffering appeared to have subsided; he twisted his fingers till the joints cracked, and went on his way without concern. Whilst this had been going on, another Indian of the party who had come up took from his bag a small piece of white wood, which resembled a root, and passed it gently near the head of the cobra, which the latter immediately inclined close to the ground; he then lifted the snake without hesitation, and coiled it into a circle at the bottom of his basket. The root by which he professed to be enabled to perform this operation with safety he called the *Nayathalee Kalinga* (the root of the snake-plant), protected by which he professed his ability to approach any reptile with impunity. In another instance, in 1853, Mr. Lavalliere, the district judge of Kandy, informed me that he saw a snake-charmer in the jungle, close by the town, search for a *cobra de capello*, and, after disturbing it in its retreat, the man tried to secure it, but, in the attempt, he was bitten in the thigh till blood trickled from the wound. He instantly applied the *Pamboo-Kaloo*, which adhered closely for about ten minutes, during which time he passed the root which he held in his hand backwards and forwards above the stone, till the latter dropped to the ground. He assured Mr. Lavalliere that all

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danger was then passed. That gentleman obtained from him the snake-stone he had relied on, and saw him repeatedly afterwards in perfect health. The substances which were used on both these occasions are now in my possession. The roots employed by the several parties are not identical. One appears to be a bit of the stem of an Aristolochia; the other is so dried as to render it difficult to identify it, but it resembles the quadrangular stem of a jungle vine. Some species of Aristolochia, such as the *A. serpentaria* of North America, are supposed to act as a specific in the cure of snake-bites; and the *A. indica* is the plant to which the ichneumon is popularly believed to resort as an antidote when bitten. But it is probable that the use of any particular plant by the snake-charmers is a pretence, or rather a delusion, the reptile being overpowered by the resolute action of the operator, and not by the influence of any secondary appliance; the confidence inspired by the supposed talisman enabling its possessor to address himself fearlessly to his task, and thus to effect, by determination and will, what is popularly believed to be the result of charms and stupefaction. Still it is curious that, amongst the natives of Northern Africa, who lay hold of the *Cerastes* without fear or hesitation, their impunity is ascribed to the use of a plant with which they anoint themselves before touching the reptile; and Bruce says of the people of Sennar, that they acquire exemption from the fatal consequence of the bite by chewing a particular root, and washing themselves with an infusion of certain plants. He adds, that a portion of this root was given him, with a view to test its efficacy in his own person, but that he had not sufficient resolution to undergo the experiment. As to the snake-stone itself, I submitted one, the application of which I have been describing, to Mr. Faraday, and he has communicated to me, as the result of his analysis, his belief that it is "a piece of charred bone which has been filled with blood, perhaps several times, and then carefully charred again. Evidence of this is afforded, as well by the apertures of cells or tubes on its surface, as by the fact that it yields and breaks under pressure, and exhibits an organic structure within. When heated slightly, water rises from it, and also a little ammonia; and, if heated still more highly in the air, carbon burns away, and a bulky white ash is left, retaining the shape and size of the 'stone.' This ash, as is evident from inspection, cannot have belonged to any vegetable substance, for it is almost entirely composed of phosphate of lime." Mr. Faraday adds, that "if the piece of matter has ever been employed as a spongy absorbent, it seems hardly fit for that purpose in its present state; but who can say to what treatment it has been subjected since it was fit for use, or to what treatment the natives may submit it when expecting to have occasion to use it?"—P. 197.

The following introduction to Sir James' notice of the insects of Ceylon affords a fair illustration of his style, which is always fresh, lively, and pleasant, and sometimes exceedingly attractive, especially when he throws his vigorous thought and well-trained fancy into descriptions of nature:—

"Owing to the combination of heat, moisture, and vegetation, the myriads of insects in Ceylon form one of the characteristic features of the island. In the solitude of the forests there is a perpetual music from their soothing and melodious hum, which frequently swells to a startling sound, as the cicada trills his sonorous drum on the sunny bark of some tall tree. At morning the dew hangs in diamond drops on the threads and gossamer which the spiders suspend across every pathway; and above the pools dragonflies, of more than metallic lustre, flash in the early sunbeams. The earth teems with countless ants, which emerge from beneath its surface, or make their devious highways to ascend to their nests in the branches. Lustrous beetles, with their golden elytra, bask on the leaves, whilst minuter species dash through the air in circles, which the ear can follow by the booming of their tiny wings. Butterflies, of large size and gorgeous colouring, flutter over the endless expanse of flowers, and frequently the extraordinary sight presents itself of flights of these delicate creatures, generally of a white or pale yellow hue, apparently miles in breadth, and of such prodigious extension as to occupy hours, and even days, uninterruptedly in their passage—whence coming, no one knows: whither going, no one can tell. As day declines, the moths issue from their retreats, the crickets add their shrill voices to swell the din; and when darkness descends, the eye is charmed with the millions of emerald lamps lighted up by the fire-flies, amidst the surrounding gloom."—P. 248.

But the living things are not all so attractive. Snakes and serpents, ceraspes and crocodiles, lizards and giant frogs, abound everywhere. They meet wanderers in the jungle, intrude themselves on notice in the open plains, bask in deceitful beauty on the sunny slopes of the hills, lurk in the neighbourhood of human dwellings, and even, in many cases, take without ceremony possession of a man's bed. This is all bad enough

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and to Europeans sufficiently irksome, before a few months' residence has taken the edge off their dislike to creeping and crawling things. But here is something even worse:—"Of all the plagues which beset the traveller in the rising grounds of Ceylon, the most detested are the land-leeches. They are not frequent in the plains, which are too hot and dry for them; but amongst the rank vegetation in the lower ranges of the hill country, which is kept damp by frequent showers, they are found in tormenting profusion. They are terrestrial, never visiting ponds or streams. In size they are about an inch in length, and as fine as a common knitting needle; but capable of distention till they equal a quill in thickness, and attain a length of nearly two inches. Their structure is so flexible, that they can insinuate themselves through the meshes of the finest stocking, not only seizing on the feet and ankles, but ascending to the back and throat, and fastening on the tenderest parts of the body. The coffee-planters, who live amongst these pests, are obliged, in order to exclude them, to envelope their legs in 'leech gaiters,' made of closely woven cloth. The natives smear their bodies with oil, tobacco-ashes, or lemon juice; the latter serving not only to stop the flow of blood, but to expedite the healing of the wounds. In moving, the land-leeches have the power of planting one extremity on the earth and raising the other perpendicularly to watch for their victim. Such is their vigilance and instinct, that on the approach of a passer-by to a spot which they infest, they may be seen amongst the grass and fallen leaves on the edge of a native path, poised erect, and preparing for their attack on man and horse. On descrying their prey, they advance rapidly by semicircular strides, fixing one end firmly, and arching the other forwards, till by successive advances they can lay hold of the traveller's foot, when they disengage themselves from the ground and ascend his dress in search of an aperture to enter. In these encounters the individuals in the rear of a party of travellers in the jungle invariably fare worst, as the leeches, once warned of their approach, congregate with singular celerity. Their size is so insignificant, and the wound they make is so skilfully punctured, that both are generally imperceptible; and the first intimation of their onslaught is the trickling of the blood, or a chill feeling of the leech when it begins to hang heavily on the skin from being distended by its repast. Horses are driven wild by them, and stamp the ground in fury to shake them from their fetlocks, to which they hang in bloody tassels. The bare legs of the palanquin bearers and coolies are a favourite resort; and their hands being too much engaged to be spared to pull them off, the leeches hang like bunches of grapes round their ankles; and I have seen the blood literally flowing over the edge of a European's shoe from their innumerable bites. In healthy constitutions the wounds, if not irritated, generally heal, occasioning no other inconvenience than a slight inflammation and itching; but in those with a bad state of body, the punctures, if rubbed, are liable to degenerate into ulcers, which may lead to the loss of the limb or life. Both Davy and Marshall mention, that during the marches of troops in the mountains, when the Kandyans were in rebellion, in 1818, the soldiers, and especially the Madras sepoys, with the pioneers and coolies, suffered so severely from this cause that numbers of them perished.

"One circumstance regarding these land-leeches is remarkable and unexplained: they are helpless without moisture; and in the hills, where they abound at all other times, they entirely disappear during long droughts, yet reappear instantaneously on the very first fall of rain; and in spots previously parched, where not one was visible an hour before, a single shower is sufficient to reproduce them in thousands, lurking beneath the decaying leaves, or striding with rapid movements across the gravel. Whence do they reappear? Do they, too, take a "summer sleep," like the reptiles, mollusks, and tank fishes; or may they be, like the *Rotifera*, dried up and preserved for an indefinite period, resuming their vital activity on the mere recurrence of moisture?"—P. 305.

Sir James' antiquarian lore, and his skill in clearing up old customs, come strongly out in the following pleasant gossip about geese:—

"At the entrance to the great wihara, at Anarajapoora, there is now lying on the ground a semicircular slab of granite, the ornaments of which are designed in excellent taste, and executed with singular skill; elephants, lions, horses, and oxen, forming the outer border; that within consisting of a row of the 'hanza,' or sacred goose,—a bird that is equally conspicuous on the vast tablet, one of the wonders of Pollanarua, before alluded to.

"Taken in connection with the proverbial contempt for the supposed stolidity of the *goose*, there is something still unexplained in the extraordinary honours paid to it by the ancients, and the veneration in which it is held to the present day by some of the Eastern nations. The figure that occurs so

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frequently on Buddhist monuments, is the Brahmanee goose (*Casarka cana*), which is not a native of Ceylon; but from time immemorial it has been an object of veneration there, and in all parts of India. Amongst the Buddhists especially, impressed as they are with the solemn obligation of solitary retirement for meditation, the hanza has attracted attention by its periodical migrations, which are supposed to be directed to the holy Lake of Manasa, in the mythical regions of the Himalaya. The poet Kalidas, in his *Cloud Messenger*, speaks of the hanza as 'eager to set out for the sacred lake.' Hence, according to the *Rajavali*, the lion was pre-eminent amongst beasts, 'the *hanza* was king over all the feathered tribes.' In one of the Jatakas, which contains the legend of Buddha's apotheosis, his hair, when suspended in the sky, is described as resembling 'the beautiful Kala hanza.' The goose is at the present day, the national emblem emblazoned on the standard of Burmah; and the brass weights of the Burmese are generally cut in the shape of the sacred bird, just as the Egyptians formed their weights of stone after the same model.

"Augustine, in his *Civitas Dei*, traces the respect for the goose, displayed by the Romans, to their gratitude for the safety of the capital, when the vigilance of this bird defeated the midnight attack by the Goths. The adulation of the citizens, he says, degenerated afterwards almost to Egyptian superstition, in the rites instituted in honour of their preservers on that occasion. But the very fact that the geese which saved the citadel were already sacred to Juno, and domesticated in her temple, demonstrates the error of Augustine, and shows that they had acquired mythological eminence before achieving political renown. It must be observed, too, that the birds which rendered that memorable service, were the ordinary white geese of Europe, and not the red goose of the Nile (the χηναλώπηξ of Herodotus), which, ages before, had been enrolled amongst the animals held sacred in Egypt, and which formed the emblem of Seb, the father of Osiris. Horapollo, endeavouring to account for this predilection of the Egyptians (who employed the goose hieroglyphically to denote a *son*), ascribes it to their appreciation of the love evinced by it for its offspring, in exposing itself to divert the attention of the fowler from its young. This opinion was shared by the Greeks and the Romans. Aristotle praises its sagacity; Ælian dilates on the courage and cunning of the 'vulpanser,' and its singular attachment to man; and Ovid ranks the goose as superior to the dog in the scale of intelligence—

'Soliciti canes canibusve sagacior anser.'
—*Ovid. Met.* xi. 399.

The feeling appears to have spread westward at an early period. The ancient Britons, according to Cæsar, held it impious to eat the flesh of the goose; and the followers of the first Crusade, which issued from England, France, and Flanders, adored a goat and *a goose*, which they believed to be filled by the Holy Spirit.

"It is remarkable that the same word appears to designate the goose in the most remote quarters of the globe. The Pali term '*hanza*,' by which it was known to the Buddhists of Ceylon, is still the '*henza*' of the Burmese and the '*gangsa*' of the Malays; and is to be traced in the 'χην' of the Greeks, the '*anser*' of the Romans, the '*ganso*' of the Portuguese, the '*ansar*' of the Spaniards, the '*gans*' of the Germans (who, Pliny says, called the white geese *ganza*), the '*gao*' of the Swedes, and the '*gander*' of the English.—P. 487.

Our author devotes more than a hundred pages to a description of the sciences and social arts of the Singhalese, from the earliest to most recent times. This affords him frequent opportunity to mark progress or retrogression. Here, too, he is enabled to give bold relief to every philanthropic effort of the British since they obtained possession of the island. As he mentions one social feature and another which has yielded to the higher and more healthful civilization of their present rulers, and as he shows the happy change which has come over the administration of justice between man and man, it is not possible to resist the feeling that, if Britain has taken complete possession of the Island, its inhabitants enjoy an amount of social blessing to which at every other period of their history, even from the conquest of Wijayo, they were entire strangers. Slavery and compulsory labor have been done away with; courts of justice, as free from partiality and oppression as those of Britain, have been established; a system of elementary education is gradually spreading like a net-work over the land; the pursuits of the agriculturist are patronized and encouraged; roads have been made, bridges built, and indeed everything has been, or is being, done which a paternal government could devise for the good of the people.

The Singhalese, like their neighbours on the Asiatic continent, appear to have been fond of such subtilties as those which, to this day, are characteristic of the Hindoo mind. Like them, too, in their intellectual fencing, the inhabitants of Ceylon very frequently hide great childishness of thought. Sir James gives an amusing illustration of

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this from early Singhalese history. Mahindo, the first apostle of Buddhism, is represented in the ancient chronicle as testing the wise king of the island:—

"Oh King! what is this tree called?"

"The Ambo."

"Besides this one, is there any other Ambo-tree?"

"There are many."

"Besides this Ambo, and those other Ambo-trees, are there any other trees on the earth?"

"Lord, there are many trees, but they are not Ambo-trees."

"Besides the other Ambo-trees, and the trees that are not Ambo, is there any other?"

"Gracious Lord, *this Ambo-tree*."

"Ruler of men, thou art wise."

"Hast thou any relations, oh King?"

"Lord, I have many."

"King, are there any persons not thy relations?"

"There are many who are not my relations."

"Besides thy relations, and those who are not thy relations, is there, or is there not, any other human being in existence?"

"Lord, *there is myself*."

"Ruler of men, Sadhn! thou art wise."—P. 502.

Returning again to Sir James Tennent's description of the Zoology of Ceylon, his notices of its ichthyology claim our attention. Some of its fishes have the singular habit of burying themselves deep down in the mud on the approach of the season of drought; and others are well known as travellers, which leave their pools at the dry season also, and shape their course through the grass to the nearest pool of water. These are like "the Doras of Guiana, which have been seen travelling overland during the dry season in search of their natural element, in such droves that the negroes have filled baskets with them during these terrestrial excursions." The travelling fish of Ceylon is closely allied to, if it be not the same as, the *Anabas scandens* of Cuvier. "This little creature issues boldly from its native pools and addresses itself to its toilsome march, generally at night or in the early morning, while the grass is still damp with the dew." Some of the fish of Ceylon climb, while others are musically inclined!

"On the occasion of another visit which I made to Batticaloa, in September 1848, I made some inquiries relative to a story which I had heard of musical sounds, said to be heard issuing from the bottom of the lake, at several places, both above and below the ferry opposite the old Dutch Fort; and which the natives suppose to proceed from some fish peculiar to the locality. The report was confirmed to me in all its particulars, and one of the spots whence the sounds proceed was pointed out between the pier and a rock which intersects the channel, two or three hundred yards to the eastward. They were said to be heard at night, and most distinctly when the moon was nearest the full, and they were described as resembling the faint sweet notes of an Æolian harp. I sent for some of the fishermen, who said they were perfectly aware of the fact; and that their fathers had always known of the existence of the musical sounds heard, they said, at the spot alluded to, but only during the dry season, and they cease when the lake is swollen by the freshes after the rain. They believed them to proceed from a shell, which is known by the Tamil name of (*oorie coolooroe cradoe*, or) the 'crying shell,' a name in which the sound seems to have been adopted as an echo of the sense. I sent them in search of the shell; and they returned bringing me some living specimens of different shells, chiefly *littorina* and *cerithium*. In the evening, when the moon had risen, I took a boat and accompanied the fishermen to the spot. We rowed about two hundred yards north-east of the jetty by the Fort gate; there was not a breath of wind, nor a ripple except that caused by the dip of our oars; and on coming to the point mentioned, I distinctly heard the sounds in question. They came up from the water like the gentle thrills of a musical chord, or the faint vibrations of a wine-glass when its rim is rubbed by a wet finger. It was not one sustained note, but a multitude of tiny sounds, each clear and distinct in itself; the sweetest treble mingling with the lowest bass. On applying the ear to the woodwork of the boat, the vibration was greatly increased in volume by conduction. The sounds varied considerably at different points, as we moved across the lake, as if the number of the animals from which they proceeded was greatest in particular spots; and occasionally we rowed out of the hearing of them altogether, until on returning to the original locality the sounds were at once renewed."

It was our intention to have given, with illustrative extracts, as much prominence to the botany of Ceylon as we have done to its zoology, but the space of our disposal forbids. We can, however, promise our botanical readers much pleasure in the work before us. The pages devoted to the coffee district of the island are full of information; but we can do no more than mention them,

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as we wish to glance for a little at that part of the present work which is taken up with notices of the elephant. The subject is a favourite one with Sir James, and he succeeds in making it the same to his readers. He thinks it necessary to make something like an apology in the Introduction, for the space devoted to the elephant. This was not needful. The notices of this noble animal,—of his haunts and habits, the modes of hunting him, and the like,—will be eagerly perused by all. Here is a description of an elephant *corral*, or enclosure into which wild herds are driven by the hunters:—

"In 1847, arrangements were made for one of the great elephant hunts for the supply of the Civil Engineer Department, and the spot fixed on was on the banks of the river Kinbul, about fifteen miles from Kornegalle. . . . . In selecting a scene for a hunt, a position is chosen which lies on some old and frequented route of the animals, in their periodical migrations in search of forage and water; and the vicinity of a stream is indispensable, not only for the supply of the elephants during the time spent in inducing them to approach the enclosure, but to enable them to bathe and cool themselves throughout the process of training after capture.

"In constructing the corral itself, care is taken to avoid disturbing the trees or the brushwood within the included space, and especially on the side by which the elephants are to approach, where it is essential to conceal the stockade as much as possible by the density of the foliage. . . . . The space thus enclosed was about 500 feet in length, by half that width. At one end an entrance was left open, fitted with sliding bars, so prepared as to be capable of being instantly shut;—and from each angle of the end by which the elephants were to approach, two lines of the same strong fencing were continued on either side, and cautiously concealed by the trees; so that if, instead of entering by the open passage, the herd were to swerve to the right or left, they would find themselves suddenly stopped and forced to retrace their course to the gate. The preparations were completed by placing a stage for the Governor's party on a group of the nearest trees looking down into the enclosure, so that a view could be had of the entire proceeding, from the entrance of the herd to the leading out of the captive elephants. . . . . The corral being thus prepared, the beaters address themselves to drive in the elephants. For this purpose, it is often necessary to fetch a circuit of many miles in order to surround a sufficient number; and the caution to be observed involves patience and delay, as it is essential to avoid alarming the elephants, which might otherwise rush in the wrong direction. . . . . At last, the elephants are forced so close to the enclosure, that the investing cordon is united at either end with the wings of the corral,—the whole forming a circle of about two miles, within the area of which the herd is detained to wait the signal for the final drive. . . . .

"Two months had been spent in these preparations; and they had been thus far completed, on the day when we arrived and took our places on the stage erected for us, overlooking the entrance to the corral. Close beneath us, a group of tame elephants, sent by the temples and the chiefs to assist in securing the wild ones, were picketed in the shade, and lazily fanning themselves with leaves. Three distinct herds, whose united numbers were variously represented at from forty to fifty elephants, were enclosed, and were at that moment concealed in the jungle, within a short distance of the stockade. Not a sound was permitted to be made; each person spoke to his neighbour in whispers; and such was the silence observed by the multitude of the watchers at their posts, that occasionally we could hear the rustling of the branches as some of the elephants stripped off their leaves.

"Suddenly the signal was made, and the stillness of the forest was broken by the shouts of the guard, the rolling of the drums and tomtoms, and the discharge of muskets; and, beginning at the most distant side of the area, the elephants were urged forward towards the entrance into the corral.

"The watchers along the line kept silence only till the herd had passed them, and then, joining the cry in their rear, they drove them onward with redoubled shouts and noises. The tumult increased as the terrified rout drew near, swelling now on one side, now on the other, as the herd in their panic dashed from point to point in their endeavours to force the line, but were instantly driven back by screams, guns, and drums.

"At length the breaking of the branches, and the crackling of the brushwood, announced their close approach; and the leader, bursting from the jungle, rushed wildly forward to within twenty yards of the entrance, followed by the rest of the herd. Another moment, and they would have plunged into the open gate,—when suddenly they wheeled round, re-entered the jungle, and, in spite of the hunters, resumed their original position. The chief headman came forward, and accounted for

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the freak by saying that a wild pig—an animal which the elephants are said to dislike—had started out of the cover and run across the leader, who would otherwise have held on direct for the corral; and he intimated, that as the herd was now in the highest state of excitement,—and it was at all times much more difficult to effect a successful capture by daylight than by night, when the fires and flambeaux act with double effect,—it was the wish of the hunters to defer their final effort till the evening, when the darkness would lend a powerful aid to their exertions.

"After sunset the scene exhibited was of extraordinary interest; the low fires, which had apparently only smouldered in the sun-light, assumed their ruddy glow amidst the darkness, and threw their tinge over the groups collected round them; while the smoke rose in eddies through the rich foliage of the trees. The crowds of spectators maintained profound silence, and not a sound was perceptible beyond the hum of an insect. On a sudden the stillness was broken by the roll of a drum, followed by a discharge of musketry. This was the signal for the renewed assault, and the hunters entered the circle with shouts and clamour; dry leaves and sticks were flung upon the watchfires till they blazed aloft, and formed a line of flame on every side, except in the direction of the corral, which was studiously kept dark; and thither the terrified elephants betook themselves, followed by the yells and racket of their pursuers.

"They approached at a rapid pace, trampling down the brushwood and crushing the dry branches; the leader emerged in front of the corral, paused for an instant, stared wildly round, and then rushed headlong through the open gate, followed by the rest of the herd.

"As if by magic, the entire circuit of the corral, which to this moment had been kept in profound darkness, now blazed with a thousand lights; every hunter, on the instant that the elephants entered, rushing forward to the stockade with a torch kindled at the nearest watchfire.

"The elephants first dashed to the very extremity of the enclosure; and, being brought up by the powerful fence, started back to regain the gate, but found it closed. Their terror was sublime: they hurried round the corral at a rapid pace, but saw it now girt by fire on every side: they attempted to force the stockade, but were driven back by the guards with spears and flambeaux; and on whichever side they approached, they were repulsed with shouts and discharges of musketry. Collecting into one group, they would pause for a moment in apparent bewilderment, then burst off in another direction, as if it had suddenly occurred to them to try some point which they had before overlooked; but again repulsed, they slowly returned to their forlorn resting-place in the centre of the corral."—II. 354.

The scene after the hunt is equally well-told, and full of interest:—

"When every wild elephant had been noosed and tied up, the scene presented was one truly Oriental. From one to two thousand natives, many of them in gaudy dresses and armed with spears, crowded about the enclosures. Their families had collected to see the spectacle: women, whose children clung like little bronzed Cupids by their side; and girls, many of them in the graceful costume of that part of the country—a scarf, which, after having been brought round the waist, is thrown over the left shoulder, leaving the right arm and side free and uncovered. At the foot of each tree was its captive elephant; some still struggling and writhing in feverish excitement, while others, in exhaustion and despair, lay motionless, except that from time to time they heaped fresh dust upon their heads. The mellow notes of a Kandyan flute, which was played at a little distance, had a striking effect upon one or more of them; they turned their heads in the direction from which the music came, expanded their broad ears, and were evidently soothed with the plaintive sound. The two little ones alone still roared for freedom; they stamped their feet, and blew clouds of dust over their shoulders, brandishing their little trunks aloft, and attacking every one who came within their reach. At first, the older ones, when secured, spurned every offer of food, trampled it under foot, and turned haughtily away. A few, however, as they became more composed, could not resist the temptation of the juicy stems of the plantain, but rolling them under foot, till they detached the layers, they raised them in their trunks, and commenced chewing them listlessly. On the whole, whilst the sagacity, the composure, and docility of the decoys were such as to excite lively astonishment, it was not possible to withhold the highest admiration from the calm and dignified demeanour of the captives. Their whole bearing was at variance with the representations made by some of the 'sportsmen' who harass them, that they are treacherous, savage, and revengeful. When tormented by the guns of their persecutors, they, no doubt, display their

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powers and sagacity in efforts to retaliate or escape; but here their every movement was indicative of innocence and timidity. After a struggle, in which they evinced no disposition to violence or revenge, they submitted with the calmness of despair. Their attitudes were pitiable, their grief was most touching, and their low moaning went to the heart. It would not have been tolerable had they either been captured with unnecessary pain or reserved for ill-treatment afterwards."—P. 372.

Adam's Peak, and the famous sacred footprint at the top, were visited by Sir James Tennent. As usual, he mixes up his graphic sketches of scenery with kindly gossip and historical lore. By the Brahmans the footprint was held to be that of Siva, the Buddhists looked on it as that of Buddha, the Chinese as that of Foe, the Gnostics as of Ieû, the primal man, and the Mahometans regarded it as that of Adam. "At the present day the Buddhists are the guardians of the Sri-pada, or sacred foot-mark; but around the object of common adoration the devotees of all the races meet, not in furious contention, like the Latins and Greeks at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, but in pious appreciation of the one solitary object on which they can unite in peaceful worship." They are easily pleased. Were they less superstitious, they might possibly be more ready to quarrel. "The route taken to the mountain from the western side of the island, is generally from Colombo to Ratnapoora by land, and thence by jungle paths to the Peak; and, on the return, visitors usually descend the Kalugauga in boats to Caltura. The distance from the sea to the summit is about sixty-five miles, for two thirds of which the road lies across the lowlands of the coast, traversing rice-lands and cocoa nut groves, and passing by numerous villages, with their gardens of jak-trees, arecas, and plantains. After leaving Ratnapoora, the traveller proceeds by bridle roads to climb the labyrinth of hills which cluster round the base of the sacred mountain. These form what is called the 'Wilderness of the Peak,' and are covered with forests frequented by elephants, wild boars, and leopards. There the track winds under overarching trees, whose shade excludes the sun; across brawling rivers; through ravines so deep, that nothing but the sky is seen above; and thence the road reascends to heights from which views of surpassing grandeur are obtained over the hills and plains below. In these moist regions the tormenting land-leeches swarm on the damp grass, and almost defy every precaution, however vigilant, against insidious attacks. . . . During the greater part of this upward journey, the summit of the mountain, the object of so much solicitude and toil, is seldom visible, being hidden by the overhanging cliffs; but, at last, on reaching a little patch of table-land at Diebetne, with its ruinous rest-house, the majestic cone is discerned towering in unsurpassed sublimity, but with an intervening space of three miles of such acclivity, that the Singhalese have conferred on it the appropriate name of *aukanagaou*, literally, 'the sky-league.' Here, descending into one of the many ravines, and crossing an enormous mass of rounded rock overflowed b perpetual streams, the ascent recommences by passages so steep as to be accessible only by means of steps hewn in the smooth stone. On approaching the highest altitude, vegetation suddenly ceases; and, at last, on reaching the base of the stupendous cone which forms the pinnacle of the peak, further progress is effected by aid of chains, securely riveted in the living rock. As the pillar-like crag rounds away at either side, the eye, if turned downwards, peers into a chasm of unseen depth; and so dizzy is the elevation, that the guides discourage a pause, lest a sudden gust of wind should sweep the adventurous climber from his giddy footing into the unfathomable gulfs below. An iron ladder, let into the face of a perpendicular cliff upwards of forty feet in height, lands the pilgrim on the tiny terrace which forms the apex of the mountain; and in the centre of this, on the crown of a mass of gneiss and hornblende, the sacred footstep is discovered, under a pagoda-like canopy, supported on slender columns, and open on all sides to the winds.

"The indentation in the rock is a natural hollow artificially enlarged, exhibiting the rude outline of a foot about five feet long, and of proportionate breadth; but it is a test of credulity, too gross even for fanaticism, to believe that the footstep is either human or divine. The worship addressed to it consists of offerings, chiefly flowers of the rhododendron, presented with genuflexions, invocations, and shouts of *Saadoo!* The ceremony concludes by the striking of an ancient bell, and a draught from the sacred spring, which runs within a few feet of the summit."—II. 141.

Reference has been made already to the "creeping things" of Ceylon. They appear to be in the habit of taking all liberties with the dwellings of man. The sensation would not be of the most pleasant kind, which would be called up by discovering a snake

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with her young under our pillow, or by feeling the cold crawl of a lizard over an exposed leg.

"Serpents are numerous on the hills; and as the house stood on a terrace formed out of one of its steepest sides, the cobra de capello and the green carawella frequently glided through the rooms on their way towards the grounds. During the residence of one of my predecessors in office, an invalid, who lay for some days on a sofa in the verandah, imagined more than once that she felt something move under the pillow; and, on rising to have it examined, a snake was discovered with a brood of young, which, from their being born alive, were most probably venomous. A lady residing in the old palace adjoining, going to open her piano, was about to remove what she thought to be an ebony walking-stick that lay upon it, but was startled on finding that she had laid hold of a snake.

"One day, when the carriage had come to the door, and I was about to hand a lady in, a rat-snake uncoiled itself on the cushion, and glided leisurely down the steps. Those creatures, however, are perfectly harmless, and are encouraged by the horse-keepers to take up their abode about the offices and stable-yard, which they keep free of vermin. In colour they are brown, with a tinge of iridescent blue.

"Another less formidable intruder was the great black scorpion, as large as a little cray-fish, which sometimes, when disturbed in the daylight, made its way across the floor with its venomed tail arched forward, prepared to encounter any assailant."—II. 205.

In this notice of Sir James Emerson Tennent's "Ceylon," we have not been able to do more than refer to some of the leading topics in a work which, for the rich and varied information it contains, and for the great ability with which it has been written, is unequalled in recent books of travel. This is saying much; but we are persuaded the estimate will be cordially accepted by every reader. We are glad to see that it has reached a third edition, and have no doubt but that this is only the beginning of its sale. As a monograph on Ceylon it is complete. From some knowledge of the literature of travel which treats of that island, and from acquaintance with several who have spent many years there, and who have read Sir James' work, we believe nothing has been left out which could be of value to British readers. The historian, the antiquary, the naturalist, the sportsman, the merchant, and the lover of travel-talk, has each in it something specially for him; while the good sense, literary skill, sound information, and general ability, characteristic of every portion of the work, will make it attractive and interesting to all intelligent men.

Art. IX.—Works of George Wilson, M.D., F.R.S.E., F.R.S.S.A., Regius Director of the Industrial Museum of Scotland, and Professor of Technology in the University of Edinburgh.

1. *Chemistry, in Chambers' Educational Course.* 1850. Twenty-fourth Thousand.
2. *The Life of the Hon. Henry Cavendish.* Cavendish Society, 1851.
3. *Life of Dr. John Reid.* Sutherland and Knox. 1852. Second Edition.
4. *Researches on Colour-Blindness.* Sutherland and Knox. 1855.
5. *The Five Gateways of Knowledge.* Macmillan and Co. 1856. Second Edition.
6. *Electricity and the Electric Telegraph.* Longmans. 1858. Second Edition.
7. *On Isomeric Transmutation.* 1844.
8. *Experimental Demonstrations of the Existence of Haloid Salts in Solution.* Transactions of British Association, 1839.
9. *On the Employment of Oxygen as a Means of Resuscitation in Asphyxia, and otherwise as a Remedial Agent.* Transactions Royal Scot. Soc. of Arts, 1845.
10. *Account of a Repetition of several of Dr. Samuel Brown's Processes for the Conversion of Carbon into Silicon.* By George Wilson, M.D., and John Crombie Brown, Esq. Ditto, 1844.
11. *On a Simple Mode of constructing Skeleton Models to illustrate the Systems of Crystallography.* Transactions Royal Scot. Soc. of Arts, 1845.
12. *On Dr. Wollaston's Argument from the Limitation of the Atmosphere as to the Finite Divisibility of Matter.* Transactions of the Royal Soc. of Edinburgh, 1845.
13. *On the Applicability of the Electro-Magnetic Bell to the Trial of Experiments on the Conduction of Sound, especially of Gases.* Edin. New Philosophical Journal, 1846.
14. *On the Solubility of Fluoride of Calcium, etc.* Transactions of the Royal Society of Edin., 1846.
15. *On some Phenomena of Capillary Attraction observed with Chloroform, Bi-*

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sulphuret of Carbon, and other Liquids. Ditto, 1848.

16. *On the Action of Dry Gases on Organic Colouring Matters, and its Relation to the Theory of Bleaching.* Do., 1848.
17. *A few Unpublished Particulars regarding the late Dr. Black.* Do., 1849.
18. *On the Specific Gravity of Chloroform.* Monthly Journal of Medical Science, 1848.
19. *On the Argument for the Binary Theory of Salts.* Read before the Chemical Society, 1848.
20. *On the Extraction of Mannite from the Root of Dandelion.* Royal Society, Edin., 1849.
21. *On the Decomposition of Water by Platinum and the Black Oxide of Iron at a White Heat.* Journal of Chemical Society, 1847.
22. *On the possible Derivation of the Diamond from Anthracite.* Edin. New Philosophical Journal, April 1850.
23. *On the Proportion of Fluoride of Calcium present in the Baltic.* (FORCHAMMER.) Edin. New Phil. Journal, April 1850.
24. *On the Crystallization of Bicarbonate of Ammonia in Spherical Masses.* Royal Society, 1851.
25. *Presence of Fluorine in Blood and Milk, etc.* Edin. New Philosophical Journal, 1850.
26. *On Two New Processes for the Detection of Fluorine, when accompanied by Silica, etc.* Royal Society of Edin., 1852.
27. *On a supposed Meteoric Stone, alleged to have fallen in Hampshire in Sept.* 1852. Ditto.
28. *On the Organs in which Lead accumulates in the Horse, in Cases of Slow Poisoning by that Metal.* 1852.
29. *On Nitric Acid as a Source of the Nitrogen found in Plants.* Transactions of the Royal Soc. of Edin., 1853.
30. *Recent Scientific Ballooning.* British Quarterly Review, Jan. 1854.
31. *On the Extent to which the Received Theory of Vision requires us to regard the Eye as a Camera Obscura.* Transactions of the Royal Society of Edin., 1855.
32. *On the Artificial Preparation of Sea Water for the Aquarium.* Edin. New Philosophical Journal, 1855.
33. *Chemical Final Causes.* Edin. University Essays, 1856.
34. *On the Transmission of the Actinic Rays of Light through the Eye, and their Relation to the Yellow Spot of the Retina.* Royal Society, April 1856.
35. *On M. J. Nickle's Claim to be the Discoverer of Fluorine in the Blood.* Philosophical Magazine, March 1857.
36. *On the Production of Photographs on Fluorescent Surfaces.* Journal of Photographic Society, 1857.
37. *On the Recent Vindication of the Priority of Cavendish as the Discoverer of the Composition of Water.* Royal Society, April 1859.
38. *On Dryness, Darkness, and Coldness, as means of preserving Photographs from Fading.* Journal of the Photographic Society, 1859.
39. *On the Fruits of the Cucurbitaceæ and Crescentiaceæ.* Edin. New Phil. Journal, Oct. 1859.
40. *What is Technology?* Nov. 7th, 1855.
41. *On the Physical Sciences which form the Basis of Technology* Nov. 1856.
42. *The Objects of Technology and Industrial Museums.* Feb. 1856.
43. *The Relation of Ornamental to Industrial Art.* 1856.
44. *On the Chemistry of Building Materials.* Nov. 1854.
45. *The Progress of the Telegraph, being the Introductory Lecture on Technology for* 1858–59.
46. *On Pharmacy as a Branch of Technology.* April 1856. Pharmaceutical Journal.
47. *On the Relations of Technology to Agriculture.* Jan. 16th, 1856. Transactions of the Society.
48. *On the Early History of the Air-Pump in England.* Edin. New Philosophical Journal, April 1849.
49. *On the Electric Fishes as the Earliest Electric Machines employed by Mankind.* Dublin Meeting, 1857.
50. *The Industrial Museum of Scotland in its Relation to Commercial Enterprise.* 1857.
51. *Address as President, Royal Scottish Society of Arts.* Nov. 1856. Transactions of the Society.
52. *Address as President, Royal Scottish Society of Arts.* Nov. 1857.
53. *Paper, Pens, and Ink.* Macmillan's Magazine, Nov. 1859.
54. *Sketch of the Life and Works of Wollaston.* British Quarterly Review, August 1846.
55. *Sketch of the Life and Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle.* British Quarterly Review, Feb. 1849.
56. *Sketch of James Wilson of Woodville.* Edin. New Philosophical Journal, July 1856.
57. *Biographical Notice of the late Professor Edward Forbes.* Royal Society, April 1858.
58. *Life and Discoveries of Dalton.* British Quarterly Review, Feb. 1845.

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59. *On the alleged Antagonism between Poetry and Chemistry.* Nov. 7th, 1845.
60. *Introductory Address delivered at the Opening of the Medical School, Surgeons' Hall, Edin.* Nov. 1850.
61. *On the Character of God as inferred from the Study of Human Anatomy.* Address to Medical Students. A. and C. Black. 1856.
62. *On the Sacredness of Medicine as a Profession.* Edinburgh, 1849.
63. *The Grievance of the University Tests.* A Letter addressed to the Right Hon. Spencer H. Walpole, Secretary of State for the Home Department. 1852.
64. *Anæsthetics in Surgery, from a Patient's Point of View.* A Letter to Dr. Simpson, published in his Obstetric Memoirs, Vol. II.
65. *To the Stethoscope. A Poem.* Blackwood's Magazine, March 1847.
66. *The Wings of the Dove and Eagle. A Poem.* Blackwood's Magazine.
67. *Verses in reference to Prof. Ed. Forbes.* Blackwood's Magazine, Feb. 1855.
68. *Lines on the Atlantic Cable.* Blackwood's Magazine, 1858.

Purposing to give a Biographical Sketch of the late Professor George Wilson, we have placed at the head of this article a list of his various publications. These extend over a wide range of literature and science, and several of them have already been noticed in this Journal. He was a man of exquisite literary power and fancy, and his writings are deservedly popular. By his death, the University of Edinburgh has been deprived of one of its bright ornaments, and Chemistry has lost one of its most felicitous and pleasing expounders.

Dr. Wilson was born in Edinburgh, on 21st February 1818; and was thus, at his death, in the forty-first year of his age. "His parents were highly respectable, though not in such an elevated station as to diminish the credit due to his own exertions in attaining the position which he ultimately reached; but it deserves to be noticed, that he may be included in the number of distinguished men who have been in a great degree indebted for the development of their talents to the maternal character and influence."*

His father, Mr. Archibald Wilson, was a wine merchant in Edinburgh, and died about sixteen years ago. His mother, Janet Aitken, who is still living, was the youngest daughter of a land-surveyor in Greenock. She is a lady of great intelligence and piety, and she devoted much attention to the education of her children. There were eleven of the family; but of these only three now remain,—a son, Dr. Daniel Wilson, the well-known author of "The Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," at present Professor of English Literature and History in the University of Toronto,—and two daughters. From his childhood, George was distinguished by many noble qualities—great truthfulness, self-sacrifice, and delicate sense of honour, and generous feelings. Studious, and with a marked love for books, he gave early promise of great mental ability.

In 1822 he commenced his studies in a private school, and in 1828 he entered as a pupil of the High School, under Mr. Benjamin Mackay, an able classical teacher. He was always among the first five in the class, and was remarkable for his *general knowledge*—a quality which was exhibited during life, and which seemed afterwards to fit him specially for the situation he occupied in the University. So warm were his affections, and such his power of attracting others, that from his boyhood onwards no one was more generally beloved. While at school, in 1828–29, he and his brothers formed among their companions a "Juvenile Society for the Advancement of Knowledge." They met once a-week in his father's house, when papers were read on natural history, mechanics, astronomy, etc. Minutes of their proceedings were kept by his brother Daniel. His mother presided over the youthful assembly, and usually wound up the evening by giving a verse from Proverbs.

Wilson remained at the High School until he was fifteen. On leaving it he selected Medicine as his object of study, and commenced by becoming an apprentice in the laboratory of the Royal Infirmary, where he remained for four years. The suffering and distress which he witnessed during this period, made an indelible impression on his very sensitive nature, and had a saddening effect on his mind. Many are the stories which might be told illustrative of his sympathy with the patients, and his eager desire to relieve them. In his opening Address to the Society of Arts on November 23, 1857, in referring to apprenticeships, he says,—"Ah me! when I recall some of the enforced companions of my apprentice days, I feel that I would make the greatest sacrifices rather than permit a

* Lord Neaves' Opening Address to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, December 5, 1859.

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youth dear to me to encounter similar temptations."

He entered the University of Edinburgh in 1834, passed as surgeon in 1838, took his degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1839, and wrote a thesis "On the Certain Existence of Haloid Salts of the Electro Negative Metals in Solution." After taking his degree, chemistry became his favourite pursuit. He had studied the subject assiduously under Dr. Hope and Mr. Kenneth Kemp; and in 1836–37 he had been engaged for eighteen months as chemical assistant in Dr. Christison's laboratory, which was at that time the best school of analytical chemistry in the University. His first lectures on chemistry were given to private audiences, in the drawing-room of his father's house, in 1837, In a MS. journal kept by him, we find the following entries: — "September 20th, 1838"—"I meet with scarcely one lady in ten or fifty, who has sufficiently cultivated her natural intellectual powers." . . . "This winter shall see me do my utmost to suggest an improvement among my own small circle."

"May 1839. Following out the proposal to amend the subjects of ladies' conversation and study, I assembled some of them in my father's house, and delivered a course of prelections on chemistry, especially the chemistry of nature. This was in the winter of 1837–38, so that I was then not nineteen. The majority of my audience were older than myself by a year or two. I was greatly praised and encouraged, most kindly listened to, and assisted in many ways, especially by J. M'G., a generous, unselfish, happy fellow, without whose aid I should have come on very poorly. This course, which began in October, was first interrupted by the illness of my sister, and afterwards by the mournful indisposition of my cousin C.; so that only ten or twelve lectures were given.

"I place here the names of those who smiled on a juvenile attempt, both because I would keep on record the title of those persons, who gave rise to many a happy thought, and that, as I hope to address other audiences, I may not lose the recollection of my first, which was more kind, generous, and forgiving towards me than any future audience can be."

Subsequently to this Dr. Wilson went to London, and entered the laboratory of University College, under the superintendence of Professor Graham, now Master of the Mint. There, with Dr. Lyon Playfair, Mr. James Young of Glasgow, Dr. Livingstone, the African traveller, and other zealous students, he carried on his chemical pursuits for a period of six months.

During his attendance at the University, he took an active part in all the doings of students, and joined in many of the *jeux d'esprits* which were in vogue at the time. He sent contributions to the University periodicals which were then established. In the University *Maga* for Tuesday, 23d February 1838, there is a paper by him, with the initials B. I. (meaning Bottle Imp), on "The Consulting Room and College Philosophers." He refers to the various classes of students who frequent the room, and, in speaking of medical students, says: "We draw attention to a *species*, individuals of which are to be found at every table. They are known by their care-worn, anxious looks, and by having a huge volume of folio anatomical plates before them, and a Dublin Dissector lying hard by. You peep over their shoulder, and find them tracing the course of the Vidian nerve, the relations of the external carotid, or the like; and you know that before the eyes of each floats, like the mirage of the desert, a japanned tin case, which, when attempted to be grasped, fades, like Macbeth's visionary dagger, into viewless air. Reader! these unhappy mortals are aspirants to the name and honours of Surgeon."*

He began to lecture publicly on chemistry in Edinburgh in 1840. About this time, however, his health began to suffer, apparently in consequence of excessive exertion during a pedestrian excursion in the Highlands with a cousin. His first course of lectures was arranged when he was confined to bed, and he was scarcely convalescent when he commenced the session of November, 1840. His health continued broken after this. An attack of rheumatism was followed by disease of the ankle-joint, which ultimately called for amputation. This was

* He wrote a paper for the same periodical, "On the Natural History Museum," which was sent to Edward Forbes, the editor, but was not published. In it, after some amusing remarks on the etymology of the word Museum, he proceeds to comment on the mode in which some of the quadrupeds in the Museum are stuffed. He found that the lower lip of an elephant, in the collection, was made up of a piece of cloth, painted black on the outside and red within. He had read of canvas-backed ducks, but never of canvas-lipped elephants; and he proposes to designate the species "*Elephas linteolabiatus*." A rhinoceros also attracted his notice, on account of a piece of wood supplying the place of a skull and projecting into the mouth. To this animal he applies the name of "*Rhinocero xylocephalus*." It was this paper which called the attention of the editor to Wilson.

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performed in January 1843, by his friend, and afterwards his colleague, Professor Syme. His case is thus described in Mr. Syme's "Contributions to the Pathology and Practice of Surgery," 1848:—"A medical gentleman, about twenty-five years of age, after suffering from general rheumatism, was, twelve months ago,* attacked with severe pain in the left ankle, accompanied with swelling and inability of using the limb. Various remedies were used without benefit. An abscess opened in the course of the summer, and continued to discharge from a sinus behind the ankle and heel. Six weeks ago I saw him with Mr. Goodsir. He was much reduced in strength, and greatly emaciated, obtaining no rest except through the use of opiates, and evidently sinking under his protracted sufferings." Amputation seemed to offer the only hope of relief, and Mr. Syme proposed disarticulation. Accordingly, he performed this operation; and as the articulating surfaces of the joint were everywhere divested of cartilage, rough and carious, instead of removing the malleolar projections separately, he exposed the bone sufficiently to saw off both together, with a thin lamina of the tibia connecting them. This was the first instance in which Professor Syme amputated through the ankle-joint for disease of the joint. It is therefore interesting in the annals of surgery. The case proceeded favourably. Dr. Wilson, on 9th June 1846, wrote to Professor Syme in these terms:—"You will remember that I lost my foot in January 1843. The stump healed rapidly, and in six weeks had all closed except one small aperture, from which a slight watery discharge continued to come till the month of June, when it suddenly ceased, and complete cicatrization occurred. Since that period I have experienced no pain or uneasy sensation of any kind in the stump, nor any tenderness, making standing or walking irksome or unpleasant. . . . I can lean the weight of my body on the naked stump without inconvenience. . . . The artificial foot I wear within an ordinary half-boot, is made of light wood, with a spring across the part corresponding to the roots of the toes. This spring, however, is of no use, as the rigidity of the boot enclosing it prevents its acting. The foot might be made of one piece of wood. At the heel, it is hollowed into a concavity corresponding to the shape of the stump, but rising up before and behind into two prolongations, which, seen in section, would resemble the horns of a crescent. The foot is cased in chamois leather. . . . I have stood for six hours (not consecutively) daily, for months together, without any inconvenience; and I wear the artificial foot, without intermission, from morning till bed-time." John Goodsir was the only assistant at the operation. The feelings which Dr. Wilson experienced previous to the operation, and during its performance, are graphically portrayed by him in a letter on "the Anæsthetics of Surgery," which he addressed to Professor Simpson, and which is published in Simpson's Obstetric Works, edited by Drs. Priestley and Storrer, Vol. II., p. 796. He contrasts the condition of patients in his day, before the use of chloroform, with their state at the present time:—

"Several years ago," he says, "I was required to prepare, on very short warning, for the loss of a limb by amputation. A painful disease, which for a time had seemed likely to yield to the remedies employed, suddenly became greatly aggravated, and I was informed by two surgeons of the highest skill, who were consulted on my case, that I must choose between death and the sacrifice of a limb,—and that my choice must be promptly made, for my strength was fast sinking under pain, sleeplessness, and exhaustion. I at once agreed to submit to the operation, but asked a week to prepare for it, not with the slightest expectation that my disease would take a favourable turn in the interval, or that the anticipated horrors of the operation would become less appalling by reflection upon them; but simply because it was so probable that the operation would be followed by a fatal issue, that I wished to prepare for death, and what lies beyond it, whilst my faculties were clear and my emotions were comparatively undisturbed. For I knew well that if the operation was speedily followed by death, I should be in a condition, during the interval, in the last degree unfavourable to making preparation for the great change."

During the interval, he diligently and prayerfully studied the Bible, and at the end of a week the operation was performed. There were no anæsthetics in those days, and the operation was a very painful and somewhat tedious one. Not being gifted with great physical courage, he was one of those to whom cutting, bruising, burning, or any similar physical injury, even to a small extent, was a source of suffering never willingly endured, and always anticipated with more or less apprehension. He states that he could never forget the black whirlwind of emotion, the horror of great darkness, and the sense of desertion by God and man, bordering almost upon despair, which swept through his mind and overwhelmed his heart. Chloroform would have been the greatest boon to him. From his relations he concealed the impending operation, fearing that the expression of their grief would shake

* The account was written 1843, and appeared in the April number of the *Edinburgh Monthly Medical Journal.*

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his resolution. They were not aware of what had happened until the surgeons made it known to them. "During the operation," he continues, "in spite of the pain it occasioned, my senses were preternaturally acute; I watched all that the surgeons did with fascinated intensity. I still recall with unwelcome vividness the spreading out of the instruments, the twisting of the tourniquet, the first incision, the fingering of the sawed bone, the sponge pressed on the flap, the tying of the blood-vessels, the stitching of the skin, and the bloody dismembered limb lying on the floor." He then dwells on the value of anæsthetics, and concludes thus:—"The sum, you will perceive, of what I have been urging is, that the *unconsciousness* of the patient secured by anæsthetics, is scarcely less important than the painlessness with which they permit injuries to be inflicted on him. . . . . I plead, therefore, for the administration of anæsthetics. I have thanked God many a time that He has put it into your heart to devise so simple and so safe a way of lessening pain. As for the fear entertained by some, that the moral good which accrues from suffering, and is intended by the Ruler of All to be secured by it, will be lost if agony is evaded by sufferers having recourse to anæsthetics,—we may surely leave that to the disposal of Him who does all things well."

His friend Goodsir visited him most assiduously. They were both keen medical students, and had been associated together in that scientific brotherhood which was established mainly by the late Professor Edward Forbes, under the name of the "Oineromathic." A bond of fellowship had been thus formed among many of the votaries of science at the Edinburgh School, which operated in no small degree on their after career. Forbes was an older student than Wilson, and had attained eminence as a rising naturalist before their acquaintance began. He was a genius in science who had the wonderful power of attracting followers, and of stimulating to exertion. Forbes' influence told in no small degree on the mind of Wilson, who afterwards undertook to write his Biography. This work occupied his leisure hours ever since the lamented death of his friend; but we fear that little more than half the task has been completed. In a MS. note-book, the chapters of the Life of Forbes are sketched out thus:—

1. Isle of Man. 2. Boyhood and School Life. 3 London Artist Life. 4. The University of Edinburgh. 5. The Student Life of E. F. 6. The Sea Naturalist. 7. The Mediterranean Cruise. 8. The London Chair of Botany. 9. The Geological Survey. 10. The Edinburgh Class of Natural History. 11. The Artist and Litterateur. 12. The End. 13. Epilogue—Of these the first five chapters are ready for the printer, and the sixth seems also to be finished, though not copied out. As the materials have all been accumulated, it is earnestly hoped that the work may be completed by other hands.

Up to manhood the vigour and elasticity of his health was unusual; but from the year 1842 to the end of his career, a thorn in the flesh never ceased to buffet him. It was during this illness that his attention was specially directed to matters of eternal moment. He had been religiously brought up amidst the hallowing influences of domestic piety, and had always shown a great respect for religion; but he does not appear to have closed with the Gospel offer, and to have had settled peace, until this epoch of his life. "A student of God's works, and not ignorant of His Word, he as yet stood only in the outer court of the temple of Divine truth; the veil had yet to be parted that hung between him and the mysteries of its inner shrine; and there needed a power to be put forth to draw him with meet reverence and truthful confidence into the presence of Him who is there revealed."* He now realized deeply his personal need of a Saviour. The bed of affliction was made to him a blessing. The chastening of the Lord was for his profit. There happened at that time to be a student at the Divinity Hall who became acquainted with Dr. Wilson, and was a constant visitor at his house. This was the present Rev. Dr. Cairns of Berwick. He became acquainted with Wilson at a Non-intrusion meeting in the Assembly Rooms of Edinburgh, in the spring of 1839. He writes thus:—"I was introduced by his cousin, my intimate friend, Mr. James M'Gibbon Russell, a most distinguished student of philosophy, who died in 1844, before completing his studies for the ministry. I had known Mr. Russell from 1837, and about the time that he introduced his cousin to me I began to visit at the house in Gayfield Square." The friendship which sprung up between Dr. Cairns and himself was of the warmest kind, and continued throughout the remainder of life. Their fellowship was cemented by holier ties than any of a mere earthly nature. Dr. Wilson always regarded Dr. Cairns as his spiritual father, whose counsels encouraged him, and whose ministrations at the hour of death helped to cheer his spirit. What he owed

* Rev. Dr. Alexander's Sermon on Wilson's Death, p. 17.

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to God's discipline during his life was ever gratefully present to his mind.

In a letter to his brother Daniel, in 1843, he remarks on "Trench's Sermons" and on "Maurice's Work," and alludes to his own spiritual experience:—

"We shall discuss," he says, "Maurice first, then the Puseyites, and finally we shall say a word about ourselves. Now, you must understand that I can offer you no *criticism* of the 'kingdom of Christ.' To do that would demand an amount of classical, metaphysical, theological, historical, and political acquirements such as I have not, and never will possess. . . . Though I have learned much from his volume, and admired much, I have sympathized with very little of it." After giving some critical remarks, he goes on to say:—"I have been greatly pleased with the account of Quakerism, and the comments on Unitarianism; still more with the decided way in which the Professor sets his face against Carlyle's nonsense. You know how much I admire the great Thomas, as an original thinker and a noble poet. I hold him, however, as a most unsafe, nay, to many minds, pernicious spiritual guide. I have seen several imaginative young men of my acquaintance led away by him. Samuel Brown's first lay sermon was a specimen of the cloudy religion his interpreters would substitute for the clear revelation of the Bible; and that dogma, of each age needing a new revelation of truth, may be true in a high sense, but is a dangerous doctrine in the hands of speculative, fanciful young men. I have been quite grieved with the conclusions which many have derived from the works of Carlyle, and am pleased, therefore, to see them opposed; for the men (of religious feeling at least) who read Carlyle will read Maurice also. There are many other passages I have admired and profited by, but I cannot conceal from you that the general impression the book has made upon me has been unfavourable. It so completely contradicts my individual religious experience, and is so opposed to all I have learned from the Bible, that I cannot believe it to be true. What does Maurice mean by saying that 'the individual prayer is not the highest and most essential prayer, but rather is *no prayer at all;*' or, 'the idea of prayer and the idea of a church can never be separated?' I will never believe such a statement. I cast it from me, not without a strong sense of indignation at the narrowing of God's promises which it proclaims. When I was recently struggling in 'a great fight of afflictions,' soul and body racked and anguished, my life hanging in the balance, and eternity in prospect, I prayed to God for light and help, and my prayer was heard and answered—my solitary individual prayer, offered up without idea of church, or idea of anything but that God had promised to listen to every needy prayer, and to help all who believe on Christ Jesus. Will I, think you, sacrifice my sense of pardon and acceptance, realized in most trying circumstances, to any doctrine, however supported by secular evidence, which would deny its reality, and contradict what I dare not, cannot disavow, even if I wished to do it?"

His recovery from his severe illness was tedious, and he was rendered unfit for public duty for some time. His father died very suddenly in April 1843, and this added not a little to his sufferings. The family were at this time pressed hard by troubles in various ways.

He was a member of Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander's congregation. In his letter to Mr. Walpole, on the Grievances of the University Tests, he thus writes:—"To prevent any misunderstanding, let me further state that I am a member of a Congregational church. There are two sections of Congregationalist, Independents and Baptists, who differ as to the mode, the subjects, and the significance of baptism, but agree in other respects, in reference to doctrine and Church government. I am a Baptist; but regarding a difference with respect to baptism as not a valid ground of separation between Christians who are at one in other matters, I am a member of a church, the majority of whom, including their minister, the Rev. Dr. W. L. Alexander, are Independents."

The commencement of Dr. Wilson's career as a lecturer was thus also that of his ill health. His weak body seemed often to be sinking into the dust, while his noble spirit ignored its fetters, and seemed to rise above the feebleness of the flesh. For fifteen years he continued to teach as a private lecturer, and he acquired eminence and celebrity. During all this time he struggled with many difficulties; but in the midst of them all he exhibited a Christian equanimity of temper. Ill health and the *res augustæ domi* only tended to wean his affections from earthly things, and to centre them in heaven. In 1844 he was appointed by the Directors of the School of Arts their lecturer on chemistry; and in the same year, with the sanction of the Highland and Agricultural Society, he became lecturer in the Veterinary College of Edinburgh. Between 1844 and 1852 he continued to deliver regularly nine lectures on chemistry every week during the six winter months, and at a later period of his history he even delivered thirteen. For many years the Friday was welcomed by him for the opportunity it gave him of blistering, in order to fit him for the recurring Monday's work. He often lectured with a blister or an issue on his chest.

Dr. Wilson had a peculiar power of making science popular, and describing intricate subjects in such a way as to make them plain to a common audience. His inventive powers in illustrating his lectures were remarkable. His graceful diction and æsthetic taste, combined with his play of fancy and of genial wit, gave peculiar attrac-

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tions to his prelections, and crowded audiences hung on his lips whenever he appeared in public. In the Academic Hall, the Philosophical Institution, the learned society, and in the miserable lecture-room in the Cowgate or the Canongate, he was equally at home and equally successful.

The attention which he devoted to economical science, and to the applications of chemistry, pointed him out as the man best qualified to occupy the situation of Director of the Industrial Museum of Scotland. In the autumn of the same year he was chosen by the Crown to fill the newly-instituted chair of Technology in the University of Edinburgh.

The duties of this unendowed chair he fulfilled with the greatest ability and success. Although the class was not demanded for any academic honours, and was not included in any curriculum of study (except that of the Highland Society), still the talents of the Professor secured a large attendance. At the time of his death (although the entrance was not completed) the number of pupils was eighty-four, embracing students from all the Faculties and many amateurs. Nothing could more plainly indicate the value put on his lectures. In his inaugural lecture he considers the subject, What is Technology? and he thus writes: "Technology is the sum or complement of all the sciences which either are or may be made applicable to the industrial labours or utilitarian necessities of man. While the subject has a connection with various subjects already taught in the University, it steers a course distinct from all, has a province of its own, and will not, when properly handled, interfere with the duties of any other professor." Dr. Wilson was particularly desirous that he should not tread needlessly on the domain of other professors, and he was very sensitive on this matter. At the same time he felt that there must of necessity be a certain overlapping of courses. Thus he remarks, "Every professor of the Faculty of Medicine is continually discussing, to a greater or less extent, the subject specially taught from all the other medical chairs. Anatomy, Chemistry, Physiology, and Pathology are more or less expounded by them all. The Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy must largely consider the same phenomena and laws. Light, heat, electricity, magnetism, actinism, are included within the domain otherwise peculiar to each; and it must be left greatly to the judgment of each professor, and to the mutual arrangement among themselves to determine how much or how little of these common subjects any one will appropriate." *

* Inaugural Lecture, Nov. 7, 1855.

The full course of technology embraced three sessions, in each of which certain of the industrial arts were made the subject of lecture, which were not discussed in the other two. The course was divided into Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal Technology. Under the first were included the relation of the atmosphere, the ocean and tributary waters, and the earth, to technology; and among special subjects, fuel, building material, glass and glass-making, pottery, earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain, metallotechny, electrotechny, and magnetotechny. Under the second, or Vegetable Technology, were considered: saccharoamylaceous substances, sugar-making, albuminous substances and fermentations, distillation, wood and wood-fibres, textile tissues, bleaching, dyeing, calico-printing, paper-making, scriptorial or graphic industrial arts, caoutchouc, gutta-percha, and the resins, fats and oils. Under the third section, or Animal Technology, were included the mechanical application and chemical products of bones, ivory, horns, hoofs, tortoise-shell, shells, and corals; skins, tanning, fish-scales; hair, fur, wool, bristles, quills and feathers, animal refuse.

The lectures were fully illustrated by experiments and drawings, and by specimens from the natural history collections and the Industrial Museum. Occasion was taken throughout the course to visit various manufactures.

The Museum of the University had been handed over to the General Industrial Museum on the condition that the Professor of Natural History should have the full use of the specimens for instructional purposes. It was also in contemplation to hand over other Museums, such as those of Comparative Anatomy and of Agriculture, under similar conditions. It seemed, therefore, to the Government proper to put the Director of the Museum in immediate connection with the University by means of the Professorship of Technology, allowing him to lecture on the varied applications of science to the industrial arts, without interfering with the elementary departments of science, which are taught by separate professors. The salary of the Director was at first L.300, and subsequently L.400 a-year. Dr. Wilson was now placed in a position which seemed to be most congenial to his taste, and his prospects of usefulness and of comparative ease were brightened.

"It was fondly hoped," says Lord Neaves, "that in this new position, in the midst of friends and fellow-citizens who loved and appreciated him, and in the bosom of his own affectionate family, his constitution might gain strength, and that he might live to develop more fully, and, perhaps, in

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some new and original shape, the talents and genius of which he was possessed. But such was not the destiny appointed for him. He was sometimes, perhaps, too careless of consequences, where the call of supposed duty was heard, or where an opening of usefulness was afforded; and in the midst of much ill-health, and many warnings of danger, he continued to exert himself in a manner that would have been more appropriate in one of robuster frame. But his pleasure lay in the exercise of his intellectual faculties, in the advancement of science, and in availing himself of every opportunity to do good or show kindness; and it is probable that the pious resignation with which he long contemplated his precarious condition, and the state of preparation which he constantly endeavoured to maintain against the approach of death, may have led him to fear that event less, and to despise precautions for his own safety which his friends would have wished him to adopt. His ardent spirit could not rest. He set about making collections for the Museum, visited manufactories, corresponded with foreign countries, and took active steps in getting parties in power to make arrangements for the site and building of the new Museum. The delay in the latter particularly caused him much anxiety and annoyance. It was only about a fortnight before his death that Mr. Matheson informed him of the expected realisation of his wishes. He continued to labour in the accumulation of specimens of industrial art in all departments, and the temporary premises in College Street and Argyle Square were filled with them at the time of his death. These, when deposited in the New Hall, will prove a lasting memorial of his zeal, activity, and taste. The treasures which he amassed will advance technology and commemorate his name, but, alas, the arrangement of them will be committed to other hands. How prophetically does he speak in a lecture, on this very Museum, where he says:—'I can but sow the seed; I am honoured to do this much; but "one soweth and another reapeth," and I am not so selfish or thoughtless as to wish it otherwise. We must be content to pluck the first fruits, and leave the full harvest to be gathered by those that follow.'"

In 1858, when Dr. Gregory died, many members of the Town Council, as patrons of the University, looked to Wilson to succeed him; and had he come forward, there seems no reason to doubt that he would have been elected. He declined, however, to stand. He was always ready to oblige his friends. When the Professor of Botany gave a popular course, he kindly aided him, by giving in the class-room, at the Botanic Garden, lectures on the chemistry of vegetation, which were of a most attractive character; and he also revised the part of the botanical class-book in which the subject is treated. When Mr. John Wilson, the Professor of Agriculture, was prevented from lecturing by ill-health, he again gave his willing assistance, along with some of his colleagues, in conducting the course. A similar trait will be afterwards noticed in connection with the session of 1859–60.

Besides occupying these important positions in the University and in the Museum, Wilson was also an active member of many societies, and contributed papers to their Transactions, as will be seen by referring to the list of his publications. He was twice elected a member of Council of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; he was a member of the Council of the Chemical Society of London; a member of the Chemical Committee of the Highland and Agricultural Society, and one of the examiners for the Agricultural Diploma; an honorary member of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain; and he had been twice president of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts, and for some time editor of its "Transactions." The last paper which he read in public, was that to the Botanical Society, in July last, at the Botanic Garden, "On the Fruits of Cucurbitaceæ and Crescentiaceæ as Models of various Articles of Industrial Use." The paper was fully illustrated by Museum specimens, and has appeared in the "Transactions" of the Society.

A growing holiness, sweetness, and patience, had been markedly visible in Dr. Wilson of late years. In times of sickness and dangerous illness, there was ever a serene calmness and cheerfulness, that seemed greatly to aid recovery. His patient endurance of suffering was remarkable. Patience wrought experience, and experience hope—even that hope which maketh not ashamed. He was always ready for his great change. About six months ago, when saying good bye on a morning visit to a friend, he said, "I am trying to live every day, so that I may be ready to go on an hour's notice." To anther he used the remarkable expression, "I am resigned to live."

In September last he attended the meeting of the British Association at Aberdeen, and took an active part in the proceedings. The duties which he there undertook, under symptoms of great debility, were not such as to prepare him for the arduous work of the winter. The news of Professor Kelland's accident having reached him at Aberdeen, he expressed a kind and warm sympathy; and knowing that the accident had prevented his colleague from attending the meeting, he sent him an account of the proceedings, with the view of cheering him in his loneliness:—

Elm Cottage, Edinburgh,
September 25, 1859.

Rev. Prof. Kelland.

My Dear Colleague,—Along with your other friends here, I heard with the greatest sorrow of your accident this day fortnight, and, as usual, rumours made the calamity worse even than it

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was; and I could learn no particulars till I saw Christison and Forbes at Aberdeen some days later. Knowing what a broken limb and an injured leg are, I can very heartily sympathise with you in your sufferings and confinement, and do not utter idle words when *I wish* you a quick and entire recovery. A sincere wish is a prayer to God, and as such, besides more formal prayer, I offer it to Him, that you may be sustained patiently to bear the weary days and nights which for a season are appointed you, and have a happy issue out of it all. Your serene, hopeful spirit will stand you in good stead now, and you know where to look for sustainment of hope and patience.

I write you mainly to ask if I can do anything for you, and to beg that you will not hesitate to command me to the utmost. It will be a great pleasure to serve you in any way. Meanwhile, I note down a point or two about the British Association at Aberdeen, which may not be uninteresting.

We had a numerous meeting. Great are the attractions of a Prince, and had he remained throughout the week we should certainly have had to hold our meetings *al fresco*, and to *bivouack* in the open air. Wisely, however, he gave but one day to the sections, and the stir moderated thereafter. His address was given in a modest, courteous, gentlemanly way. It was, I believe, entirely his own, and in matter and manner pleased all reasonable people. . . . I did not hear Sir R. Murchison's lecture. The gift of the Brisbane medal at its close greatly delighted him. He related to me in private that he very highly prized it; and it was very satisfactory to find that the younger geologists did not grudge him an honour which they thought he had amply and incontestably won, as the greatest recent contributor to Scottish geology. Dr. Robinson's lecture was perhaps scarcely worthy of him, but, as I know from experience, it is an immensely difficult thing to explain in a few words to a popular audience the construction of an electric coil machine. The experiments were in the highest degree successful and beautiful. With Gassiot, the skilful experimental observer, and Ladd, the instrument maker, everything went well, and the magnificence as mere spectacles of some of the phenomena shown, especially those of fluorescence and phosphorescence, was such as to evoke from me, grave and sober though I am, a cry of delight; and I do not doubt that youngsters who saw these things with fresh, unsated eyes, will be roused by them to studies which by and by will enable them to push us old professors from our chairs.

Our Edinburgh men mustered strong—Allman, Balfour, Bennett, Christison, Laycock, Blackie, Shank More, Robertson, Playfair, Forbes, and myself, were present. We only wanted you to make up the dozen, and all lamented your absence. . . . There were few strangers. The continental men believed Aberdeen to be in the *arctic* circle, and were afraid to come. Liebig could not come, because England did not help Austria in the Italian war; but he has since, I regret to see, met with an accident like your own. Agassiz would have come if it had been a week earlier.

We had a Red Lion dinner on the Monday, when Owen presided, and about sixty men from all the sections sat down.* We broke up very early, but not before Blackie had astonished them with one of his songs. I welcome these dinners for the opportunity they afford for seeing men you have long known by report, and wish to know better. I was beside De la Rue, who told me all about his sun and Jupiter photographs, and near Grant, the historian of Astronomy, who tells me that a new and improved edition of his history will soon appear. Faraday seemed unusually well, but disappeared early. Lloyd and Sir W. Hamilton of Dublin were active throughout.

The Abbé Moigno was in every section, and had papers for nearly all. Some were very curious, others of small importance; but being delivered in very fluent, and, in truth, eloquent French, they were all listened to, though, I fear, by some solely on the *omne ignotum pro magnifico* principle. But I tire you; indeed, I am far too critical. I spent a very happy and instructive week, and came back a lowlier man. These meetings ought to make one humble. I hope they made me so. I only add, that I had a friendly discussion recently with Sir J. Herschel, by letter, as to the statistics of colour-blindness. He shakes his head at my high per-centage; I have in consequence got L.10 from the British Association, and will have to work again on the matter.

In replying to this letter, Professor Kelland accepted Wilson's kind offer of service, and requested him to deliver an introductory lecture to the class of Mathematics. This request was a most unexpected one, but with his usual kindness he at once assented, and performed the duty entrusted to him. In this lecture he noticed the bearings of various sciences on the business of life, and gave a comprehensive history of the mode in which science had been prosecuted in the Edinburgh University.

His feeble health at the commencement of the Session 1859 was ill calculated to fit him for the arduous duties he had undertaken, and there seemed to be in his own mind a feeling that he was not likely to survive long.

In the month of October he wrote to Professor Goodsir the following note, in which he evidently alludes to the uncertain tenure of his life:—

ELM COTTAGE, *October* 21, 1859.

Professor Goodsir.

MY DEAR SIR,—You did quite right about the Electrical Fishes. I intended to say to Mr. Baillie when I saw him again, as I hope to do to-morrow, the dead one was to count as mine, and the

* These dinners were commenced at Birmingham by E. Forbes, one of the members of Section D; and the party having met at an inn with the sign of the Red Lion, that name was afterwards given to the party. At each meeting of the British Association since that time a Red Lion dinner has taken place. The mode of cheering speeches indicates the Leonine character of the party.

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living ones go to you.* I shall do myself the pleasure of looking in on the survivors some early day.

When at Burntisland this summer, I had several conversations with Mr. Kirke, who has formally engaged to procure for me, free of expense, two living Gymnoti next summer. I intend one of them for you, and mention this, that as they cannot arrive till I suppose mid-summer, you may, should I be out of the way, claim it. My precarious health makes me avoid looking forward to a period comparatively so distant, and I should not like you to miss getting the Gymnotus.

"You would perhaps at your leisure suggest what precaution should be taken in transporting the eel. Mr. Kirke is sure the Dutch captains might be trusted, but is not so certain of the English ones.—Yours very truly,

"GEORGE WILSON."

In the last few days of his life his serenity was more obvious than at any previous time. So well was it known that, living or dying, he was the Lord's, that the anxieties of a death-bed season were as much lightened as is possible in this life. His death was more like a child going to sleep than anything else.

Ten days before his death, when calling on a friend who had been laid aside by a severe accident, he said—"I can say from experience it has been good for me to be afflicted." When under severe illness at one time, it was his earnest prayer that God would give him work to do for His own glory and the good of others. How this prayer has been answered has been abundantly testified.

He commenced his lectures in November 1859 with high prospects of success. His introductory lecture was characterised by his usual felicitous illustrations, and the class-room was crowded to the door.

His last illness began from exposure to cold and wet in a manufactory in the west, on the morning of Friday, 4th November. He had gone there to acquaint himself with the particulars of a Court of Session case relating to the dyeing mauve-coloured silk. On the morning of Friday, 18th November, he complained of a pain in his side, but he treated it as a pleurodynic attack, and went to lecture as usual. He was, however, much exhausted; and in spite of this he continued to write letters, receive visitors, and make business calls, and he even ventured to give a second lecture in the afternoon. This seemed to prostrate him completely, and he had to apologise to the class for taking a seat in place of standing during the lecture as usual. When he reached home he was scarcely able to get up stairs to bed, from whence he never rose.

On Monday morning he dictated the following letter to Dr. Balfour, being the last of his letters:—

"ELM COTTAGE, *Monday Morning* (21 *Nov.* 1859).

"MY DEAR BALFOUR,—A sudden and unexpected attack of pleurisy, with accompanying inflammation of part of the lung, came on on Friday, and, as you may suppose, lays me aside from lecturing, much to my distress, at the very beginning of the session.

"It would be a very great favour if you could lecture for me this week, beginning on Tuesday. My present topic is the amylaceous group, *including* starch, gum, sugar, and cellulose, and falls quite in your way. My assistant will see that the carriage goes down every day to bring you up with diagrams and specimens, and four assistants will be at your service every day. I trust you will be able to do me this service; but if you cannot, please inform the bearer, that I may make other arrangements."

After that, class business and other secular matters did not trouble him, his thoughts being wholly occupied on eternity.

On the morning of Tuesday, 22d November, there appeared to be a slight alleviation of symptoms, but it was a temporary rally. Ere long it was evident that he was sinking. He was peaceful and happy, when he breathed his last.

The respect and affection with which he was regarded were well shown in the public funeral, which was attended by Professors of the University, the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, members of the Royal Society, Royal Scottish Society of Arts, Royal Physical Society, Botanical Society, Philosophical Institution, School of Arts, Merchant Company, Chamber of Commerce. His friends, the Rev. Dr. Alexander and the Rev. Dr. Cairns, officiated on the occasion. His remains were interred in the Old Calton Burying-ground on 28th November, and his funeral sermon* was preached by Dr. Alexander, in the Music Hall, to an overwhelming audience, on 4th December—the text being, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord," Rev. xiv. 13.

While Wilson's lectures threw a genial light on the facts of science, his writings contributed not less to extend and popularise them. Everything he touched became instinct with life, and was impressed upon the mind of the hearer or reader by associations

* He alludes to three specimens of Malapterurus Beninensis which had been brought over alive by the Rev. Zerub Baillie from Calabar, one of which was intended for Dr. Wilson, but unfortunately it died soon after its arrival in Edinburgh.

* The sermon has been published by Messrs. A. & C. Black.

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of the most pleasing and lasting nature. His collected writings will undoubtedly be an important contribution to literature.

Biographical memoirs were among the earliest productions of his pen. In this department of literature he shone with marked lustre. At the request of the Cavendish Society, he wrote the life of the Hon. Henry Cavendish, including extracts from his more scientific papers. It is an admirable biography, "full of life, of picturesque touches, and of realizations of the man and of his times." It contains a critical inquiry into the claims of all the alleged discoverers of the composition of water. On this subject Dr. Wilson made a communication in April 1859 to the Royal Society of Edinburgh,' in which he completely established Cavendish's claim to the discovery. In the conclusion of the paper he dwells on the brightened moral aspect of the water controversy, and remarks: "From De Luc's 'Idées' all trace of charge against the fair-dealing of Cavendish has vanished. Lavoisier is found making full, if somewhat tardy, amends for any wrong he did the English philosopher; and as De Luc and Lavoisier testify that Cavendish had reached his famous discovery in 1782, the most uncharitable must cease suspecting that he borrowed or stole it from Watt, who had it not to offer any one till 1783." He rejoiced in being thus able to vindicate Cavendish's claims, and at the same time he treats the opponents in that true spirit of love which is kind, and which rejoices not in iniquity, but rejoices in the truth.

His life of John Reid, Professor of Medicine in St. Andrews, "is a vivid and memorable presentation to the world of the true lineaments, manner of life, and inmost thought, and heroic sufferings, as well as of the noble scientific achievements of that strong, truthful, courageous, and altogether admirable man and true discoverer,—a genuine follower of John Hunter." In his account of Reid's physiological discoveries relative to the nervous system, he exhibits in a remarkable manner his power of rendering the abstruse facts of science popular, and of putting them within the reach of ordinary readers. In his delineation, also, of the spiritual life of his friend, he speaks as one who from personal experience could tell of the great things which the Lord had done for his own soul. The work brings out in a clear and striking manner the happy combination of physiological eminence with high Christian attainments.

In his little treatise on "The Five Gateways of Knowledge," Wilson treats of the organs of the senses, in their intellectual and æsthetical relations, as "the loopholes through which the spirit gazes out upon the world, and the world gazes in upon the spirit, —porches which the longing, unsatisfied soul would often gladly make wider, that beautiful material nature might come into it more fully and freely; and fenced doors, which the sated and dissatisfied spirit would, if it had the power, often shut and bar altogether." The work "is a prose poem, a hymn of the finest utterance and fancy—the white light of science diffracted through the crystalline prism of his mind into the coloured glasses of the spectrum—truth dressed in the iridescent hues of the rainbow, and not the less, but all the more, true."

His volume on Colour-Blindness, or that affection of the eye which renders it insensible to certain colours, is a most complete one. He exhausts the subject, and brings together a collection of most valuable and interesting facts relative to the prevalence of chromato-pseudopsis, and to its bearing on the æsthetic and economic arts in which colours are employed. It is a highly popular and readable production, written in his usual easy, flowing, and simple style, and partaking of the healthy happy tone of the author's mind. His remarks on the colour-blindness on the part of signal-men at railway stations and on shipboard, called the attention of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts especially to the subject, and induced them to place a sum of money at Dr. Wilson's disposal, for the purpose of carrying on his investigations. His merits in this department of research have been already fully noticed in the *North British Review.*

Wilson's last paper, on "Paper, Pens, and Ink," in the first number of *Macmillan's Magazine*, displays both the brightness and vivacity of his mind; and the concluding paragraph appears now in a peculiar light, when we consider the immortality of the writer. We quote them with pleasure:—

"When Paper, Pen, and Ink have made the tour of the world, and have carried everywhere the acknowledgment of brotherhood between people and people, and man and man, and the Song of Bethlehem, fulfilled to the full, has enlightened every intellect and softened every heart, their great mission will be ended. And let us not complain that our writing materials are one and all so frail and perishable, for God Himself has been content to write His will on the frailest things. Even His choicest graphic media are temporal and perishable. The stars of heaven are in our eyes the emblems of eternity, and they are the letters in God's alphabet of the universe, and we have counted them everlasting. Great astronomers of old have told us that the sidereal system could not stop, but must for ever go on printing in light its cyclical record of the firmament. But in our own day, and amongst our-

selves, has arisen a philosopher (Professor William Thomson) to show us, as a result simply of physical forces working as we observe them do, that the lettered firmament of heaven will one day see all its scattered stars fall, like the ruined type-setting of a printer, into one mingled mass. Already the most distant stars, like the outermost sentinels of a flock of birds, have heard the signal of sunset and return, and have begun to gather closer together, and turn their faces homewards. Millions of years must elapse before that home is reached and the end comes, but that end is sure. God alone is eternal, and they who, through His gift, are partakers of His immortality.

"It is wonderful to find a patient mechanical philosopher, looking only to what his mathematics can educe from the phenomena of physical science, using words which, without exaggeration, are exactly equivalent to these:—'Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of Thy hands: they shall perish, but Thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment, and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed; but Thou art the same, and Thy years shall not fail.'

"If God's Paper, Pen, and Ink are thus perishable, shall we complain that ours do not endure? It is the writer that shall be immortal, not the writing."

It was not merely in scientific matters that George Wilson shone. His appearance in public, whether as a speaker or a writer, was of a varied and diversified character. He was always ready to aid in any philanthropic scheme; and he gladly embraced any opportunity of advancing the cause of the Gospel. Not long ago he advocated the cause of the Bible in India; and in connection with the Medical Missionary Society, he pointed out to students the relation which science bears to religion. In all his prelections there was a high-toned religious feeling, founded on a true Christian faith,—a faith which animated him through the trials of life, and supported him in the hour of death.

How beautifully, in his paper on "The Sacredness of Medicine as a Profession," does he point out the benevolent, moral, and Christian character of medicine:—

"We should all be medical missionaries," he says, "whether we practise among the rich or the poor, the wise or the ignorant; among nominal Christians or undoubted Pagans. Therefore I adjure you to remember that the head of our profession is Christ. He left all men an example that they should follow His steps; but he left it specially to us. It is well that the statues of Hippocrates and Æsculapius should stand outside of our College of Physicians, but the living image of our Saviour should be enshrined in our hearts. The symbol of our vocation is the serpent; but it should be thought of not merely as a classical emblem, but as recalling the words of Him who said, "Be wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." May none of us be ashamed to call Him Lord! May we all confess Him before men, that He may confess us before the angels in heaven!"

In his paper on the Character of God, as inferred from the study of Human Anatomy, Physiology, and Pathology, or in other words, as learned from the study of physical life and death, he inquires how far the study of Biology displays the wisdom, power, and benevolence of the Creator; and he concludes thus:—

"The image of the earthly will be fully understood only when it has changed into the image of the heavenly; and the chapter on morphology, which we shall read for the first time in the immortal law, will be found to supply the key to all that was inexplicable in the morphology and teleology of this mortal state. Christ calls us to be partakers of this blessed change. For us He died, rose, and revived. For us He ever liveth to make intercession; and when Christ who is our life shall appear, then shall we also appear with Him in glory."

In bringing this sketch to a close, we cannot help remarking how mysterious are the ways of God, in removing from among us one so well fitted to advance the cause of truth. He has been taken away in the midst of his usefulness, and his sun has gone down while it is yet day. We must bow in humble submission to the will of Him who doeth all things well, and in infinite wisdom and love. Wilson's kind and social manner, his mellifluous and graceful eloquence, his graphic illustrations, and his holy Christian deportment, will long be remembered by all who came into contact with him; and his name will be handed down to future generations, associated with all that is noble in science and literature, and, at the same time, holy in life and conversation.

"The effort of his life," Dr. Cairns remarks, "was to render science at once more human and more divine. His heart was strung throughout in sympathy with the touching prayers of the *Novum Organon*, that all science may become a healing art; and his last public office was regarded by him with special affection, as ministering to industrial progress and happiness. He sought, however, not less to link science with religion; and that not so much with the cold and comparatively unsatisfactory results of natural theology, as with the warmth and life of the Christian faith. No scientific writer of our day has so habitually and lovingly quoted the Bible, from his essay on Dalton, whom he represents as proving that God literally 'weighs the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance,' down to his last paper, which closes with remarking the identity of Professor Thomson's astronomical proof of the evanescence of the heavens with the words of the 102d Psalm. He hoped to live to write a 'Religio Chemici,' corresponding to Sir Thomas Browne's 'Religio

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Medici,' and embracing amongst other topics of discussion the doctrine of the resurrection."*

On this subject he read a communication to the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, in which he partially developed his Chemico-Physiological views on this weighty topic and displayed much originality of thought as well as beauty of conception. We may, it is to be hoped, look for some extracts from this paper in the extended biography which is ere long to be published.

"To have moved," adds Dr. Cairns, "amidst the altitudes and solitudes of science with a humble and loving heart; to have spoken out words on the sacredness of medicine as a profession and scientific life in general, more lofty than have almost been heard even from the pulpit, and to have illustrated them in practice; to have enforced the subjection of all knowledge to one Name, the highest in earth and heaven; to have conquered by faith in a life-long struggle with pain and suffering; and to have wrought out the work of the day placidly and devoutly till the night came;—these, in any, and especially in the leaders of science, are processes and results greater than can be described in the transactions of any society, or preserved in any museum."

Art. X.—*Ichnology of New England. A Report on the Sandstone of the Connecticut Valley, especially its Fossil Footmarks, made to the Government of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.* By Edward Hitchcock, Professor in Amherst College. Boston: William White, Printer to the State. 1858.

"It happened one day about noon," wrote the author of the life and adventures of that immortal hero, Robinson Crusoe, "going towards my boat, I was exceedingly surprised with the print of a man's naked foot on the shore, which was very plain to be seen on the sand. I stood as one thunderstruck, or as if I had seen an apparition. . . . How it came thither I knew not, nor could in the least imagine." The whole passage in which the imaginary discovery is recorded, affords a fine illustration of that graphic power of description for which the work stands unrivalled. Longfellow's "Footprints on the Sands of Time" is tame, when set alongside of it. The "listening and looking;" the "going up the shore and down the shore;" the feeling that it "all might be a fancy;" the "no room for that, for *there* was exactly the very print of a foot, toes, heel, and every part," are all inimitably true to nature, and to the "strange, unaccountable whimsies which come into thoughts by the way." The first time we read the account of the ornithichnites of the Connecticut valley, the feelings ascribed to the hero in the fiction were forcibly recalled to memory, though nearly thirty years had passed since we had read the footprint scene. But the creations of fiction are surpassed by the facts of science; and the student of natural science is often led to walk calmly amidst wonders, of which even an imagination like that of Dante or of Milton would not have dared to dream. In 1802 an American boy turned up with his plough, at South Hadley, in the valley of the Connecticut river, a slab of sandstone, well marked by what seemed to be the footmarks of birds. The discovery took a strong hold of the imagination of the people. Had the waters of the flood rolled wildly over these sandstone slopes? Was the top soil only the result of very recent changes? Might not the surface of the sandstones, at the time of the deluge, have been so soft as to receive easily the marks of a bird's foot, as we see the sand on our shores marked, after the tide has been at the highest, with the footmarks of the sea-birds which have followed the retiring waters? May not the footprints be those of the birds which left the ark, after the dark waves had rolled into the ocean, or lost themselves in the valleys down which the rivers wander? And if so, may not these impressions be actually the traces with which "Noah's raven" has written the fact of his historical standing on the great earth itself? The popular questionings caught at the last suggestion, and the footprints on the Connecticut sandstones, were set down as those of Noah's raven!

The discovery remained much longer in the regions of popular ignorance and superstition than could have been expected at the time. A race of scientific men had begun to appear in Britain and in America, who were not likely to allow such phenomena to continue without being closely looked into. They afforded tempting material for theorizing on the order of time in which different forms of life were introduced on the globe, and for assorting the discoveries so as to harmonize with existing views regarding the deluge, etc. Yet twenty-six years passed without much attention having been directed to them. In 1828, the late Dr. Duncan of Ruthwell, a man who stood far ahead of the class to which he belonged in scientific ac-

*Macmillan's Magazine for January 1860.

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quirements and in general knowledge, while equal to the most earnest of that class in the work of his profession, once more drew the notice of geologists to these fossil tracks, in connection with the sandstones of Corncocklemuir. Dr. Duncan described the Corncockle tracks with great ability and clearness to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1828. The discovery was now set in a light in Britain which was sure very soon to attract attention. Dr. Buckland, then in the prime of those great talents of which he was spared to make such good use in the cause of science and in the service of Christ, gave a prominence to the Dumfriesshire discoveries, which they could not have so well got in any other way, by devoting some space to them in his "Bridgewater Treatise." Quoting from Dr. Duncan, in regard to the position of the tracks, Buckland suggested an element of great interest, and one fitted to awaken a multitude of such feelings as those so graphically described by Defoe, when his hero lighted on the footprint in the desert island. The fact of the existence of animals, every trace of whose remains have perished, was not only established, but the duration of their existence on the globe was clearly hinted at. "Dr. Duncan states," says Buckland, "that the strata which bear these impressions lie on each other, like volumes on the shelf of a library when all inclining to one side; that the quarry has been worked to the depth of forty-five feet from the top of the rock; throughout the whole of this depth similar impressions have been found, not on a single stratum only, but on many successive strata; *i. e.* after removing a large slab which contained footprints, they found perhaps the very next stratum, at the distance of a few feet, or it might be less than an inch, exhibiting a similar phenomenon. Hence it follows, that the process by which the impressions were made on the sand, and subsequently buried, was repeated at successive intervals."*

Meanwhile another able and accurate observer had entered the field. Sir William Jardine brought his habits of discrimination as an ornithologist to bear upon the fossil tracks of Dumfriesshire; and he has embodied his observations in a monograph, to which we would call the attention of our readers. It is full of interest, and marked by much ability.

As our desire is to give our readers an outline of Professor Hitchcock's labours in ichnology, we cannot follow the history of this branch of science in Britain, except in a very general way. We have indicated its rise, and have named those who, because of the time at which they appeared in the field, deserve to be remembered as having first seen the value of the discovery, in connection with some of the most important cosmical and palæontological questions. After 1836, many other observers appeared, whose labours have both laid the foundation of, and supplied the materials for, that magnificent structure which our greatest living palæontologist has built up in his recent memoir.*

"The existence of birds," says Owen, "at the triassic period in geology, or at the time of the formation of sandstones, which are certainly intermediate between the lias and the coal, is indicated by abundant evidences of footprints impressed upon those sandstones which extend through a great part of the valley of the Connecticut river, in Connecticut and Massachusetts, North America.

"The footprints of birds are peculiar, and more readily distinguishable than those of most other animals. Birds tread on the toes only; these are articulated to a single metatarsal bone, at right angles equally to it; and they diverge more from each other, and are less connected with each other, than in other animals, except as regards the web-footed order of birds. Not more than three toes are directed forward;† the fourth, when it exists, is directed backward, is shorter, usually rises higher from the metatarsal, and takes less share in sustaining the superincumbent weight. No two toes of the same foot in any bird have the same number of joints. There is a constant numerical progression in the number of phalanges (toe-joints), from the innermost to the outermost toe. When the back toe exists, it is the innermost of the four toes, and it has two phalanges, the next has three, the third or middle of the front toes has four, and the outermost has five phalanges. When the back toe is wanting, as in some waders, and most wingless birds, the toes have three, four, and five phalanges respectively. When the number of toes is reduced to two, as in the ostrich, their phalanges are respectively four and five in number; thus showing those toes to answer to the two outermost toes in tridactyle and tetradactyle birds.

"The same numerical progression characterises the two phalanges in most lizards, from the innermost to the fourth; but a fifth toe exists in them, which has one phalange less than the fourth toe. It is the fifth toe which is wanting in every bird. In some GALLINACEA, one or two (*Pavo bicalcaratus*) spurs are superadded to the metatarsus; but this peculiar weapon is not the stunted homologue of a toe. Dr. Deane, and Mr. Marsh of Greenfield, United States, first noticed, in 1835, impressions resembling the feet of birds, in the sandstone rocks near that town. Dr. Hitchcock, president of Amherst College, United States, whose atten-

* See Buckland's Bridgewater Treatise, edited by his Son. Two vols. London: Routledge, 1858. In No. 59 of this Journal, we called attention to the merits of this edition.

* Palæontology, by Professor Owen. *Encyclopædia Britannica.* New edition.

† Save in the Swift.

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tion was called to these impressions, first made public the fact, and submitted to a scientific ordeal his interpretations of those impressions, as having been produced by the feet of living birds; and he gave them the name of *Ornithichnites.*

"It was a startling announcement, and a conclusion that must have had strong evidence to support it, since one of the kinds of the tracks had been made by a pair of feet, each leaving a print twenty inches in length. Under this term *Ornithichnites giganteus,* however, Dr. Hitchcock did not shrink from announcing to the geological world the fact of the existence, during the period of the deposition of the red sandstones of the valley of the Connecticut, of a bird which must have been at least four times larger than the ostrich. The impressions succeeded each other at regular intervals; they were of two kinds, but differing only as a right and left foot, and alternating with each other, the left foot a little to the left, and the right foot a little to the right, of the midline between the series of tracks. Each footprint exhibits three toes, diverging as they extend forwards. The distance between the tips of the inside and outside toes of the same foot was twelve inches. Each toe was terminated by a short strong claw projecting from the mid toe, a little on the inner side of its axis, from the other two toes, a little on the outer side of theirs. The end of the metatarsal bone, to which those toes were articulated, rested on a two-lobed cushion, which sloped upwards behind. The inner toe showed distinctly two phalangeal divisions, the middle toe three, the outer toe four. And since, in living birds, the penultimate and ungual phalanges usually leave only a single impression, the inference was just, that the toes of this large foot had been characterised by the same progressively-increasing number of phalanges, from the inner to the outer one, as in birds. And, as in birds also, the toe with the greatest number of joints was not the longest; it measured, *e g.*, twelve and a half inches; the middle toe from the same base-line measured sixteen inches; the outer toe twelve inches. Some of the impressions of this huge tridactylous footstep were so well preserved, as to demonstrate the papillose and striated character of the integument covering the cushions on the under side of the foot. Such a structure is very similar to that in the ostrich. The average extent of stride, as shown by the distance between, the impressions, was between three and four feet; the same limb was therefore carried out each step from six to seven feet forward in the ordinary rate of progression.

"These foot-prints, although the largest that have been observed on the Connecticut sandstones, are the most numerous. The gigantic brontozoum, as Professor Hitchcock proposes to term the species, 'must have been,' he writes, 'the giant rulers of the valley. Their gregarious character appears from the fact, that at some localities we find parallel rows of tracks a few feet distance from one another.'"

The red sandstone of the Connecticut Valley, thus fruitful in the fossil tracks of birds, supplies many traces of other groups of the animal kingdom. The Vertebrata are represented by seven groups, forty-four genera, and ninety-three species. The Invertebrata lay claim to two great groups, sixteen genera, and twenty-nine species; making, in all, one hundred and twenty-two species of Lithichnozoa, whose tracks on these primeval sandstones are all that remain to tell that, in other ages and under climatal conditions wholly different from present ones, they had passed away life's brief span. The time which must have elapsed after they departed from the scene of being, yet before the appearance of man on the earth, must have been immense. The period which has elapsed since Adam conversed with his Maker, amidst the groves of Eden, is as yesterday, compared with the time at which the sun saw the last living things which have left their footprints on the Connecticut Sandstones. What a world of life had peopled that valley, when man's only place was in the depths of that Eternal Mind, which, before the time when the foundations of the earth were laid, anticipated the epoch of Adam, and even from everlasting rejoiced in the habitable parts of the earth! *

Taking a closer glance at the classification of the Connecticut Lithichnozoa, we find the line of life run from the Marsupialoid animals through pachydactylous, or thick-toed Birds, leptodactylous, or narrow-toed birds, on to Annelidans; passing thus in its range the curious group of Ornithoid Lizards and Batrachians, lying between the true Licerta and Batrachia, which are largely represented, the Chelonia, Pisces, Crustacea, and Insecta.

The organic remains of the Connecticut sandstone are so numerous, that it requires not a strong imagination to picture the scene down on which the sun shone, and the rains descended, and over which the winds swept at the time, between which and our day lie great ages of unimagined duration. Swimming the estuary waters, countless Lepidoides tempted more formidable fishers than man to venture from the shore in search of them; for, in neighbouring marshes the huge *Grallatores,* whose foot-prints have been presented to us, found a home, and turtles, lizards, and Batrachian reptiles swarmed around. The vegetation was in keeping with the forms of animal life. Equisetaceæ shot their jointed stems up out of the marshes, Cycadites hung their pinnated fronds out in shining beauty in the sunlight: the intertwining Club Mosses yielded the green covering, up out of which the arborescent forms of vegetation sprung; while the drooping characteristic fern, *Clathropteris rectiusculus,* with here and there a half-decayed leaf, revealing its beautiful reticulations,

* Proverbs viii.

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stood out in dark green patches on the edges of a life-full pool.* True, there was no eye of man to be satisfied with their beauty; but they stood forth in glory under the eye of the great Creator, who rejoices in all His works! "Is it not truly wonderful," says Hugh Miller, "that in this late age of the world, in which the invention of the poets seems to content itself with humbler and lowlier flights than of old, we should thus find the facts of Geology fully rivalling, in the strange and the outré, the wildest fancies of the Romancers who flourished in the Middle Ages? I have already referred to flying dragons,—real existences of the Oolitic period, that were quite as extraordinary of type, if not altogether so huge of bulk, as those with which the Seven Champions of Christendom used to do battle; and here are we introduced to birds of the Liassic Ages that were scarce less gigantic than the roc of Sinbad the Sailor. They are fraught with strange meanings, those footprints of the Connecticut. They tell of a time far removed into the by-past eternity, when great birds frequented by myriads the shores of a nameless lake, to wade into its shallows in quest of mail-covered fishes of the ancient type, or long extinct molluscs; while reptiles equally gigantic, and of still stranger proportions, haunted the neighbouring swamps and savannahs; and when the same sun that shone on the tall moving forms beside the waters, and threw their long shadows across the red sands, lighted up the glades of deep forests, all of whose fantastic productions—tree, bush, and herb—have, even in their very species, long since passed away."

Much light has been let in upon the characteristic strata, in which the organic remains, suggestive of all this, lie embedded. In the work before us, Professor Hitchcock gives us information of great value. Sir Charles Lyell has also turned his attention to it, while Professor Rogers has brought to its examination a skill in judging of mineral peculiarities, talents as a field geologist, and varied attainments in palæontology, which are not often found united in one man.

His great work on the "Geology of Pennsylvania" affords abundant evidence of all this,—a work to which we would direct our readers, as containing not only a most elaborate examination of the Geology of Pennsylvania, but also as full of information on American geology generally. Written, as this magnificent work is, from the point of view both of pure science and of industrial pursuits, it teems with facts of great interest to the man of science, and to the engineer also, in what might be called the economical bearings of palæontology. Breadth of view, patient research, and great acuteness, are seen on every page; while its illustrations of characteristic scenery, and of surface geology, its numerous sections, and its figures of organic remains, greatly increase its value and attractiveness. We are led to notice it thus, from the help it has afforded us in understanding the position of the Connecticut Sandstones, their relation to other American strata, and because, more than any other work we are acquainted with, it contains abundant material for the assistance of any student who may have a taste for one of the most interesting forms of geological study,—that, namely, which seeks to realize a system of probable synchronism between the strata of countries locally far removed from each other.

The American geologists have always an eye to the economical as well as the purely scientific bearings of their pursuits. "I have spoken of this subject," says Professor Hitchcock in the Ichnology, "as if it had no bearings of consequence upon the economical interests of the state. But, in this case, there is an unexpected application of this sort, which certainly deserves attention. In describing the footmarks, it has been an important point to determine precisely where the rock in which they occur belongs, in the series of geological formations. The Connecticut River sandstone has proved one of the most difficult of rocks to identify with those whose position is settled in Europe and elsewhere. It was early regarded as old as the old red sandstone, or at least the coal formation. Subsequently, a part of it at least was proved to be as new as the trias, or new red sandstone. But the more recent researches and discoveries of John and W. C. Redfield, of Prof. W. B. Rogers, and Edward Hitchcock, jun., have produced the conviction, that at least the higher beds of this formation—those containing the footmarks, the fishes, and the ferns—are as new as the lower part of the jurassic or oolite series,—say the lias. The lower beds may be older; and there seems to be thickness enough to embrace several rocks below the lias. So long as the rock was regarded as the old red, or the new red, sandstone, the idea of finding workable coal in it was given up. But if it be liassic, as many now regard a part of it, it is identified with the rock in Eastern Virginia, containing beds of bituminous coal of great value; and we may very reasonably resume our researches after this valuable substance in the Connecticut Valley, with some hope of success."

* Geology of Pennsylvania. By Professor H. D. Rogers. Vol. II. Part II. Page 694.

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This reference to the economical bearings is, however, by the way. It is time we were looking more closely at the merits of the work itself. It would be difficult to determine the value of the contribution to the literature of science which Prof. Hitchcock has made in preparing and publishing the "Ichnology." The author is mainly known in Britain by his physico-theological works. His popular fame rests chiefly on them; but much of their influence, all of it, indeed, of a solid and lasting kind, is the result of the confidence which men of science repose in his scientific attainments. The testimony of Professor Owen, already quoted, is enough to show this. That the confidence is well deserved, a glance at the list of Papers on Ichnology alone, named along with the writings of others on the same subject at the beginning of this volume, sufficiently bears witness. In addition to these, we have such works as that on "Surface Geology," and the one now under review. We have reason to know that this volume has been prepared amidst many trials from failing health, and that its author regards it as his last important effort in a department which he has made peculiarly his own, and with which his name will ever be associated. It bears not the slightest trace of failing strength, but comes from its author in his old age, as clear in its reasoning, as powerful in its riches of thought, and as vigorous in style, as it could have done had it been sent forth from his hands in the mid-time of his days. It lies in gracefulness and strength on the monument which he has, in his writings, raised for himself; and we even hope that it may not yet be the last stone he is to add to that building. As it is, the monument is already, like that of the Latin poet, "more lasting than brass."

The Report, as the title-page bears, was made to "The Commonwealth of Massachusetts." It is published at the expense of the State, and affords another to the many previously existing illustrations of the zeal of American statesmen in the cause of science, and of their princely liberality in promoting it. John Bull would get no harm, and he would bestow a great boon on science, were he to take a leaf out of brother Jonathan's book, and be as ready as several of these American "Commonwealths" are, in fostering and directing scientific enterprise, and in coming forward just at the right time with material assistance. It is worth while to copy from the State "*Resolves*" of 1857 and 1858 the following emphatic deliverances:—

"*Resolved*, That Professor Hitchcock's Geological Report on the Sandstone of the Connecticut Valley, with drawings and maps connected therewith, be printed, under the direction of the committee for the library; that a sufficient number be printed, and one copy furnished to each member of the executive and legislative departments of the government for the present political year, and one copy to each town and city in the Commonwealth. 1857."

"*Resolved*, That one thousand copies of Professor Hitchcock's Geological Report on the Sandstone of the Connecticut Valley, authorized to be printed by chap. 83 of the Resolves of 1857, be printed at the expense of the Commonwealth, under the direction of the committee of the library; and that, in addition to the distribution already authorized, one hundred copies of said Report be given to Professor Hitchcock, three copies to the State Library, and twelve copies to the trustees of the State Library, to be used for the purpose of international exchanges. 1858."

The difficulties which met Professor Hitchcock in the investigations, which have been crowned with complete success, were very great. Strong faith in his own resources, much acuteness of observation, and varied stores of knowledge in collateral branches of natural science, were needed in order to overcome them. His first descriptions of the fossil tracks were called in question by most of his contemporaries, many of whom denied that a foot-print could afford a reliable basis for ascertaining the character of the creature which had left it, when no single bone even of the animal itself remained; while some of the New York Geologists were sure the impressions had been made by fucoids. Then the position of the sandstones on the scale of rocks was to be determined; and here even greater variety of opinion prevailed. The progress of investigation seemed, however, to be towards the truth as to this point, even so early as 1833. Up to that period, such American geologists as Maclure, Eaton, Silliman, and Cleveland, regarded the sandstone as Old Red.

"In my report on the geology of Massachusetts in 1833," says Hitchcock, "I presented reasons for supposing these upper beds to be the equivalent of the new red sandstone of Europe, while the lower beds were left unnamed. In my final report, in 1841, I took essentially the same ground. The strongest argument for this opinion was based upon what is called the heterocercal character of the fishes found in these rocks,—such fish not having been discovered above the new red sandstone. I did not profess to be a good judge of this matter; but Mr. John Redfield, of New York, who had shown great skill on this subject, made me the following statement, just before I published my report, and I of course acquiesced in it:—'In my paper,' says he, 'upon the genus Catopterus, I stated that, in Agassiz's arrangement, it would come under the *homocercal* division of his family Lepidoides. This statement

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was made with a great deal of hesitation; and I now feel disposed to qualify it somewhat. The fact is, that this genus seems to occupy a sort of intermediate position between the two divisions; neither being exactly equilobed, like the homecerci, nor yet having the decided heterocercal character which belongs to those genera which AGASSIZ has placed in that division. But from the strong analogies which, in other respects, it bears to the heterocercal fishes, I am inclined to think it should go among them.'

"Assuming this opinion as to the heterocercal character of these fishes to be correct, and also that of Professor AGASSIZ as to the place on the rock series where such fishes disappear, and the homocerques take their place, and the conclusion could not be avoided, that our sandstone was the trias, or new red. Mr. REDFIELD, however, had, some years earlier, suggested, from the character of the Catopterus, that this sandstone 'might have a higher situation in the series than that assigned to it by geologists,' because analogous fish had not been found below the lias. From a recent paper by his father, the late WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, Esq., read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in August 1856, it appears that both those gentlemen are of opinion that such is the case, judging alone from the fish. And when we consider the great attention they have given to the subject, and how admirable a collection of fossil fishes they have to judge from, their views cannot but command great respect. Yet, in the language of Sir PHILIP EGERTON, 'although this character, derived from the organization of the caudal fin, is one of great value and significance in the determination of various fossil genera of fossil fishes, it is nevertheless necessary, in drawing general conclusions, to be careful not to assign to it more importance than it is strictly entitled to; for we find, by the comparison of several genera, that it is not one of those well-defined trenchant characters which can be affirmed to exist or not, as the case may be, but that it is variable in amount, passing from extreme *heterocercy* to absolute *homocercy* by a sliding scale so gradual, that it is (at all events in fossil examples) most difficult to define a positive line of demarcation between the two forms.' In the Connecticut river fossil fishes, so balanced are these characters that the same observer will place them in different classes at different times; and though, as we have seen, the soundest opinion locates them in the jurassic series, we need other evidence to confirm this conclusion. Such evidence we have in recent discoveries.

"Belts of sandstone, analogous in appearance to that of the Connecticut, cross the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. One of these belts in Virginia, and another in North Carolina, contains thick beds of bituminous coal. Many years ago, Professor Wm. B. Rogers made it very probable that the Virginia deposit should be referred to the lower part of the oolitic or jurassic series, like the coal formations of Whitby and Scarborough in Yorkshire, England. For he found in the Virginia rocks specimens of Equisetum, Zamites, and Lycopodites, among the fossil plants, and two species of Posidonomya and two of Cypris among the shells. These fossils have not yet, indeed been found in the Connecticut river sandstone; but there is such a general resemblance between the Virginia and Connecticut rocks, as to lead Professor ROGERS to regard them as probably identical.

"Still more decisive as to the jurassic, or rather perhaps liassic character of the upper part of the Connecticut river sandstone, are the discoveries of EDWARD HITCHCOCK, Jr., M.D., in the strata of Mount Tom, in Easthampton. He has found there a species of Clathropteris (C. rectiusculus), a peculiar fern found in Europe, only in the lower part of the lias and upper part of the trias. It occurs not far from the middle of the sandstone of the valley, measuring its perpendicular thickness. It may safely be concluded, therefore, that the rock above this point corresponds to the lias, or lower part of the jurassic series."—P. 6.

The whole of this part of Professor Hitchcock's able volume, but especially that devoted to trap agency, the mode in which it has been intercalated among the sandstones, its influence on the position and even lithological character of the great stratified masses into which it seems to have, at various times, been protruded, and the like, afford ample evidence of his great ability as a field geologist. But, without dwelling on these features, let us see how he looks at the position in which the footprints chiefly occur:—

"It appears that all of them, with the exceptions named above, occur on the upper side of the trap, and in the lower part of that division of the formation that consists of shales and fissile sandstones. That seems to have been a period peculiarly favourable, either to the development of life, or to the preservation of its remains; the latter probably is the most plausible supposition. My own opinion is, that the thick-bedded sandstone below the trap was deposited in much deeper water, and therefore we find in it scarcely anything but fucoids. But near the close of the period of its formation, a tilting process commenced, which brought up a portion of the rock to the surface, and gave a footing for animals and plants, and then sprang up the gigantic clathropteris, and animals (*Brontozoum giganteum, validum and Sillimanium*) began to tread the shores. Next the trap was erupted, which extended the area of land, and afforded a congenial resort for animals of all sizes, from the huge Brontozoum giganteum and Otozoum Moodii, down to almost microscopic myriapods and insects. The fauna of that period, as shown by tracks alone, must have been unusually full, as we shall see when we come to describe the footmarks, embracing more than one hundred species."—P. 20.

The Professor vindicates, with characteristic ability, his reason for holding that the footprints of animals afford sufficient grounds for determining to what family or class of animals those which have made them must have belonged. Next to the teeth, the foot-

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prints afford the best means of determining the individual animal. Who would mistake the human foot for that of any other animal? or the feet of quadrupeds for those of birds? or those of birds for the feet of reptiles? "Among the mammalia, who would confound the feet of the ruminantia with those of the carnivora or marsupialia; or among birds, the feet of the grallæ with those of the passeres or palmipedes; or the feet of the kangaroo, or platypus, with those of the tiger or the hog; or those of the Struthis rhea with those of the eagle or albatross?" Passing from the feet to the tracks make by them, we are told that—

"Bipeds leave tracks nearly equi-distant, except when slackening or accelerating their pace; nearly in a right line if the animals legs are long, but deviating more or less from the line of direction to the right and left, according as the leg is longer or shorter, and the body wide or narrow. The more the tracks deviate from the line of direction, which I call the median line, and the greater the angle which the axis of the foot makes with that line outward, the stronger the presumption that the animal was a quadruped. The right and left foot can be distinguished by the following marks:—In the pachydactylous, or thick-toed animals, by the number of phalangeal impressions, which are usually different on the different toes. In four-toed animals, one of whose toes points backward, by the hind toe, which is always on the inside of the foot. I used to suppose that in bipeds, more frequently than in quadrupeds, the toes turn inwards towards the line of direction; but the exceptions are too numerous to allow of any rule to be deduced from this circumstance. The inner front toe in bipeds is usually shortest; yet it is sometimes difficult to determine which is the shortest in fossil impressions. But even when the above characters show a regular alternation of the right and left foot, we sometimes find that the animal was a quadruped, as will be shown in speaking of the tracks of that class. The simplest and plainest case of the footmarks of a quadruped, is where the animal leaves two rows of tracks, some distance apart; the impressions in each row showing two tracks close together, or even interfering, and then a much longer interval before another two are reached. This is a common mode of progression with quadrupeds, and is well exhibited usually in the tracks of a horse; but some animals—the cat and dog for instance—frequently bring the hind foot so exactly into the place vacated by the four one, that often it is necessary to examine quite a row of tracks before discovering the double impression. The character of the foot in such cases will often distinguish the tracks of a quadruped from those of a biped. If there be a solid or divided hoof, or if the foot have five, or even four toes, the presumption is very strong that the animal is a quadruped. If, however, some of the feet have only three toes, it will not do to infer that they were not made by a quadruped; for some such, both living and fossil, had only three, either on the hind or fore foot."—P. 26.

Having adduced other weighty facts, all pointing in the same direction, Professor Hitchcock adds: "The evidence, then, seems already strong and rapidly accumulating, that at least a part of the sandstone of the Connecticut valley is as recent as the lias, and possibly some beds even more recent. But does this conclusion and the preceding reasoning apply to all the sandstone of the valley, or only to certain beds? This question I have been trying to solve for several years. In order to do it, I found it necessary to obtain several reliable measured sections across the valley; a work which none of us, who for so long a time have been trying to fix the place of the sandstone, had ever attempted."(!) Five such sections were made by the Professor and his students, and the district was carefully mapped out. With the aid of these he proceeded to draw such inferences respecting the rocks as seemed to warrant a distinct theory in regard to their lithological character and position. He found veins of greenstone, amygdaloid, and volcanic grit, traversing the sandstone longitudinally, trending in a north-easterly direction, and lying in the form of interstratified masses. The dip of the rocks is from 5° to 50°. In the northern basin the sandstone underlies the trap, and is west or north-west of it.

"Immediately above the trap—that is, on its east side—the rocks are quite different; consisting of interstratified red and black shales, volcanic grit, micaceous sandstones, red, grey, and white, and compact fetid blue and grey limestone. Still higher up—that is, farther east—we have a recurrence of coarser sandstones, becoming in some places thick-bedded, and resembling those below the trap, but generally distinguishable by the eye. Still farther east, on the very margin of the valley, we find a coarse conglomerate in a few places, of quite peculiar character. It is made up chiefly of fragments of slaty rocks, argillaceous and silicious, such as we find in places farther north, among the metamorphic strata. The fragments are sometimes several feet in diameter, and the stratification of the rock is very obscure. It looks, in fact, like a consolidated mass of drift. Now it is in the shales and sandstones, lying immediately above the trap, that we find organic remains,—the fishes, the tracks, and the plants. Those rocks, then, if our reasoning is correct, are of jurassic or liassic age; but the reasoning does not apply to that thick deposit below the trap; for in those rocks I have never detected any organic relic save fucoids, and perhaps a few trunks of trees, some six or eight inches diameter. This rock, then, may be older than the lias, and it has great thickness. And so the remarkable conglomerate along the eastern margin of the valley may be a distinct and more recent deposit than the jurassic, since organic remains, with the exception, perhaps, of one or two species of footmarks, have not been found in it.

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We see, then, that from lithological characters alone, we should be justified in regarding this sandstone as belonging to two, and perhaps three, geological formations; and since the organic remains supposed to be jurassic scarcely extend below the trap, we may reasonably assign the inferior beds to an older formation;—what one, remains to be determined."—P. 11.

Has the Connecticut valley sandstone been deposited as it now lies; or are there evidences of upheaval, of disturbing forces having once acted with great power on the once horizontal strata? These questions Professor Hitchcock answers in a way, to the study of which we would direct those who are mad on the theory that the present forces going on unnoticed in nature, are sufficient to account for all the phenomena of position and of superposition.

"The opinion," he says, "has been advanced by several able geologists, that the strata of this sandstone, both in New England and New Jersey, were deposited in their present inclined position, and not subsequently elevated. That some part of the dip may have been thus produced, may, perhaps, be admitted, as in all other sedimentary deposits. But the following reasons seem to me insuperable against the opinion, that these sandstone strata have not been tilted up subsequent to their deposition:—1. If the strata had been deposited over the floor of the estuary, they must have conformed to the inequalities of the surface, and this, being composed of hypozoic or metamorphic rocks, must have been quite uneven, so that the inclination would have been in all directions, and not so uniformly to the south-east. 2. The materials composing the deposit correspond better with the rocks now found up the valley, north of the sandstone, than with those on the east or west sides. 3. Since the hills on both sides of the valley rise sometimes as much as one thousand feet, if the deposition had begun on the west side, as it must have done to have an easterly slope, the same inclination could not have been continued to the very foot of the eastern hills, since these must have been above the ocean; or if beneath, they must have prevented the waves from silting up the valley from that direction. If the sides of the valley were above the waters, as seems almost certain, the materials must have been carried into the estuary by the tributaries from both sides, as well as from the north. And as the estuary must have opened to the south, the silting up must have been from that direction. Probably, however, the current that came from the north, down what is now the Connecticut Valley, had more to do than the ocean with spreading out the materials over the bottom. 4. The prevailing dip of the sandstone in New Jersey (the equivalent, doubtless, of that along the Connecticut) is opposite to that in Massachusetts and Connecticut. If the ocean deposited the former with a westerly dip, is it credible that on the same coast, a few hundred miles distant, it should place the latter with a contrary dip? It looks rather as if an anticlinal axis, or elevation between them, had been concerned in the tilting up of both. 5. The most perfect and delicate footmarks are found on this sandstone, on slopes from 10° to 40°. At Turner's Falls you will see the finest of them, where the dip is 40°, running in all directions, and yet showing no marks of distortion, as if the animal walked on an inclined surface. Now, in the first place, no animal could walk over a slope so high but with difficulty, and certainly not without impressing one part of its foot much deeper than others. I have occasionally seen cases where the heel sunk twice as deep as the toes; but this would require a dip of only some 10° to 15°, whereas, at the Falls, and at Mr. Field's quarries, where the dip is nearly 35°, the imprints are so evenly made as to indicate that the animals moved over a horizontal surface."—P. 15.

Thirty characteristics, based on the principles of comparative anatomy and zoology, are stated as affording reliable grounds for determining the nature of an animal by its track; and from these it is concluded, and we think on good grounds, that it might be confidently decided whether the animal is vertebrate or invertebrate, biped, quadruped, or multiped; to which of the great classes of the vertebrata or the invertebrata it may belong, and, with some probability, to what order, genus, or species. "In making out the groups, I have brought those together whose tracks exhibit certain predominant analogous features; but in several cases I have made these groups intermediate between existing classes. In all cases I have subdivided the groups into genera, and these into species. I can only say this is the best result I can reach after twenty-three years' study of these footmarks. But my own progress, as I look back on my experience, admonishes me that more satisfactory conclusions will doubtless reward future ichnologists. I feel as if I had only commenced the work. Would that those who come after me could know how great have been the difficulties I have encountered, and how hard it has been to grope my way without guides through the thick darkness that has rested on this subject." After this the Professor proceeds to an exact scientific characterisation of the different forms. This part of the work is distinguished by great ability, and bears testimony to the possession of a knowledge in comparative anatomy and in zoology both extensive and accurate. He then gives, at the close of these determinations, a popular account of the footmark animals. Take the following from this part of the work:—

"First comes that huge giant, Brontozoum giganteum, with a foot 18 inches long, and embracing an area 13 inches square within its outlines. Its stride was from 30 to 60 inches, and its legs were so long that it went forward nearly on a

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straight line. The great resemblance between the general character of the foot and those of the Cassowary and Rhea, or South American Ostrich, and especially the number of the phalanges in the toes, corresponding exactly to those of birds, make it extremely probable that this was the great *courser* of sandstone days. In my Final Report on the Geology of Massachusetts, I have gone into a calculation to show the probable height and weight of such a bird. I will not here repeat the details; but the result was that the animal must have been 12 feet high, and have weighed from 400 to 800 pounds. The ostrich, the largest living bird, stands between seven and eight feet in height, and weighs sometimes 100 pounds; and the length of its step in walking is 26 inches. The great extinct birds of New Zealand and Madagascar must have been nearly or quite as large as the Brontozoum. The recently discovered fossil bird *Gastornis Parisiensis*, in the tertiary rocks near Paris, was 'at least as large as an ostrich;' yet it appears that these enormous birds passed over the surface in flocks, as their rows of tracks near the railroad in the south-east part of Northampton show. They were doubtless wingless (apterous) birds, like the ostrich, dinornis, and æpyornis."—P. 178.

The other forms of life described by Professor Hitchcock are not less remarkable. To these, however, we can do no more than refer our readers, who, we are sure, after following the author throughout his graphic yet scientifically accurate description, will cordially sympathise with his concluding words:—

"Such was the Fauna of sandstone days in the Connecticut Valley. What a wonderful menagerie! Who would believe that such a register lay buried in the strata? To open the leaves, to unroll the papyrus, has been an intensely interesting though difficult work, having all the excitement and marvellous developments of romance. And yet the volume is only partly read. Many a new page, I fancy, will yet be opened, and many a new key obtained to the hieroglyphic record. I am thankful that I have been allowed to see so much by prying between the folded leaves. At first men supposed that the strange and gigantic races which I had described, were mere creatures of imagination, like the gorgons and chimeras of the ancient poets. But now that hundreds of their footprints, as fresh and distinct as if yesterday impressed upon the mud, arrest the attention of the sceptic on the ample slabs of our cabinets, he might as reasonably doubt his own corporeal existence as that of these enormous and peculiar races.

And how marvellous the changes which this valley has undergone in its inhabitants! Nor was it a change without reason. We are apt to speak of these ancient races as monstrous, so unlike existing organisms as to belong to another and quite a different system of life. But they were only wise and benevolent adaptations to the changing condition of our globe. One common type runs through all the present and the past systems of life, modified only to meet exigencies, and identifying the same infinitely wise and benevolent Being as the Author of all. And what an interesting evidence of His providential care of the creatures He has made, do these modifications of structure and function present! Did the same unvarying forms of organization meet us in every variety of climate and condition, we might well doubt whether the Author of Nature was also a Providential Father. But His parental care shines forth illustriously in these anomalous forms of sandstone days, and awakens the delightful confidence that in like manner He will consult and provide for the wants of individuals.

The ancient Flora of the Connecticut Valley was probably as peculiar as its Fauna. Gladly would I also develop its vegetable wonders; and, indeed, I am not without numerous specimens for such a work. But if the ichnology of the sandstone is difficult, still more so, as it seems to me, is its fossil botany. Before attempting such a work, I feel that some years of careful study would be a prerequisite; a larger number probably than one can hope for, whose sun is so near the horizon as mine. But other suns have already arisen or will arise, whose brighter light shall bring into view the peculiar vegetable forms of American oolitic times."—P. 190.

We have studied the Ichnology with much care, and we can freely congratulate Professor Hitchcock in having contributed such a monograph to the literature of science. Had he done nothing more than this, he would have gained for himself a name honoured wherever science is cultivated. Accepting the figure used in reference to himself at the close of our last extract, we watch the sun on the horizon, and hope that He who has control over it, may detain it long "among the golden clouds of even." It draws, in such a work as the Ichnology, so much brightness after it, as to tempt us to look above the author to Him to whose service his life has been devoted, and, adapting the words of the poet, to say—

"Those hues that mark the sun's decline,
So soft, so radiant, Lord, are thine."

Professor Hitchcock has not, however, been permitted to bear away his laurels, without other hands making an attempt to grasp them. The experience which might almost be said to be common to all who strike out new thoughts, or bend their working energies into new paths, has been his. Rival claims to priority in scientifically investigating and describing the footprints have been made. About fourteen years ago, Dr. James Deane of Greenfield laid claim to precedence in these points; and since his death, which took place while the present Report was being prepared, some of his over-zealous admirers have renewed those claims, which most men of science had held were set aside during the original discussion. The controversy is

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one which admits of an easy settlement; and, after studying it without bias, we have not the least doubt but that, in the pages devoted to it in the present Report, Dr. Hitchcock has settled it. Dr. Deane had accidentally found some specimens of tracks "lying upon the side-ways at Greenfield," and had informed the author, who commissioned the finder to purchase them for him. They fell under the eye of science when Dr. Hitchcock obtained them. Had they been left to Dr. Deane alone, they would have been lying on the "side-ways" still. Professor Hitchcock set to work at once, and for six years, during all which time Dr. Deane was silent, he worked constantly at the footprints. He had published descriptions of thirty-two species, with twenty-five plates, before Dr. Deane had published anything on the subject. Professor Hitchcock claims to have been "the first to investigate and describe them, as a matter of science." The claim, we beg to assure him, was long ago admitted by British naturalists. The opinion of Professor Owen, which we have quoted above, should be decisive on this point.

Art. XI.—Recent Publications.

Handbook of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. By Mrs William Fison. Inscribed by permission to Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, G.C. St. S., President of R. G. S., Director-General of the Geological Survey of Great Britain, etc., etc. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1859.

Handbook of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. By Mrs. William Fison. Inscribed by permission to the Right Hon. Lord Brougham, F.R.S. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1859.

These volumes are very much alike in colour, form, size, and style. Their contents are arranged in the same manner, and the same line of thought is followed in stating the objects for which the two Associations have been formed. What Boswell was to Johnson, Mrs. Fison has striven to be to the British Association, and to its vigorous offspring, "The Association for the Promotion of Social Science." She has succeeded in her endeavours. A woman of culture and much intelligence, she has followed with great interest the rise and progress of those annual gatherings, which are regarded with interest by the most eminent men of Europe and America.* The questions in Natural Science, in Physics, and in Sociology, which fall to be considered at the yearly meetings, are of the most important kind. The author of the *Handbooks* is so fully alive to this, that her admiration sometimes passes bounds, and her praise becomes too like adulation. She sees only perfection in the organization and the objects of the Association, whose able chronicler she has become. Perhaps, had she been in the place of one called to take active concern in the business of the meetings, she might have discovered a good many things capable of improvement, and might have felt that the principle of association, in order to scientific and social progress, demands a development ahead of present attainments, —a development which, while it should not interfere with existing Associations, would give a direction to thought and action in the fields already occupied, which would tend to the highest interests of the human race.

Many men of eminence in science have recently begun to feel, that the present advanced state of their favourite pursuits makes it important that opportunities should be given of meeting together, on a broader platform than that necessarily which is occupied by scientific Associations in France, Germany, America, and in this country.

Might not a general Scientific Congress be assembled annually, in one of the great capitals of Europe, with the view of extending its sphere still further, as soon as possible?

To this Congress might be invited the representatives of all the Sciences from all nations. All persons who are members of known scientific bodies (such as Royal Societies, Imperial Academies), or who are professors, *doctores legentes*, *docentes intra extraque muros*, authors of scientific works, students who have obtained the first prizes in their faculties, and all men who can produce a scientific manuscript of their own composition, containing original observations approved of by some professor or author of high standing, might become members by merely signifying their approval of the Congress.

The meetings might be held annually, during one week in the month of August, in capitals, which by their Museums, Libraries, Botanical and Zoological Gardens, Observa-

* The history of the "British Association" has been so fully sketched in No. XXVII. of this Journal, that we are not required to follow Mrs. Fison's interesting outline.

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tories, Hospitals, and other Institutions, offer the greatest external aids to science.

General meetings might be daily devoted to the advancement of science, by the highest inductive generalizations, and by the most extensive deductions,—so that every new fact should occupy a definite position in its relation to other scientific facts previously known.

In the general meetings, all communications could be made *vivâ voce*, in the most concise manner consistent with clearness; while all laudatory giving of thanks, etc., should be strictly forbidden.

The communications might not exceed fifteen or twenty minutes each, unless at the urgent request of a majority of the meeting. Translations of these communications, to members not acquainted with the language of the speaker, need not be given in the general meeting, but could be deferred to the minor sectional assemblies in the afternoon and evening,—in which the votaries of different sciences from various nations might be requested to unite for reading concise papers on scientific subjects, and for discussion. These sectional meetings, being devoted to particular discoveries in special branches of science, the daily general meetings would advance science chiefly in its unity and totality.

The men who have been able to advance particular sciences, did not confine their attention to one branch of the tree of knowledge, but endeavoured to comprehend its totality. Such were Aristotle, Leibnitz, Humboldt, etc. The general meetings would assist students to follow the example of the great masters of intellectual generalization, in beholding the links between physics and metaphysics; *natura naturata et natura naturans.*

The Handbook of the British Association praises the efforts made to give concentration and unity to physical phenomena, which had been before regarded as having no relation to each other. La Place had said: *Les phenomèna de la natare ne sont que les resultats d'un petit nombre de lois.* Lord Bacon wrote in the Novum Organum: "Only let mankind regain their rights over nature assigned to them by the gift of God; that power obtained, its exercise will be governed by right reason and true religion."

If we consider the pre-eminence sometimes attained by men, who come into contact with the intelligence of more than one country, it appears to us, that a general scientific congress, annually repeated, would call forth more such men of peace and science as Leibnitz, Cuvier, and Humboldt. Cuvier was born within the Germanic empire, and studied at Stuttgart before he became professor in France. Humboldt might have been a very well informed nobleman if he had remained on his estates; but he obtained his mental grasp by coming in contact with the intelligence of different nations. Leibnitz would have been, like his father, a very learned professor at Leipzig; but he was led on to his cosmic efforts for science and for peace by his acquaintance with France and England. Many more illustrations might be given.

In order to carry out our plan, it would be necessary to obtain the approbation of men high in station, who, like His Royal Highness Prince Albert, have shown themselves men of progress, notwithstanding their political differences,—*e.g.*, the Emperors of Russia, France, and Turkey; the Regent and the Prince Royal of Prussia; the Kings of the Netherlands, Holland, Sardinia, Denmark, Sweden, Hanover, Bavaria, and Würtemberg; the Grand Dukes of Baden and Saxe-Gotha; the Presidents of Switzerland and the United States, etc. The favour and encouragement given by them might take the form of free passages on railroads and steamers to the capital chosen, the grant of a place for the meetings, and ready admittance to museums, libraries, hospitals, observatories, etc., etc. No other organization would be required, so that the money element would be kept out of view, as there would be no grants to bestow and no salaries to pay.

It would be the aim to cultivate as before, and still more so, the permanent intellectual and scientific growth through Universities, Royal Societies, Imperial Academies, Institute de France, British and National Associations, etc., in order to be enabled to enjoy also its annual inflorescence at the congress now proposed.

To such of our readers as wish to become acquainted with the history of the British Association, and with that of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, we commend Mrs. Fison's lucid and well written manuals.

Obras Completas de Fernan Caballero. 13 Tomis. Madrid: Mellado. 1857–59.

Some years ago a distinguished critic remarked, that in Spain, so far as prose fiction was concerned, "native talent and invention appeared to be at an end." Such predictions are dangerous even if applied at home, but are tenfold perilous when used in reference to a foreign literature. The writer, whose works are before us, has proved herself su-

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perior to any Italian novelist of this century, equal to any German, and inferior only to the very best of the writers of fiction in this country and in France.

The reputation of this lady (the name Fernan Caballero is merely a *nom de plume*) has arisen within the last few years. Her name does not occur in the most recent book on Spanish literature (Brinkmeier Hist. d. Span. Lit. d. 19 Jahrh.). Partially translated into French, her works are scarcely known in this country. Her very name will probably be strange to numbers of our readers. This injustice, however, we hope will not be of long continuance; we trust that what translation has done for Conscience and Auerbach, will, by the same medium, be, ere long, effected for the Andalusian novelist.

In former times, the prose fiction of Spain chiefly manifested two tendencies,—first the pastoral, and afterwards the picaresco. Both have long since ceased to be accredited forms of literary composition. After the era of mere French imitation had passed away, and a measure of acquaintance with English and German literature was diffused among the literary men of Spain, there was in the peninsula a short period of historical novel writing. Martinez de la Rosa, de la Escosura, and others, followed this career, without any marked success.

Fernan Caballero has taken up a thoroughly original position. No echo of foreign literary impressions, she is true to her own land; no reflection of former literary periods, she is true to her own age. The Spain, and especially the Andalusian Spain of the present time, in town and country life, in the various *strata* of society, rich and poor, travelled and home-bred, polished and uncultivated,—such forms the staple of her stories. Where, as in one of her shorter tales, she takes her characters away from the land of their birth to England, she is vague and unlife-like in her delineations. Contemporary Spain, with its traditions of the contest against Napoleon, its reminiscences of the Constitution of 1820 and of the Carlist war, its very distinctive and powerfully marked national character, is the object of Caballero's descriptions. There is perhaps too much of laudation of Spain,—rather, however, as a matter terminating in itself, than in connection with vituperation or underrating of other countries. We cannot name any intellectual qualification of a novelist in which the authoress is deficient. One of her volumes is called Cuadros de Costumbres (Pictures of Manners), and she elsewhere intimates that this name might be given to them all. But no one must from this suppose that her works are merely or mainly a succession of sketches; there is always a well-managed story. Besides the art of narrative, she has great vigour of description—she is varied and vivid in dialogue—her mastery over the pathetic is remarkable—and she is possessed of much power of humour. She is not afraid to speak strongly against the cruelty of the national amusement of the bull-fight. With reference to another Peninsular specialty, more generally annoying than the one just mentioned to tourists, she remarks, "Innovation, which has assailed Spanish politics, literature, and even fashion, has not yet ventured to interfere with our—cookery!"

The works of Caballero may be recommended as original, varied, always interesting, morally pure. As specimens of her skill in sustaining her characters in difficult circumstances, the tales "Simon Verde" and "Lucos Gardia" may be mentioned. The difficulty in the former is material, in the latter moral. "Una en otra" is a skilful combination of the circumstances of average life in good society, with the sanguinarily eventful history of a family on which the ancient Household Fate of Thebes or Mycenæ might be supposed to have fallen.

La Bretagne Ancienne. Par M. Pitre Chevalier. Paris: Didier et Co. 1859. Pp. 560.

This is a splendid volume. Besides carefully executed maps, it is illustrated by upwards of two hundred engravings on steel and wood, by Tony Johannot, and other French artists of merit. The scenery, antiquities, costumes, and other distinctive characteristics of Bretagne, are thus skilfully brought before the view.

But the book of M. Pitré Chevalier does not rest for its claims to appreciation mainly on its illustrations, however numerous or well executed. There is no flimsiness of text to be pardoned in connection with richness of embellishment. The author, himself a Breton, has made a labour at once of love and of skill out of the toil of years. The book is replete with an enthusiasm for his native province, zealous but not indiscreet, loving but not exaggerating.

The ancient Celtic and Druidical period occupies the first chapter, and the Roman era the second of the volume. The author then traces the history of the independence of Bretagne under its counts or dukes, for its sovereigns were so named indifferently. They were but the heads of a confederacy of nobles, and the too limited power they pos-

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sessed, if advantageous in peace, was generally injurious to national interests in times of war. The Breton independence was, with some few intervals, maintained against the Franks and the Northmen. The Church, as well as the State, possessed its independence, its bishops assembling in synod under the presidency of the Archbishop of Dol. While vividly narrating the story of medieval Bretagne, M. Petré Chevalier makes ample use of the legends, in prose and verse, with which that local history abounds, relating to

> "Ghost, friend, and angel, fairy, witch, and sprite."

In Breton legend, Count Gradlon occupies the same central place as King Arthur does in the corresponding fictions of British bards. A strong affinity connected the Britons of this island and of Armorica. Amid the pressure of invasion, each dominion was a place of refuge for the endangered patriots of the other. The hated name of Saozon (Saxon) was handed down in Bretagne as a generic epithet applied to all invaders.

Under the Plantagenet Kings the history of Bretagne is closely connected with that of England. For about thirty years, and under two princes, Geoffrey II. and Arthur I., the ducal crown of Bretagne was worn by Plantagenets. After the murder of the latter by his uncle, King John, his half-sister Alix carried by marriage to Peter of Dreux the dukedom into a cadet branch of the royal family of France. After existing for three hundred years independent in this family, Bretagne, through the marriage of the Duchess Anne to Charles VIII., and then to Louis XII., became united to France. All further hazard of separation was created by the union of Francis I. to Claude, eldest daughter of Louis and Anne. In 1532 the incorporation with France was finally effected.

M. Pitré Chevalier gives full accounts of all eminent persons connected with Bretagne, whether in civil or ecclesiastical story. Robert d'Arbressil and Abelard, as well as the Hoels and Alains, Conans and Geoffreys, whose rule was famed through war or distinguished in peace. The seventh chapter, of more than sixty pages long, gives a most elaborate estimate of feudalism in the form which it assumed in Bretagne. Throughout the volume the reader finds ample information respecting the remains of the various successive eras—Druidical, Roman, and Breton-Medieval.

A brief account is given in two concluding chapters of what Bretagne has had to suffer in the contests between Leaguer and Huguenot, Chouan and Republican, as well as of the progress which in more peaceful times the province has made since it became an integral part of France. The authors who have shed lustre on the province, whether like Le Sage and Guinguené, Lamennais and Chateaubriand, Souvestre and Brizieux, of wide general reputation, or enjoying only on a sectional or local fame, are carefully enumerated by M. Pitré Chevalier. He has produced a most interesting volume, which is doubtless certain of local appreciation, but is also deserving of a more general reception.

Histoire des Jesuites. Composee sur Documents Authentiques en Partie Inedits. Par L'Abbe Guettee. Tom. I. et II. Paris: Librairie Huet, 1859. Pp. 507 et 530.

The Abbé Guettée, in his very brief preface, states, that the history of the Jesuits has hitherto been written either by enemies or by partisans. He promises an impartial narrative. The work is one of great research. Much labour has been bestowed on both the more prominent and the more obscure portions of the story. A writer of decided Gallican views, Guettée is a strenuous opponent of Ultramontanism. As the Jesuits have been continuous supporters of Ultramontanism, their views find no favour with him.

He gives an elaborate and faithful picture of the state of the Romish communion when Jesuitism arose, describing well the youthful ardour of Protestantism, the decrepit state of the previously existing religious orders, and the dissatisfaction with the Roman Curia, which pervaded the most learned and virtuous of those who still adhered to Catholicism. Jesuitism, in its adding to the three religious vows that of implicit obedience to the Pope, was the very agency which the Curia needed in this crisis of peril.

The narrative of M. Guettée is solid, grave, full, little interrupted by reflection, never passing into rhetoric,—varying its usual calm course only when the extravagant miracles ascribed by subsequent writers to Loyola, Xavier, and others, lead to the expression of a quiet and polished irony. He has well shown the extent, varied grounds, and persistant nature of the opposition given to the Order, by Universities, French Parliaments, honourable Romish theologians, and Catholic laymen of moderate views and tolerant sentiments. The selfish nature and astute method of the support given by the Jesuits, from their Generals downwards, to all abuses, papal, royal, priestly, noble, is proved by a very large induction of facts.

It must be remarked, however, that France occupies an undue share in the history. The

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transactions of Jesuitism there so prolongedly occupy M. Guettée's attention, that their operations in other parts of Europe, and in their foreign missions, are not stated at sufficient length.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is the last chapter of the first volume, in which we have a delineation of Jesuitism during its first century, by friends and foes. It thus concludes:—"The Jesuits affect to say, that they have been severely judged only by the Jansenists. One may judge, whether it is good faith that directs them in their affirmations."

The two volumes before us treat of the Order in its progress and glory. The third and concluding volume will narrate its decline and ruin.

M. Guettée has produced a valuable book, worthy of being carefully read by all who desire to make themselves acquainted with the aspect in which the "Society of Jesus" appears to a cultivated and candid advocate of Gallicanism.

A Philological System Delineated; or, the Japhetic Languages derived from the Hebrew. By the Rev. John Macpherson, Minister at Lairg. Edin.: Johnstone, Hunter, and Co. Pp. 59.

The object of this treatise is sufficiently indicated by its title. The author, rejecting the Sanscrit theory of the origin of the European languages, reverts to the old opinion that Hebrew is the stock from which they have been all derived. In proof of this, he adduces divers weighty considerations, and not only furnishes select examples of words from Latin, Greek, and Celtic, in which the words adduced have a striking resemblance, both in form and sense, to the Hebrew vocables with which they are compared; but endeavours to show, that between the Hebrew and these languages there is "an affinity adjusted by rule or method," even in words where the affinity is not at first sight so obvious, which proves their Hebrew origin. On this subject he lays down four distinct propositions, to this effect, that "the Japhetic languages have been derived from the Hebrew, first, by an increase of letters; secondly, by a commutation of letters; thirdly, by a transposition of letters; and, fourthly, by a decrease of letters." In unfolding his theory, he has availed himself largely of the light that may be derived from Chaldee. Previous philologers, who maintained the Hebrew origin of languages, greatly overlooked this; and hence one grand cause of the failure of their attempts to make out their theory. By his laying hold of the Chaldee element, Mr. Macpherson has taken an important step in the right direction. We are inclined to agree with him in the main in regard to the principles laid down under the two first heads. As to the other two, we are satisfied that he carries the principles of the transposition and rejection of letters to an excess that cannot be justified; and, on the whole, though his theory is good, and he has enunciated important principles, in many cases he has not done justice to these very principles, by the examples he has chosen to illustrate them.

But though our author and philologers in general have hitherto failed to demonstrate, by the evidence of existing languages, the Hebrew origin of these languages, it ought not to be lightly assumed that that origin may not yet be proved. On the supposition that a language substantially the same as Hebrew was the original speech of mankind, which few Hebrew scholars will be found seriously to question, the Divine statement in Genesis, chap. xi. 7, in regard to the confusion of tongues, is of great significance, as bearing on this question, and worthy of being deeply pondered. "The whole earth" —so runs that statement in the original— "was of one *lip*, and of one *words*;" and God said, "Let us go down, and there confound their *lip*, that they may not understand one another's *lip*;" and it was so. This was the whole that took place at Babel.. The *lip*—the pronounciation—was confounded; nothing else was. There is not a hint that their memories were confounded, as many have supposed; it was only the organs of speech that were so. But the effect of that confounding of the *lip* was such, that though they spoke the same words as before, the words could not be understood by the different parties affected; they became utterly unintelligible to one another. Thus, by so insignificant a means, according to the Divine simplicity that characterises all the works of of God, was a very great effect produced. Now, if that was the case then, may not that be the case at this day? With regard to the English language at least, which we have studied for years with the Hebrew Lexicon at our elbow, we have found nothing inconsistent with this theory, but everything very remarkably to confirm it. Making allowance for what is idiomatic, and what is the result of the composition of words, which is not held to affect the identity of any language, we have been shut up to the conclusion, that the only thing which prevents the words we daily speak from being recognised as Hebrew words, is just that which hindered the Babel-builders from understanding the words of

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their neighbours, once so familiar to them, —the change of the *lip*, the difference of pronunciation,—a difference which has necessarily affected the orthography in writing. In our limited space, we cannot possibly enter into the different principles which regulate the pronunciation (though these are comparatively few); but let one be only looked at, and it will be seen how great an effect may result from a single, and that a very simple cause. The principle to which we refer is this, that what in Hebrew is pronounced in two syllables, in English is almost always contracted into one. Thus the Hebrew *rahak*, "to flee away," becomes *rhak*, or the English, *rack*, "the clouds that fly before the wind." In like manner, *shekel*, "to weigh," becomes *shkel* or *scale*, in which anything is weighed. *Shekel* also signifies, to weigh in the mind, and thus, "to learn." Hence the result of learning is *skill*, and a place for learning, *school*. Then there is *bahal*, "to loathe," which in the Hiphil is *bahīl*, "to cause loathing," and which contracted becomes *bhīl*; whence our English word *bile*, which is well known to cause sickness, when it flows into the stomach. But *bhīl* is also pronounced *vhīl*; and hence the epithet *vile* applied to anything morally loathsome. To instance only one more: the Hebrew word for the barn-floor is *gdran*, which was also applied (as the literal rendering of Job xxxix. 12 proves) to the *corn* that was thrashed on it. That word, contracted in one-way, becomes gran (or grain), and hence gran-ary; and in another, garn, whence garner. Thus, by so simple a change, have Hebrew words been thoroughly disguised. This principle runs through our whole language. Innumerable English words, dealt with in this way, will be seen at once to be pure Hebrew.

Now, let the reader take it only as a hypothesis, that English is substantially Hebrew, and deal with its words as such, and he will be surprised to find how much of his own language can be accounted for by the commonest rules of Hebrew grammar, without any particular knowledge of the principles that regulate the conversion of letters. On inquiry, he will find that the formation of nouns from verbs, by prefixing the usual formatives, is as common in English as in Hebrew. For example, from *ol*, "to ascend," with *mem* prefixed, comes *m-ol*, whence *mole*, that raises the earth in hillocks, and also *mole*, "a mound." From *op*, "to go round or whirl," with *mem* prefixed, comes *m-op*, whence "mop," that is, whirled about, to free it from the water in it. From the same word *op*, "to whirl," with *tau* prefixed, comes *t-op*, and from that, the boys' spinning "top." *Op*, legitimately pronounced, is also *Hup*, which in Hiphil is Huip, "to cause to whirl;" and thus it appears, that the top, and the whip that makes it spin, are correlative terms. Then, again, what is more familiar to every Hebrew scholar than the feminine noun in the construct state? That construct form of the feminine noun pervades the whole English language, though not used in the way of apposition. Thus *Gūa* in Chaldee signifies "the intestines" (see Stockius); and this in the feminine construct becomes *Gut*. *Muk* signifies "to putrefy," of which the feminine construct is *Mukot*, whence "maggot," that lives and riots in putrefaction. From *Hneh*, a legitimate pronunciation of anah, "to plough," comes, in the feminine construct, *Hnout*, or *Hneht*. We question if any other language at all can give any sense to the Scotch word "Nowt," or the English "Neat cattle." But the use of oxen for the plough, viewed in connection with the Hebrew, explains all. The application of Hebrew rules to the interpretation of English words, only modified by Chaldee pronunciation, explains the minutest particles, the prefixes and the affixes of our tongue, whose radical sense, with the aid of Latin, Greek, Sanscrit, Saxon, and Celtic to boot, is, to a large extent, only guessed at by philologers. It clears up also the most puzzling anomalies of the language. For instance, what conceivable connection does there seem to be between the *gum* that exudes from a tree, and the *gums* in which our teeth are set? Let the Hebrew Lexicon be consulted, and there it will be found that *gum* signifies "to unite," and then we see the link of connection between "gum Arabic," that is used as a glue, and the "gum" that "unites" the teeth together. Then what connection can any Indo-European language show between a *cuff* on the face, and the *cuff* of a coat? But here, again, Hebrew comes to our help. From it we find that *kaph*, "the hand," which is also *kuph*, comes from *kuph*, to bend back; and then it is manifest how a blow with the *hand* is called a "cuff," and how the part of the coat-sleeve at the hand, which is also folded back, is known by the same name. There are also many words in English, which are the same in form, but different in sense; and nothing but the Hebrew can show how they come to have that different sense. Thus "choke" signifies both to "be parched with thirst," and to "strangle." Have these two meanings any connection? None whatever. To "choke" with thirst, comes from *Tzokh*, "to be dried up;" while "choke," to strangle, comes from *Tzoq*, "to straiten, to press." In Johnson's Dictionary, we have *neif* interpreted as signifying a "fist," and also a "bad woman."

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What shall we say to such diverse senses? The former comes from the Hebrew *neph*, "to brandish;" the latter from *naph* or *neph*, to "commit adultery."

Now, this is only a slight, a very slight glance at the *prima facie* evidence on this subject. Let the Hebrew scholar only pursue the hints we have thrown out, and, perhaps, he may find that there is more evidence for our statement than he thought, viz., that the only thing that has hitherto hindered us from perceiving that the "words" of our language remain substantially the same as when our fathers brought them from Babel, is the "confusion of the *lip*."

Mr. Macpherson has made scarcely any reference to the English language at all. Nevertheless, in spite of the deductions we have made, we commend his work to the attention of the reader, as going in the right direction, and as containing, in a compendious form, an exhibition of principles of no slight importance to the accurate knowledge of the history of language.

Geology of Clydesdale and Arran. By James Bryce, M.A., LL.D., F.G.S. London and Glasgow: Griffin and Co.

To write a good book on Geology is a more difficult task than our author seems to think. A good book on geology should contain many facts, new or old, and few theories of any age: this work has very few new facts, and a great many old theories. Dr. Bryce has quoted a remark of Professor Phillips, that "every geologist who visits Arran is tempted to write about it." Unfortunately he yielded to the temptation. He rather should have taken "Punch's" advice "to those about to marry,"—"*Don't.*" In religion, the more faith we have, the better and happier Christians we become; but in geology, the more faith the more wretched geologists we are. Geology to a true geologist is, after all, like a quaint definition of Hume's philosophy, "a doubtful solution of doubtful doubts." Dr. Bryce, however, never doubts nor hesitates, but *pronounces* dogmatically; and as one in regard to geology, "not to the manner born." Could geology be made so easy a science as it seems in our author's hands, it would soon cease to interest. All the phenomena would be understood, the game up and no *quarry!* The first portion of this work, devoted to the geology of Clydesdale, is but a *resumé* of the work of others, not very intelligibly stated, because perhaps not quite understood. Dr. Bryce is a convert to the ancient sea-margin theory; and from the observations of others he attempts to prove that within the human period the sea had a much larger share of Clydesdale than it now can claim, and that the fine lands now held in liferent by Lord Eglinton and Mr. Campbell of Blythswood were, in the days of the stone era, or some other, in possession of the Clyde in fee simple. Let us look at some of his facts and theories. Of the estuary and fluviatile formation of the Clyde, Dr. Bryce remarks: "The deposit has been tranquilly formed throughout, long periods of repose having been but rarely interrupted by floods. Ancient canoes have been found in various parts of it, deeply imbedded in the sand and loom, one at either end of the area, and a great many on the banks of the river at Glasgow, some at heights 10 or 12 feet above the highest level reached by the greatest floods on record in the Clyde." Then quoting Mr. Buchanan, the Glasgow archæologist, who says, "Within the last eighty years no less than sixteen of these (canoes) interesting remains of aboriginal workmanship have been found in and near Glasgow. They are all, with one exception, formed of single oak trees,—in some instances, by the action of the fire, in others, by tools evidently blunt, probably of stone, and therefore referable to a period so remote as to have preceded the knowledge of the use of iron. The first known instance was in 1780. The canoe lay under the foundations of the Old St. Enoch's Church, at a depth of 25 feet from the surface—that is, about the level of low water in the river below Argyle Street—and within it was a stone hatchet of polished greenstone, in good preservation. The second, in 1781, while excavating the foundation of the Tontine, at the Cross; the surface being here 22 feet above high water. A third, in 1824, in Stockwell Street, in a deep cutting opposite the mouth of Jackson Street. The fourth was found in 1825, in cutting for a sewer in London Street, on the site of the "Old Trade's Land.' The canoe was vertical, the prow uppermost, and a number of shells were inside. The next discovery was made in 1846, when the improvements in the river began to be actively carried out. Eleven canoes were discovered in a short period. Of these, five were found on the lands of Springfield, opposite the lower portion of the harbour; five more on the property of Clydehaugh, west of Springfield; and one in the grounds of Bankton adjoining Clydehaugh. The ten were in groups together, 19 feet below the surface, and above 100 yards south from the *old* river-bank, which was then where the middle of the stream now is. The twelfth canoe was

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brought up by the dredging machine on the north side of the river, a few yards west from Point House where the Kelvin enters. The Erskine specimen was found in 1854. A collection of these canoes is now preserved (query, suffered to go to decay) in a building in the College grounds." Having quoted this paragraph, Dr. Bryce says, "The conclusion is forced upon us by these facts, that the entire area was at a remote time covered by an estuary connected with the sea by a narrow strait near Erskine, where the hills on either side press close upon the stream; whose limits reached inland almost as far as Johnstone and Paisley, narrowed upwards by the projecting Ibrox and Polloxshields ridges, but again widening out so as to wash the base of the Cathkin and Cathcart hills, and sweeping round north-east in a wide bay, so as to cover the space now occupied by the Glasgow Green and suburbs of Bridgeton. . . . How remote, then, must be the time when the quiet waters of the estuary laved the hill-sides now covered by busy thoroughfares; and a race, whose other memorials are lost, navigated in these rude canoes the broader waters of the river whose narrowed stream now floats the largest ships, and brings to our doors the choicest products of the globe." This is pretty writing, yet, solemn nonsense. The first canoe was found at a depth of "25 feet below the surface—that is, about the level of low water in the river below Argyle Street." What does this prove, but that this first Clyde boat-builder had felled the nearest tree to the river, and was busy with its excavation when he was driven off by some more "rude barbarians," and left his stone hatchet lying in the bottom? The other canoes, found at higher levels, only prove that, the wood failing near the river, these first Clyde boatmen went higher up the bank to suitable trees, and were forced to leave their boats unlaunched. But let us for a moment grant Dr. Bryce's hypothesis, that the river was then higher and slowly subsided;—what are we to make of the canoe found in a vertical position, with its prow uppermost and a number of shells inside? Does not this prove a catastrophe, and remove the other cases from being proofs of the river having occupied a higher level than at present? Dr. Bryce goes on citing many instances of shells having been found at various altitudes above the present level of the Clyde, all tending to prove that it occupied a higher position than at present. He says, "At Johnstone, near Paisley, a case is mentioned by Mr. Smith, in which sea shells, bones of fishes and sea-birds, claws of crabs and sea-weed, were found at about 80 feet elevation. The brickfields about Glasgow and Paisley abound in these shells; in the neighbourhood of Jordanhill, the beds are 80 feet above the river." We have a handful of these shells now before us from the Glasgow and Paisley beds. They are very instructive, but they teach the very opposite of Dr. Bryce's doctrine. They are all attached by the umbonal ligature, showing that they were not dead and tost about ere they reached a resting-place in the Paisley *bed;* and further, they are all crushed, showing that a vast and sudden force had lifted them from their native abodes, and cast them high and dry ashore. Such a mighty wave of the sea accomplished similar phenomena in the reign of Alexander the Third; and a former and more mighty one may have raised these beds, and upset the canoe with its prow upwards, to puzzle Dr. Bryce, and find him an excuse to become an author.

We have said that Dr. Bryce has no difficulties when he accounts for the phenomena of geology. Thus he assumes and teaches that all the trap-dykes in Arran are due to igneous fusion; that they are all composed of rude columnar prisms lying horizontal, that is, at right angles to the beds which they intersect. He also sees perfect evidence of all those beds having been fused at their junction with the hot intruding trap. Now, had not Plutonism been his creed, he might have seen, that while some of the dykes afforded ample evidence of probability of igneous fusion, others as unequivocally bore testimony to their aqueous origin. We have looked in vain for any indications of igneous fusion on the granite of Goatfell, at the junction of three well-defined trap-dykes which traverse the mountain between the base at Brodick and the summit. In proof of the singular perversity with which a mind choke full of plutonic theories regards the phenomena of trap-dykes, our author points in triumph to the fact—so frequently seen along all the shores of Arran—of the sandstones or other sedimentary beds being hardened by the heat of the intruding trap, and thus standing up sharp and high above the portions farther removed from the influence of the heat. Now, we grant at once that heat hardens most rocks. Our fire-worshipping forefathers knew this, when they built their temples on the high places consecrated to Baal, and vitrified together the blocks, which to this day retain their vitreous lustre and their strong adhesion. But if the heat hardened the sandstone at its junction with the trap, how did it not more harden and vitrify the dyke which, according to Dr. Bryce, was the vitrifier?

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Unfortunately for his theory, in every case where the sandstone stands up on either side of his vitrifying dyke, we find the dyke degraded several feet below the sandstone, confessing as it were its impotency to the waves, because it had given, in the fervency of its young heat, all its strength to the embracing sandstone! Now, in the cases where we find the dyke weathered or water-worn beneath the sandstone which it intersects, we are satisfied that what the dyke gave to the sandstone was not heat, but a larger amount of oxide of iron than it contained before, thus rendering it most eminently durable. The matter of the dyke was not an igneous, but an aqueous deposit.

With regard to those dykes which stand high above the surrounding strata, we are inclined to regard them as of igneous origin; and if Dr. Bryce had not been led astray by his unfortunate leaning to the worship of Baal, he would have seen that the most perfect igneous dyke, so well described by Jameson, between Tormore and King's Cove, was distinctly stratified in the oppo site plane to all the other dykes in Arran. This famous historical pitch-stone vein or dyke has excited the admiration of all geologists. It is further interesting to us now, as proving how different and how false conclusions are ever drawn from phenomena, when they are put on the rack and made to give answers to questions which must only please the querist. Jameson, the Wernerian, held it as decidedly of aqueous origin, because it was stratified and overlooked all the others; and now Dr. Bryce, because it is stratified and he a Huttonian, overlooks it—the only one which could support his view better than all the others put together!

There is only one other point to which we would call the reader's attention; and that is, to the frequent description of granite outbursts, of which our author is exceedingly fond. At page 75, he says of the well-known junction between the slate and granite in Glen Sannox—"A few hundred yards above the Barytes Mill a narrow band of slate crosses the river at right angles, between the granite on one side, and the old red sandstone on the other. The slate is very much altered by the close proximity of granite; it has, in fact, the structure and aspect of Lydian stone or basalt; and the sandstone also a highly metamorphic structure, firmly adhering to the slate, and intermingling and interlacing with it, as if the slate had been forcibly injected among the strata of conglomerate in a melted state. This interesting junction seems to have escaped notice till observed by us in the summer of 1856. Something analogous, though less striking, is seen towards the junction in the burn of the White Water above Corrie, where a gradual passage takes place from slate to sandstone,—clearly the effect of metamorphosis, by the heat to which both were subjected. The facts clearly show the posteriority of the granite outburst to the deposit of the old conglomerate, and that the entire slate stratum on the east or Corrie side was in a plastic state, under the influence of the intense heat which fused the granite."

In another place, Dr. Bryce is puzzled at not finding evidences of igneous action where dykes permeate the granite. At page 100 he states: "These dykes are from 18 inches to 2 feet broad, and are separated by a granite baud 8 or 10 feet in breadth; elliptic masses of granite, of which the largest we observed was about 18 inches by 9, are enclosed in the trap, but very little altered. The alteration, indeed, is nowhere remarkable; the granite being in some places coarse, in others fine-grained, along the planes of contact. Specimens of both may be obtained of both rocks firmly adhering."

Let us carefully examine these two paragraphs. In the first, he says that the narrow band of slate in Glen Sannox has been changed into "the structure and aspect of Lydian stone or basalt, and forcibly injected among the strata of conglomerate in a melted state." It is here assumed that Lydian stone and basalt are ever of igneous origin—a position scarcely tenable since the writings of the late Professor Fleming. We should be happy to show Dr. Bryce Lydian stone and basalt, the first on Salisbury Crags, and the latter on Arthur Seat, before which the hottest Plutonist would become cool and reasonable.

In the next sentence, where he states that "this interesting junction was reserved for him to discover in 1856," we beg to inform him that we were aware of its existence in the year 1837 from the lectures and writings of Jameson; and we made a special visit to Glen Sannox, in company with a few geological friends, to find it, and had no difficulty in it, in the year 1839. One thing we certainly did not find or believe, that we saw any evidence of the fusion of the slate—a fact which we left for Dr. Bryce to discover in 1856.

In the latter sentence of the first paragraph above quoted, he dogmatizes on the slates becoming plastic under the influence of "the intense heat which fused the granite;" and, in the second paragraph, fails to see any change caused by the intense heat at the junction of the granite and the trap. Now, the theory of granite being a fused forma-

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tion, has not been held as tenable since Fleming showed that it was composed of three simple minerals, each composed of chemically combining constituents—a condition of no fused mass as yet examined by any chemist; and further, the bottom has been knocked out of the theory by Mr. Bryson, of Edinburgh, having shown that every crystal of quartz found in any granite hitherto examined contains fluid cavities. These two stubborn facts overthrow all our author's fine-spun theories of "outbursts," and "fused slates," and singed conglomerates.

When he fails to see any change caused by the great heat at the junction of the granite and the trap, his eyes have served him better than his head. If he had thought for a moment, or asked himself what change could be expected on the granite (an immense *fused* mass, according to him) by the posterior intrusion of a fused trap-dyke, he would have come to the reasonable conclusion, that no change could be possible, or at least probable.

Handbook of Geological Terms. By David Page, F.G.S. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons. 1859.

A work of this kind was greatly needed. If the different branches of natural science are to get a well-defined place in modern education, the obstacles to this, which at the outset meet the scholar, in the current nomenclature of science, must be removed. It is vain to propose that scientific men should express their thoughts in popular phraseology, and to expect that they will come down from their high platform, and mingle without distinction among the crowd. This is not likely ever to be; and, besides, the expediency of it is doubtful. When one witnesses the results of attempts in popular literature to do this, the question, "*cui bono?*" may very fairly be put. Science has certainly not gained much thereby; and as far as style and the English language go, the expression, "English undefiled," has ceased to have any meaning. If the end of education were simply to communicate to the young the results of scientific study, there might be some apology for the outcry against the terminology of science, though even in this case a necessity would lie on the teacher to use terms needing themselves to be defined. But the aim is far higher. It is to *draw out* the faculties, no doubt; but it is, moreover, in doing this, to give the pupil a taste for the researches themselves, which bear fruit in such results, and to fit them not only for intelligently following investigations, but for making them also.

Mr. Page has discerned the true place of natural science in relation to education. He has seen the hindrance in the way, and has come forward to remove it, as regards that branch of science which he has specially made the work of his life. His able "Manuals of Geology" have already made him favourably known; and, we are persuaded, the "Handbook" now under notice will not be thought less worthy of public attention. Mr. Page has not tried to bring science down to the multitude, and, by inexact terms and roundabout phrases, to commend it to the crowd. His effort has rather been to elevate the popular mind, and to bring it up to an intelligent appreciation of scientific studies, by a full, clear, and, in the main, remarkably accurate definition of the terms used in the literature of science. He has put the key into the hands of intelligent youths, by which, with as little labour as is needed for mere literary studies, they may open the gate into regions in which everywhere they will meet with objects suggestive of great thoughts of the majesty and grandeur of the all-glorious Creator. But if the labour be lightened by Mr. Page's definitions, it is not done away with. With the "Handbook" for reference, a man who knows no other language than English, may be enabled to read such a work, for example, as *Siluria;* but the painstaking and toil needed, in order to retain distinct impressions of the meaning of the scientific terms used, must always be considerable. There is, however, a great advantage in tempting the young into regions where they are willing to master difficulties, and in beguiling them into studies which, as in the case of geology, afford means for disciplining intellect, and for training in patient research, not to be had even in the fields of classical learning. The "Handbook" is, as a whole, truly admirable, and does its author very great credit. It will be found most helpful to the young geologist; and those even who have worked long in the field, may find it useful to have it among their books. We very cordially recommend it.

The Book of Ecclesiastes: Its Meaning and its Lessons. By Robert Buchanan, D.D. London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh: Blackie and Son. 1859.

The matter of which this volume is made up was originally preached to Dr. Buchanan's congregation, in the usual course of public worship on Sabbath. It was thus prepared for the instruction of a mixed congregation, to the great majority of whom anything like philological discussion would have been

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worse than wearisome. To an expositor of scholarly habits, exegetical skill, and given to historical criticism, the Book of Ecclesiastes presents a noble field for the exercise of all these accomplishments. But while the exhibition of them in the pulpit would have been sheer pedantry, we think the author might, with much advantage to his subject and himself, have given us a taste of his skill in these topics in an occasional note, now that he has made a book of his discourses. Take, for example, the question of the authorship of Ecclesiastes, or of its canonical authority. We have no doubt but that Dr. Buchanan takes the right view of the former, when he says, "The words of the Preacher are the words of Solomon;" and that in the pulpit it would have been out of place even to refer to the attempts which have frequently been made to cast doubt on the latter, by finding a parallel between this book and the *jejune* "Wisdom of Solomon." Yet his work would have had attractions to scholars, had the views of Professor M. Stuart, as to the authorship, age, and peculiar dogmas of Ecclesiastes, been looked at from Dr. Buchanan's point of view. Though we believe Professor Stuart wholly wrong in his statements, as to there being internal evidence that the writer of the book must have been acquainted with philosophic views which had no place among men till a period long posterior to the time of Solomon, we would not have found fault with Dr. Buchanan had he devoted a note to his view of this, more especially as there are many symptoms of this superficial, but very wise-looking, mode of criticism becoming more general than it has hitherto been.

But this is a very slight defect. We have stated it because it is the only one we can adduce in a book of many excellencies. Dr. Buchanan regards Ecclesiastes as having been written by Solomon towards the close of his life, when the memories of the period of his deep declension from the Lord God of his father David were ever creeping, like shadows of terrible evil, up into the midst of that quietness and assurance which were once more consciously his, as a recovered backslider,—a soul brought again to stand amidst the light of that love of God which was so precious to him in early years; or, as it is put by Pictet, "on ne sauroit lire ce livre sans y reconoitre que c'est l'ouvrage de ce roy, revenu de tous ses égaremens, et convaincu de la vanite de tous les plaisirs qu'il avoit goutez." In proceeding to deal with the book from this point of view, the author is fully aware of the difficulty of the task, and of the varied information required to do it even scant justice. "We shall see," he says, "a purpose and a plan, not only in all those high intellectual endowments and immense and multifarious acquirements by which Solomon was distinguished, but even in those dark and disastrous aberrations in which, for a season, he was permitted to go astray. Not by his wisdom only, but by his folly too, was God preparing him to be at once a beacon and a guide. The Holy Spirit has, in this book, made use both of all his excellencies and of all his errors, for the warning and for the instruction of the world. It is this very circumstance that makes it a task so difficult fully to set forth what these words of the Preacher, the son of David, King of Jerusalem, contain." Dr. Buchanan carries the state of mind manifested in these words with him throughout the exposition. There are no rash assertions intruded on the reader, in the place of views naturally deducible from the text; and no conjuring up of imaginary difficulties, in order to exhibit skill in explaining them. As many as are acquainted with the literature which has gathered around this portion of Scripture, cannot fail to be struck with the tact displayed by the author, in keeping the attention of his readers fixed on views "profitable for instruction in righteousness," and in leaving out of sight the multitude of antagonistic statements which tend only to distraction.

The Discourses contain all the characteristics which make a popular exposition of any portion of Scripture excellent. The style is pointed and clear; treasures of varied information are brought to the illustration of the text; great breadth of view characterizes the theology of the work; while the mode in which the principles of Christian morality are brought out in it, is such as to warrant the belief that it will be extensively useful.

1. *The Ulster Revival and its Physiological Accidents.* By Rev. J. M'Cosh, LL.D. Belfast: Aitchison. 1859.
2. *The Ulster Revival.* By Rev. C. Seaver, Incumbent of St. John's, Belfast. Belfast: Phillips and Son. 1859.
3. *Restoration and Revival.* By Rev. J. Small, Bervie. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1859.
4. *The Work and the Counter-Work; or, the Revival in Belfast, with an Explanation of the Physical Phenomena.* By Edward A. Stopford, Archdeacon of Meath. 5th Ed. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co. 1859.
5. *The Revivals and the Church.* By John Bruce, D.D. Edinburgh: James Nichol.
6. *Personal Visit to the Chief Scenes of the Religious Revivals in the North of Ire-*

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land. By JAMES GRANT. London: John Snow.

7. *Revivals in Ireland: Facts, Documents, and Correspondence.* By JAMES WILLIAM MASSIE, D.D., LL.D. London: John Snow.
8. *A Visit to the Scenes of Revival in Ireland: The Origin, Progress and Characteristics of the Work of* 1859. By JAMES WILLIAM MASSIE, D.D., LL.D. London: John Snow.
9. *The Ulster Revival in its Religious Features and Physiological Accidents: being Papers read at the Evangelical Alliance in Belfast, Sept.* 1859. With a Preface by Rev. EDWARD STEANE, D.D., London: James Nisbet and Co.
10. *The Revival: or, What I Saw in Ireland.* By the Rev. JOHN BAILLIE. London: Nisbet and Co.
11. *The Revival Movement.* By MAJOR PHILIP BOLTON. London: Houlston and Wright.

AMONG the noteworthy fruits of that religious movement to which so much attention has recently been devoted in this country, in Ireland, and in America, not the least interesting is the peculiar phase of literature which has sprung up in consequence of it. The books and pamphlets whose titles are quoted above form only a tithe of the plentiful harvest. We have chosen several for notice out of nearly a hundred. And if we add to these the leading articles of newspapers—from the *Times* and dashing *Saturday Review* to the *Provincial Broadsheet*—the notices in Medical Journals, and the newspaper letters whose name is Legion, we will be ready to acknowledge that public attention has been very thoroughly called to the work. All this must have impressed even those at a distance from the scenes of special influence with the conviction that there must be something extraordinary associated with it. We have looked into very many accounts of the revivals, and have found much in these of great interest, not only to all who accept the Scriptures as the Word of God, but to the physician, the philanthropist, and the student of psychology also. It would demand much more space than in a short notice can be given to them to illustrate these remarks. Accordingly, instead of going into physiological and psychological questions, it occurred to us that it might be useful to those who will undoubtedly give more attention to such aspects than has yet been given, to look at these religious movements in the light of Scripture and of modern ecclesiastical history.

Strong, overmastering emotion has been recently characteristic of these revivals. Is there aught analogous to this feature in Holy Writ? Most minds familiar with the Bible will no doubt answer this question affirmatively, and point to one passage in particular as supplying a forcible illustration: "I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the Spirit of grace and of supplication; and they shall look upon Me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his first-born." (Zech. xii. 10.) We suppose the *literal* fulfilment of this word is to be partly sought in the incident at the crucifixion, when "one of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side." (John xix. 34.) But be it so or no, the state of mind is that which will ever characterise those who look profoundly at personal sin, shortcoming from the requirements of law, and transgression against an eternally loving and gracious Saviour. This is not simply the point of view of doctrine—it is moreover, that of prevailing personal experience. It will, more or less manifestly then, find its illustration in the experience of every one who learns to "close with God and give the world the slip." But let us suppose that this should at any time take place on a large scale; that is, that not only one here and another there should be brought under these strong spiritual impressions, but tens or hundreds should be so at one time. What would be the results? The work would be more apparent. It would thus attract much more attention, and the feelings and their fruits would be intensified by the contagious influence of predominating emotion. What would have been the effect had a hundred monks been brought at the same time under such experience as those which Luther had, when he got a glimpse of himself in the light of the holiness and grace of God? and what would have been the effect in Bedfordshire had five hundred been around Bunyan, influenced as he was when he lived through the remarkable experience so graphically described in his "Grace Abounding?" The movement in either case would have been as the rolling in of a full flood, and not merely the falling of a shower of spiritual blessings, as it was while each stood alone as directly influenced by the Spirit of God in the use of the Word. The spiritual force seems to lose some of its energy when it again comes through the one quickened. In all Paul's labours he saw no fruit of his ministry marked by such features, and hastening to such results in good-doing, as was the case with himself. But when the

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times of refreshing come with power, when Sinai is shaken by the tread of the God of Israel, and the goings in gracious majesty are heard by multitudes, it is not to be questioned but that there are readier opportunities to abuse the gift and grace. Multitudes under the contagious influence of prevailing feeling, but destitute of any true work on their own souls, hasten to mix up their superstitions with it, and run to excesses which cause the work to be evil spoken of in the world. All this should be taken into account in judging the recent work in Ireland.

Such periods as those now referred to have frequently occurred in the history of the Church. Without alluding to subordinate movements, we may mention those recorded in Joshua v., 2 Chron. xxix., Ezra ix., x., Acts ii. These are so well known, that we need not point out the peculiar phases of spiritual experience illustrated in each, or, at any great length, those features common to all. No one can peruse them without acknowledging the presence of such outstanding marks as, (1.) A deep and overwhelming sense of sin, associated in the mind of those influenced with confessions of past neglect, and of present vileness and unworthiness in the sight of God; (2.) Not only strong mental emotion, but even physical influence also—as weeping; as so affected bodily, that, in one of the instances at least, the beholders spoke of the revived as if they were under the influence of strong drink; and (3.) A spirit of thanksgiving when led into peace, and made to stand consciously in the light of the Lord's countenance. This thanksgiving took, in each case, the form of praise with the lips, and, higher still, the distinct exhibition of gratitude in leaving off sinful ways, in a course of life bearing witness to great zeal for the truth, and great love for the service of God.

Now, if we follow those seasons of refreshing into the history of the Church in post-apostolic times, we will be called at every point to witness the same fruits. To go no farther back than that great revival-work, the reformation from Popery, we find that all the nations of the West were called, in a greater or less degree, to behold the like results. But turning aside from this, and looking at the ways of the Great Head of the Church with the Presbyterian Churches of Britain and America, we have many remarkably apposite illustrations of the views we have just stated. If we take the beginning of the seventeenth century as our starting-point, we are met with manifestations which must have been strikingly similar to those which have been occurring in Ireland. The very name—"*the Stewarton Sickness*"—which was given to the work in Ayrshire in 1625, suggests this. That then, as now, the influence of the soul, moved to its depths by emotions confessedly the strongest under which the spiritual nature of man can come, wholly overmastered the body, and cast it to the ground, there can be no doubt. As little can there be any doubt but that "the sickness" was contagious; and that many who had not seen their sins in the light of the Saviour's love, and in the brightness of the righteousness and holiness of a gracious and just God, were affected in a way like that experienced by those truly taught of the Spirit. Every man and woman of weak will, and strong emotional nature; every one with a natural tendency to *hysteria*, and to other corresponding forms of disease, would come under the reflex influence of the true work. Nothing is more common in times of religious excitement. The prophecy has been ever strangely true: "The Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land; *and the strangers shall be joined with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob.*" (Isa. xiv.) Multitudes who had no sympathy with the Divine thoughts under which a true people had come, were led to cast in their lot with them. In the awakening, like Saul, they get "another spirit," though not a new one, and, doubtless, the indiscriminating would reckon them truly changed. Thus was it when Israel came up out of Egypt; thus when, in the days of Esther, the Lord gave His people "light and gladness;" for we are told that "many of the people of the land became Jews, for the fear of the Jews fell upon them" (Esth. viii.); and thus it has been under our own eyes in the present time.

Continuing our historical references, we come to the well-known Shotts work, in 1630,—the time to which John Livingstone refers so touchingly in his Autobiography, as, "the day in all my life wherein I got most presence of God in public, on a Monday after our communion, preaching in the church-yard of the Shotts, the 21st of June 1630." In 1742 we are called to notice the remarkable movement at Cambuslang, Kilsyth, etc., which is interesting as bringing out a state of matters very like that which we have heard so much of recently; for then, as now, the awakening appears to have begun in America. The account of the work in America, by President Edwards, is well known. In looking over Edwards' "Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England," we have thought, once and again, that if the "Thoughts" were republished with a few

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slight alterations, they would tend, more than all the pamphlets which have recently been written, to set men's minds at rest in regard to the awakening, and to convince them that no new thing had happened under the sun.

Following the historical outline, we reach 1839, with the goings of the Spirit of God at Kilsyth, Dundee, Perth, Blairgowrie, Kelso, etc. And now we are called to witness similar, and even more wonderful phases of Divine influence, in America, in Ireland, and, as yet, partially in Scotland.

The books and pamphlets named at the head of this notice deal mainly with the work in Ireland. Their authors agree in regarding the movement as, in the main, a good one. Some of them see no extravagances in it, but accept, with a credulity almost enviable, extravagances which would have put other men on their guard. They believe that the blind have literally been receiving sight, and the dumb speech, etc. Others are more discriminating, and, like Archdeacon Stopford, trace most of the purely physical influences to a diseased state of the nervous system. While there is much truth, and much sound common sense in the Archdeacon's views, we think the *hysteria* theory is carried too far. And while we cordially sympathize with his strong condemnation of those who, in order to mere effect, so preach as to bring young persons, mainly females, under influences which prostrate the whole physical organization, we feel strongly that, where intense mental emotion is, the body will, more or less, bear witness to this. Apart altogether from religious truth, this might be largely illustrated from the history of physiology.

Mr. Baillie's pamphlet contains much which other observers appear to have overlooked.

Dr. M'Cosh's address is devoted to a statement of the grounds on which he holds the Ulster revival to be a work of God. He looks the physiological peculiarities broadly in the face, and traces those physical effects, which bulk so largely in the eyes of men, to the influence of absorbing emotion. As might have been anticipated from the author of "The Method of the Divine Government," the views here brought out are characterized by great clearness and breadth, and are in complete harmony with Scripture.

Dr. Steane has collected the addresses on the revivals, delivered before the Evangelical Alliance, at its meeting in Belfast last year, and has published them, with a sensible preface, written by himself. The addresses were delivered by the Bishop of Down and Connor, Rev. Ch. Leaver, Rev. Mr. Canning, and Dr. M'Cosh—two of them Episcopalians and two Presbyterians. Dr. M'Cosh's address we have already characterised. The other three are equally worthy of attention, though they look at the work from a very different point of view.

Mr. James Grant, the well-known editor of the *Morning Advertiser*, visited the scenes of awakening, and has now republished, from the columns of his newspaper, the interesting account of what he saw there.

Dr. Massie's contributions to the literature of this remarkable work are able and valuable. They have already been extensively circulated.

Mr. Small's volume is one of devotional and practical divinity, written with much freshness, earnestness, and eloquence, and fitted to promote the work of God. We have man's ruin and recovery—the awakening of the church after she has fallen into a state of slumber and decay—the means of that awakening—the strength of the church, what it is—and the preservation and progress of the church, when thus awakened and strengthened by the Lord,—illustrated with much scriptural simplicity and clearness.

Mr. Macgillivray's "Sketches" deal with the past, as will be seen from the title. They are not, however, less interesting on this account. The "Sketches" are written with ability and earnestness. The illustrative examples deserve attention. They are fitted to be useful.

Major Philip Bolton wields his pen from the prophetical point of view. He has discovered that the gospel is not truly preached to the awakened, and, of course, comes to set all men right. Whether his views of the future are trustworthy or no, we would not like to say; but that there are not a few who are able to minister to the saints in Ireland, and to point the diseased to Gilead and its Physician, we are sure, notwithstanding the doubts of the Major.

We much like Dr. Bruce's "Lecture," and would class it with Dr. M'Cosh's and Archdeacon Stopford's; not, however, because it is in the same vein as either, but because it has nothing of that sameness which is more or less common to all the rest. Dr. Bruce appears early to have discerned that latitudinarianism might be tempted to follow in the path of the good work; and he lifts up his voice for *truth* as well as *life*. He can even see that, instead of tending to undervalue denominational distinctions, it ought to deepen the love of each for that aspect even of church government which different denominations associate with the will of Christ.

"Prevailing Prayer" is an American reprint, introduced to the British public by Dr. Norman M'Leod. This little work has

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been found useful in America. Dr. M'Leod's introduction is well written, and marked by religious earnestness and good taste.

Present State of the Longitude Question. A Lecture delivered before the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce. By Professor C. Piazzi Smyth. To which is Prefixed an Historical Account of the Chamber. Edinburgh, 1859.

The subject chosen by Professor Smyth, in lecturing before the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, is one of great importance. The lecturer has long had his attention turned to it, and he now comes forward to expound his views to an intelligent band of Scottish merchants. In the outset, the learned Professor rightly pleads for the superiority of the astronomical method for determining the ship's place at any time in the ocean, to "the determination from dead reckoning, or observations of terrestrial objects of any kind." This he illustrates, and proceeds to trace the history of the "Longitude Question," from the days of Columbus up to our own time. In this historical sketch he has embodied much valuable and interesting information. The direction given to the purely scientific bearings of the question, when British thought and mechanical skill were applied to it, is shown to have been of the most useful kind. In 1740 an instrument was invented, by which the heaving of a vessel was kept from interfering with the accuracy of angular measurements. But, while this was a great step, when looked at in the light of existing knowledge, it had very many drawbacks. These, however, to some extent, gave way before the application of an improved instrument, which, unlike the other, the most violent motion of the ship could not disturb. "Hadley's principle thus proved of nearly as much importance to nautical, as the invention of the telescope had been to terrestrial astronomy. It was the first instrument which enabled marine observers to arrive at any respectable amount of accuracy in angular observations." Hadley's invention led the way to the method known as that of "lunar distances." This, in its turn, yielded to the well-known *chronometrical* method. The earliest effective solution of the longitude problem by Chronometer, was reserved for a rather hard-headed, persevering, uneducated, or rather self-educated mechanic, a Yorkshire carpenter,—John Harrison. Professor Smyth points out that the extension of commerce, the introduction of steam-shipping, etc., call for yet further improvement in "Naval Longitude." "Commerce and the world now require, that as much use should be made by a seaman of the stars by night, as of the sun by day." But without mentioning other obstacles to this, the fact that "the sea horizon, or observing line for sextant altitude, is not visible during all the nocturnal hours," implies the necessity of looking beyond this method. Professor Smyth has a plan, which had been proposed to the Scottish Society of Arts, and which is stated with great clearness in this lecture; but as any verbal description, without a drawing of Professor Smyth's model, would fail to set it plainly before our readers, we would refer them to this lecture, and to the Professor's Papers in the Transactions of the Scottish Royal Society of Arts.

The historical sketch of the Chamber of Commerce contains much interesting information regarding the origin and growth of that Institution. It is well written, and may be cordially commended to the attention of all who are curious in such matters. The volume is "got up" in antique style, and reflects much credit on the enterprise of Messrs. Lawson, at whose "Private Press" it bears to have been printed. Paper, type, etc., are so attractive as to raise the wish that when we next take to book-making, Messrs. Lawson's Press might be at our command!

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ART. I.—*Literary Reminiscences and Memoirs of Thomas Campbell.* By CYRUS REDDING. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1859.

MR. REDDING'S "Reminiscences," lately completed and published in two volumes, probably conclude the series of personal recollections, which we are likely to receive of the poet Campbell. It cannot be said that they form any essential addition to the more elaborate biography given to the world ten years back by Dr. Beattie. They suggest, indeed, rather that the author wanted to make a book, than that he felt he had anything very important to tell us about the poet, and actually tell us, perhaps, as much about Mr. Cyrus Redding as about Campbell. Yet they have their substantive value, nevertheless, in the mere fact that they are observations taken from another quarter. The omniscient schoolboy has lately learned—thanks to Sir David Brewster and Professor Wheatstone—that curious law of optical science, that, to obtain the impression of relief, we must have two pictures of the object, taken from different points of view, and superimposed the one upon the other. The second transcript adds no new features to the picture; and, to the ignorant observer, who has left school, appears to be exactly like the first. Nevertheless it is this second transcript that, by some magic, which we believe even the schoolboy himself does not yet fully understand, is to convert the plane into the apparent solid. Something like this law appears to prevail in moral representation also. To get the true roundness of life, we must have pictures of our subject from various hands. The best, fullest, liveliest narrative is a plane surface by itself, so long as it conveys the impressions of only one mind. It may convey outline, colour, and every detail, but yet fails to give the true sense of substance and reality.

The value of the present acquisition, it must be confessed, is not diminished by the fact that the hero is regarded rather from the valet-de-chambre point of view. Mr. Redding served under Campbell as sub-editor during the direction of the *New Monthly* by the latter; if, indeed, we should not rather reverse the phrase, and say that the dilatory, unmethodical, fastidious poet served under his more practical subordinate. This relation, whichever party occupied the superior position, might be expected to present Campbell in an aspect different from that in which he would appear either to his chosen friends or to society in general; and Mr. Redding's impressions, therefore, while they require to be received with an obvious allowance, have yet their special utility.

To Dr. Beattie's work—our principal authority on the subject—a much higher rank may be assigned. It has the essential merit of being a serious effort. If the author be not successful in his object, it is not, at any rate, from want of labour. And we do not say that he is not to a great degree successful. The amount of matter, whether in the shape of letters, verses, or facts, collected in his work, is immense. Three volumes of nearly five hundred pages each are filled—very fairly—with Campbell. But this very fulness suggests its attendant defect. It would be almost impossible to say as much worth saying of a man of no larger humanity than the poet—true poet as he was—can pretend to. The wood wants thinning. The fact is, that Dr. Beattie is far too generally good-natured, not only to his subject, but to every body and thing with which his subject has to do. In his biographical eyes, Campbell touched nothing he did not adorn. If

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some authors are said to dip their pens in gall, Dr. Beattie has dipped his in the milk of human kindness; and milk (as any one who has ever tried that medium knows) is apt to run and blur, and is generally unfavourable to fine delineation. Accordingly, in Dr. Beattie's own portion of the story, there is some want of due discrimination. His literary handling is—be it said with all respect for his noble calling — *tant soit peu* professional. We all know the suavity which distinguishes the personal intercourse of the profession with the world of possible patients, and have sometimes, perhaps ungratefully, felt willing to exchange for something ruder and less regulated that courteous suggestion of mortality and mortal accidents. We secretly shudder a little at so soft a touch. There is something of this in Dr. Beattie's style and treatment.

A defect in some degree analogous is a want of distinct grouping and arrangement of the narrative. A due observance of chronology is, indeed, an essential condition of a good biography; but the service is not to be slavery. There is a "logic of facts" which will often claim a prior right to attention. Dr. Beattie's object apparently has been, by extracts from the poet's letters, or the supplementary recollections of his friends, to present the matter in his hands under the form of annals, or sometimes even of diary; and this intention is generally carried out with great success. But to compile annals is to decline history; and a diary, perhaps the most interesting, because the most natural, form of narrative, when the matter thus chronicled is the daily development of some single subject of interest, is the most wearisome of all reading, when it retails only the heterogeneous matter which each day actually brings forth. It may almost be said that the chief use writing lives is lost when this manner is pursued. If the object of writing memoirs be simply to collect the facts of a man's life, how is biography to be distinguished from gossip? It will be gossip about a dead man, doubtless, but still gossip, and no more. But biography, which fulfils its proper scope, is open to no such reproach. Its duty is not simply to chronicle the facts of the life of its subject, but to exhibit the relation of those facts to each other and to human nature. It may be an extravagance to say that every man's life is a "poem;" for, to say nothing of the decided prose in which too much of most men's lives is expressed, few lives have that completeness and composition which is what we may rather suppose to be implied in that fine Gallic figure. But a life, though it may rarely deserve to be called a poem, is by no means that confused congeries of events which it may often appear to be when we look at it too closely. In reading a man's life as a diary, or even in annals, which profess a somewhat larger scope, we are much like men travelling over the face of a new country. Every step is more or less of a surprise. Here we enjoy a green shade, and there we come on a sandy waste; now we have a rapid river to cross, and now we skirt a tranquil lake; now the eye ranges over a wide expanse, and then, when we turn in another direction, a hill or a mountain shuts up the view. Everything may be very delightful to see, but we are among the objects, and can only form a very vague notion of the whole which these elements make up. But from the elevation to which the true biographer conducts the reader, these features fall, not, indeed, into regularity, but into connection and plan. This hill is a solitary cone, unmistakeably volcanic, or it is seen to be part of a chain, the rise, and course, and conclusion of which we can trace and understand. Then, too, we can perceive why the river met us here, why it is suspended there in a lake; we can see why this region grows such fine timber, or affords such glowing sheets of turf, or why that is so sterile and stony. Our comprehension, indeed, of all these facts will be deeper or shallower, according to our own resources of knowledge and intelligence; but it will be at least possible to learn much, and almost impossible not to learn something, of the eternal laws which influence these phenomena.

Memoirs conducted on Dr. Beattie's principle of course fail to a great degree of such lessons. Yet, as biographies go, it must be considered a highly meritorious work. If it is scarcely the accomplished work of art which we desiderate, Dr. Beattie's Life may be said, like Michael Angelo's marble, to contain "col suo soverchio" all that we could wish. Some day we may hope the "ottimo artista" will appear, and from this abundance of excellent material carve out the perfect work.

Without attempting, it may well be believed, to anticipate that consummate workman, we now propose, in a brief analysis of Campbell's life, to endeavour, while quoting its principal events, to exhibit the leading features of his character. In this view, it will be observed that we are only concerned with the poet and writer, as these aspects bear relation to the man. His works, therefore, well worthy as they are of a deliberate critical review, can only be noticed on the present occasion as far as they serve to illustrate the moral individuality of their author.

When he has a long journey to go, the

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wise traveller hastens to divide it into stages. Campbell's seventy years of existence may be divided, in regard to other considerations besides convenience, into four periods. The first, extending from his birth in 1777, to the publication of the "Pleasures of Hope" in 1799, includes the development of the man, his genius and his fame, in very unusual coincidence, up to the epoch of first manhood. The second, a shorter but distinct period of four years, contains his early London life, and concludes with his marriage in 1803. The third portion, in all respects the prime or happiest passage of the poet's career, may, for distinction, be called the Sydenham period; since it was in that pleasant suburban retirement that most of it was spent This was the period of his married life, and it concludes with the loss of his excellent wife—a loss soon followed by that of the home her presence had chiefly constituted—in 1828. The fourth period embraces the remainder of his life, and ends with his decease at the age of 66, in 1843. We propose cursorily to sketch these periods in succession, developing as we may be able, the relation, both in regard to events and their moral influences, which they bore to each other, and endeavouring to exhibit the significance of each in that large view of the poet's life *as a whole*, in which only it can now be viewed with any advantage to us or justice to its subject.

Two points regarding the poet's birth bring up questions of which almost all we can say is, that they *have* an answer, if we knew it. Campbell was of an ancient race, and he was the son of an old man. What was the influence of either circumstance?

The connection with the more illustrious representatives of the name claimed by the poet,* and gracefully acknowledged, it would appear, by some members of the house of Lorn—but, whether seriously believed or not by either, we do not pretend to know—may be left for those who have the means and taste for investigating abstruse points of genealogy. The special branch to which the poet belonged, was designated by the title of a small Highland estate called Kirnan. This property, however, the subject of the "Lines on revisiting a Scene in Argyllshire," had become merely titular in the previous generation, having been sold by the poet's uncle to a wealthier kinsman, and merged in his larger estate. An English family, under such circumstances, would have dropped altogether out of the golden book of territorial aristocracy, and been glad to hide its diminished head in the darkest obscurity it could find. The Englishman's pride forbids him to cling to distinction, of which he has lost what he considers the substance. The Campbells, on the contrary, as almost any other Scottish family in a similar position would have done, clung to their title, and called themselves Campbell of Kirnan still, though the land was no longer in their possession. The Scotsman's pride forbids him to resign a distinction of which he has lost only what he considers an accessory. For the estate, to the Englishman, represents the land; to the Scotsman, it represents the blood.

It is impossible to deny that the Scottish view is the higher; and, moreover, the case of this family of Kirnan forcibly suggests a real advantage which may attend it. It is related of Mrs. Campbell, the poet's mother, that on one occasion she directed a purchase made at a shop, to be sent to "Mrs. Campbell of Kirnan, mother of the author of the 'Pleasures of Hope.'" We cannot help smiling at the simplicity which this anecdote betrays; yet, if we sympathize with the motherly pride which dictated the latter flourish to the name, we may probably trace a close connection between it and the family pride which suggested the former. The two facts involved, may have even morally almost the relation of cause and effect; for the poet, if he owed his genius to nature, would certainly never have become the author of the "Pleasures of Hope," of all poems in the world, if he had not received a high degree of literary culture, and if, moreover, his excessively sensitive character had not enjoyed, during his childhood and youth, the delicate handling which could only have been obtained in a home of substantial refinement. These were necessary conditions of his ever becoming what he actually became. Now, set against these the position of his family during this period. His father, formerly a merchant of good standing in the American trade, had been ruined by the breaking out of the war, and reduced to the narrowest circumstances. Never, as far as we learn, a man of any great energy, he was now sixty-five years old, and he had a family of ten children,—Thomas the youngest, an infant at the time, and the eldest a daughter of only nineteen. What a splendid boast, then, was really contained in this little outbreak of the mother, who had not only sustained her aged husband, and sent a large family out respectably into the world, but under such pressure of privation had still maintained a home in which a poet of the peculiar temperament and accomplish-

* See Verses on receiving a Seal with the Campbell Crest.

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ments of her youngest son could be successfully developed! Would the English family, under corresponding circumstances, always have stood so severe a test? Would the cold poverty without not have frozen the graces and delicacies within? Would not coarseness of manners have come in too soon with coarseness of fare,—just for want of that sustaining sense of birth and caste which made the Scottish family still feel themselves bound to keep up the traditions of gentle blood? So that the honest pride of family may have had much to do with the production of this fine example of domestic heroism; and Mrs. Campbell may have very justly connected her being the mother of the author of the "Pleasures of Hope" with her being Mrs. Campbell of Kirnan.

The theory that remarkable men derive their distinguishing qualities from the mother obtains a rather ambiguous confirmation from the case of Campbell. That theory cannot certainly be said to have at present any claim to serious attention: it obtains its actual amount of popular acceptance from the same convenient practice which supports, with another portion of the vulgar, the belief in dreams and omens,—the practice of overlooking all the facts which tell against it, and only registering those which may be interpreted in its favour. It does not prove much, therefore, that we find Mrs. Campbell to have exhibited a more marked individuality than her husband; and the value of this fact is diminished by the circumstance that her character, in its development at least, was very different from that of her son. She seems to have been remarkable for that in which the poet was always remarkably defective—a strong sense of principle enforced by a strong will. Her manner of governing her children and household appears to have left an impression of severity even upon her youngest son, who was avowedly her favourite; but his character bears more testimony to the indulgence with which he was generally treated, than his memory to the asperities which, like other spoiled children, he may occasionally have had to undergo. Mrs. Campbell of Kirnan was manifestly a woman of a warm and deep heart, as well as a despotic will and an irritable temper; and the severity of such persons towards those in whom their affections are strongly engaged is apt to be of the crustaceous order: it exhibits plenty of hardness and prickles outside, but has no backbone. This is much the sort of treatment we suspect the youthful Tommy to have received in a household where, moreover—besides the aged and indulgent father—there was a strong sisterly atmosphere prevailing; and to this, probably, may be attributed in great measure that tendency to self-indulgence which he throughout life exhibited. Nevertheless, though the son did develop into so different a character from the rigid, orderly, self-and-family-denying matron who bore him, we are disposed to think that he really derived from her the quality which, more than any other, made him what he was,—that *perfervidum ingenium*, viz., which gives his best passages a fire we scarcely find elsewhere, and which, in its concentration in his best songs, made him the Tyrtæus of his country.

In the bosom of this family, surrounded manifestly by serious privations, yet these softened to the spoiled child, spoiled at once in the several rights of being the youngest, the most delicate, the prettiest and the cleverest—by abundant affection from father, and mother, and sisters alike, affection which the child, grown man, never forgot, but sacrificed himself to acknowledge and repay—Campbell passed the whole of his childhood and boyhood. It is worth notice, too, that, during the whole of this period, he resided in a town, and that town Glasgow. A few weeks spent for his health, when he was eight years old, at a short distance from the city, formed the only opportunity he had of becoming personally familiar with the country which God made. His biographer lays, with justice, much stress on the short interval when the sensitive and precocious child—his perceptive powers probably increased by recent illness—was allowed to run wild on the banks of the Cart—or, as the poet reproduces the cacophonious stream, the Cartha—under the charge of an "aged webster and his wife," in whose cottage he was boarded. It is not unlikely that this visit first developed the fondness for natural objects, the truthful, if limited, observation of which is a marked feature of his poetry. Nor is it very improbable that his comparatively rare access to such objects may have enhanced their value in his imagination. There seems, also, reason to believe, that this awakening of the sensibilities to the "magic of nature" led to his first attempts at verse, for in his tenth year at latest he began to rhyme. We believe that, seventy years ago, the rhymes the child produced were a much stronger evidence of tendency toward, and talent for, poetical composition, than they would be at present. It is rather a curious, but an undoubted fact, that the facility for metrical expression is acquired at a very much earlier age than it used to be; and little Tommy Campbell's compositions at ten years old would scarcely

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justify now the fond expectations which they actually excited. We have seen far better verses in every respect produced by children who, nevertheless, have not turned out poets. But at thirteen Campbell produced a piece which authorized the highest expectation of originality. On the most hackneyed subject (Spring) he hit upon a happy thought, perfectly just and true, and yet, to our knowledge, absolutely novel. Listen how this inspired boy writes. He is addressing Summer (which rather diminishes his merit, for it was, no doubt, the necessity of elevating that season above its rivals, which gave him his cue); nevertheless, it was "no vulgar boy" who had the moral courage thus to express himself:—

> "'Tis true some poets that unguarded sing,
> The golden age would fain ascribe to Spring;
> For me, I see not how wits e'er so starch,
> Could prove the beauties of the bleak-eyed March,
> Nor February, clad in horrid snow,
> Nor April, when the winds relentless blow:
> These chilly months it sure alone belongs
> To those who sing to frame unmeaning songs."

Granting a certain obscurity to the last couplet, which a truth so deep may well bear, who can deny that this child, in his innocence, has been enabled to read the mysteries of nature more truly than the whole quire of English bards before or since? Here that respectable company have been for all these years and centuries celebrating and adoring spring, as if it were really a delightful season, as if, in fact, there were in their sense such a thing as spring; and then comes this little child and rebukes both them and us.

Seriously, if there is no great proof of poetical genius in this passage, there is what is the condition of any such genius—truthfulness of observation; and we are not joking at all in recognising here a certain simplicity and honesty, on which we shall have to remark hereafter, as often a meritorious distinction of his poetry.

These poetical attempts seem to have been fostered by the master of the school—the Grammar School of Glasgow—which he had attended from his eighth year. "Versions," which it was optional to the pupil to render in prose or metre, were a part of the school-system; and Campbell's ambition and consciousness of what was regarded as a remarkable talent, had at least as much to do as any true stinging of the poetic fly with his adopting the metrical form. Of this—and also at once to shatter all fancy that he exhibited any real poetical talent at this age—we may quote the following sufficient proof. It is styled, whether by himself or editor, "*Poem* on Finishing the Versions:"—

> "Now, farewell my books, and also my versions:
> I hope now I will have (some) time for diversions.
> The labour and pains you have cost me's not small;
> But now, by good luck, I've got free of you all.
> When the pen was not good I blotted the paper;
> And then my father cried, 'Tom, what's the matter?
> Consider but once what items you need;
> My purse it must suffer, or you must take heed.'
> So adieu to rebukes, and also to versions;
> I hope I'll now have some time for diversions.
> "Thomas Campbell, æt. 10.
> "*Glasgow, May 12th*, 1788."

The defective rhyme of the third couplet is a trifle; for a double rhyme has always a clatter in itself which is apt to mislead even more practised ears; but the utterly defective rhythm almost throughout shows plainly, that, in this essential point, his success, when he does succeed, was imitative, not instinctive. But Campbell never had a good ear to the end, as we may have occasion to exhibit. His real versions are decidedly better than this; but their superiority is probably owing to the practice of the Scottish schoolmaster, of translating the passage himself into good English before it was given to the pupils.

Campbell's father and mother were both strictly religious, apparently of that national type which has undergone, and is undergoing, so remarkable a change in the present generation. The result was much what was to be expected. The boy received religious impressions, but his moral principle was not proportionably affected. When the adult standard of religion is the only one exhibited to a child of quick sensibilities, he will probably make a strain to get up to it. But he cannot reach it, and it is impossible to keep up walking on tiptoe for ever; and so the poor child slips back to his natural paces, and remains without any religious rule at all. When Campbell's early impressions were become, in after days, only as the footsteps which report to the geologist of marvels long extinct, he recollected his father's extempore prayers as the sublimest devotional utterances he had ever heard, except—O tell it not in Scotland!—the English Liturgy. But the recreant Presbyterian recalled, along with these fervent outpourings of his father, contemporary escapades of his own, which he equally connected with his childhood. There is no ground for asserting that Tom was a bad boy; but, on the other hand, neither was he

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exactly a good one. It may be no serious immorality in a young boy to steal a neighbour's strawberries, yet well-governed young boys do not commit that peccadillo,—which Campbell confesses. Nor need a tacit acquiescence in another boy's falsehood imply a moral weakness that is never to be got over; nor even is a long-continued piece of deception practised towards a parent a sin which is never to be forgotten or forgiven to a child of twelve years old. Yet these things, which occurred, according to his own statement, at this period of Campbell's life, argue, especially in a boy living at home, and therefore always under the parental influence, a certain laxity of the moral fibre, for which, assuredly, the parents are more to be blamed than the boy, but which, nevertheless, do flaw the boy's integrity. Ah! who knows but that a wiser training at this period might not have saved much that is painful in the poet's later life!*

At the age of thirteen, the boy's school-life merged in college life. The difference in such circumstances as his was not great, yet it was a difference. The Scottish schools and universities are alike deficient in the social element which forms almost the most valuable portion of the English educational system; and where the youths can enter the latter at thirteen, it need not be said that the instruction must be of a rudimentary character, or must include at least such teaching. Nor, when the student resides at home, would there seem to be any change of condition on this side. Yet the actual difference is, on the whole considerable. The mere elevation of status does much to explain this; for we are all, and especially the young, more practically influenced by the imagination than we readily allow. The age of a portion of the students, and the more public character of the professors—men almost always of national, sometimes of European note—conduce to dignify the body, while the independence of all control or supervision in which a large number of the undergraduates live—if we may use a term which is scarcely expressive where the degree so rarely concludes the course of study—has a certain moral effect even upon those who still remain under the domestic roof. So that the change is a real one, and especially to an excitable, imaginative, and ambitious boy, like the precocious young Celt in question.

Accordingly he threw himself with his characteristic impetuosity into his new career; and if not immediately, yet while still a mere boy, had become a very prominent member of the undergraduate community. Was his course a satisfactory one?

This may be doubted, if the question be asked seriously, and with a view to its ultimate effects on his character. It seems questionable, indeed, how the casting of a boy of thirteen into so public a life could be good for him, or produce really satisfactory results, except in proportion as external discipline or his own character and habits neutralized the glare and excitement, and reduced the publicity towards the conditions of privacy. Human character—at any rate, British character—is something like British fruit; it will only ripen properly under a *slow* heat. Too sudden an exposure produces one of two effects: the fruit ceases to grow, takes a pale semblance of ripeness, and soon drops; or else one side is ripened, while the other continues hard and undeveloped. The latter of the two—the more favourable alternative—was undoubtedly that which Campbell experienced. Some qualities of his character were matured and strengthened. The boy was of a nature which too close confinement to home delica-

* Is it too great a bathos to drop from these grave reflections to the narration of one of the peccadilloes here adverted to? If the reader have not fallen in with the story, he must be amused with it. Mrs. Campbell, it appears, had a bed-ridden relative, about whose health she was anxious; and, being rheumatic herself, could not visit her personally, and, accordingly, used to depute either Tom or one of his brothers every day with a message of inquiry after the old lady. "One day," says Campbell, "that I was to fetch the *bulletin*, which would have kept me (the distance was nearly two miles) from a nice party that was to go out for the gathering of blackberries, I complained, with tears in my eyes, to my brother Daniel, about this de'il of an auld wife that would neither die nor get better. 'Tut, man,' said my crafty brother, 'Can't *you* just do as I do?' 'And what's that?' 'Why, just say that she's better or worse without taking the trouble of going so far to inquire.'" This economical plan was accordingly adopted; and as it was found that a bad bulletin only sent them back earlier next morning, the boys agreed that the old lady should get better (the poet is answerable for the logic here, for, on the plan adopted, it would seem to have made small difference how often they were sent, or how early). So the boys amused themselves at anything which was going on among their companions, and reported daily, "Mrs. Simpson's kind compliments to mamma; has had a better night, and is going on very nicely." The dénouement may be anticipated. "Woe's me!" said Campbell; "on that very morning on which we had had the audacity to announce that 'Mrs. Simpson was quite recovered,' there comes to our father a letter as broad and long as a brick, with cross-bones and a grinning death's head upon its seal, and indited thus:—

'Sir,—Whereas Mrs. Jane Simpson, relict of the late Mr. Andrew Simpson, merchant in Glasgow, died on Wednesday the 4th instant, you are hereby requested to attend her funeral, on Monday next, at ten o'clock A.M.'"

Campbell places this incident at about his twelfth year.

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cies might easily have rendered effeminate. He quickly learned in the university palæstra to exhibit the natural spirit and courage which properly belonged to his character, and which continued to mark it during his life. His intellectual faculties also—or at least some of them—were rapidly developed under the stimulus of free competition and popular applause. *Some* of these, we are obliged to say—for he makes a general confession of indolence, for which there was probably a certain foundation, so far at least as regular diligence was concerned,—and in certain of the classes he did not distinguish himself. In others, however, he was a highly successful competitor, and carried away, on the whole, an amount of college prizes which justly entitle him to the credit of considerable, if intermittent exertion. But though he is said to have reached a high degree of Greek scholarship, and certainly retained through life his familiarity with some Greek authors, and a great fondness for them, and apparently for the language in general, his disposition would seem to have been much more to the exercise of his own literary powers than to study properly so called. The attractions, too, of the "volitare per ora" were early felt; and his social qualities, combined with his poetical talent to open the enjoyment of them to the stripling to a decidedly unsafe extent. The Scottish universities, as it had been justly remarked in an interesting article in the *Cornhill Magazine*,* offer a certain compensation for the absence of the social element, as developed at Oxford and Cambridge, in the debating clubs and associations formed among the students for literary or other purposes. Campbell found himself soon at home in this phase of his new life; and we hear of him at fifteen as a leading orator, if not one of the founders of a spouting club which boasted the name of the "Discursive," —a title to which, we may imagine, in one sense at least, it would be likely in the hands of logicians of that age to make its claim good. The honour of originating this society is rather doubtfully suggested; but it is not improbable that this was his first public effort in a line in which he always showed a strong disposition to activity; and if so, we may consider the "Discursive" the first attempt of the "prentice han'," which was afterwards to accomplish the London University. We may not improbably also trace Campbell's restless ambition in a challenge, of which we are told, addressed by this Discursive Society to the "Juridical," a Club of law-students who, having left logic a year or two behind, naturally declined—with some scorn, it would appear— to enter into public discussion with their inferiors. But the result was, that, a few days after, the whole College was ringing with a satirical effusion, in which every member of the "Juridical" was held up to ridicule of that peculiar kind, which our editor no doubt discreetly suppresses with an intimation of its being characterized rather by force than delicacy. The writer, of course was Campbell.

Satire appears to have been a favourite exercise with the youth at this period, and naturally enough. Few boys who can say sharp things, whether in prose or verse, can help saying them. If society is always more or less of a warfare, the fighting principle is more openly avowed in school society than in any other. The combative energies are fresh; there are fewer restraints of wisdom, or prudence, or principle, to restrain than in later life; and the skin is inviting with its first sensibility. Moreover, alas for human nature! nothing is so sure of sympathy and applause from the untouched bystander as the effective wielding of this weapon. A boy would be a hero of a rare stamp, who, conscious of this power, should refrain from using it. The lad Campbell was no such hero; and it is much to say for him, that in after life he very sparingly employed his wit in this shape. At this period, if his biographer is to be believed, he was successful enough, whatever the quality of the blade, to inflict wounds with it which rankled still half a century afterwards, when the thoughtless assailant (for there was never malice, and scarcely more than fun, in the intention) was himself in his grave.

But nobler feelings than small college ambition, whether in the literary or social field, soon awaked in the breast of the young poet. The same frankness and largeness of sympathy which had made the homebred boy—almost a child still—at once free of the larger circle of college life, was already rapidly expanding to fill a still wider sphere. If Campbell's amiableness, vivacity, and talent, had much to do with his social success both as man and boy, the higher charm, that which won and retained him respect amid many failings throughout life, was his capacity of larger than personal interests, the force and reality in him of those grander sentiments which we all honour almost in proportion to our consciousness of our own deficiency in them. This capacity was now to be exercised, and was no doubt enlarged by the eventful circumstances of the time. When it is remembered that the period of Campbell's teens was the last ten years of the last century—or, more correctly, from

* Student Life in Scotland, March 1860.

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1788 to 1798—it will easily be understood how a nature such as his was likely to be affected by the outbreak of the great volcano in France, and the shock which it gave to Europe in general. "Verses on the Queen of France" is the title of one of his effusions of 1793 (when he was fifteen), which is, it must be admitted, of the mildest order of poetry, but yet touching and interesting, as the evidence of the interest of the boy in the public events of the day, and possessing a further interest from being cast in the metre in which he at a riper period wrote his "Hohenlinden." His later employment of this peculiar stanza marks a much clearer perception of its true capacity than the purely elegiac strain which he committed to it in the earlier instance. A single specimen will probably suffice the reader:—

"Behold where Gallia's captive queen,
With steady eye and look serene,
In life's last awful, awful scene,
Now leaves her sad captivity!"

But in another lyric of the same period we may discern more than the form,—something of the real substance of Campbell's genius. And in the curious way in which history is now reproducing itself, the following verses are worth quoting entire. If they are boyish, it is distinctly the character of *Campbell's* boyhood to which they bear witness: the same simplicity of fundamental idea dressed up in the same formal but stately style; the same sort of awkward classicism which he never quite got free of; the same earnestness and sincerity of impression evident throughout; a force and fire, which, if not equal in degree to that he afterwards exhibited, is the same in kind; and lastly, the same sort of metrical merit—not a high merit in itself as melody, but very high in its being precisely that which fits its burden. In the strong, distinct, spirited monotony of these lines, especially of the early portion, the imagination almost hears the tramp of the sturdy volunteers in exercise:—

ON THE GLASGOW VOLUNTEERS.

"Hark, hark! the fife's shrill notes arise!
And ardour beats the martial drum;
And broad the silken banner flies
Where Clutha's native squadrons come!

Where spreads the green extended plain,
By music's solemn marches trod,
Thick glancing bayonets mark the train
That beat the meadow's grassy sod.

These are no hireling sons of war!
No jealous tyrant's grimly band,
The wish of freedom to debar,
Or scourge a despot's injured land!

Nought but the patriotic view
Of freeborn valour ever fired;
To baffle Gallia's boastful crew,
The soul of Northern breast inspired.

'Twas thus on Tyber's sunny banks,
What time the Volscians ravaged n igh;
To mark afar her glittering ranks,
Rome's towering eagle shone on high.

There toil athletic on the field,
In mock array pourtrayed alarm;
And taught the massy sword to wield,
And braced the nerve of Roman arm."

This is not a boy's exercise: if it have faults, it is a poem; and if really written at fifteen, is as good perhaps as has ever been produced at that age by any poet.

But we should do little justice to the real character of this remarkable youth, if we omitted to look at the other side of this gay picture. This lad, who was exhibiting so brilliant a play of animation and talent, was earning his bread and the means of continuing his studies by labour doubly distasteful to him, because it implied a certain amount of social humilation, as well as the irksomeness supposed to be inherent in the work itself; and to him at least the work was most irksome He was assisting, as private tutor, his less advanced but wealthier fellow-students. No doubt the family position necessitated this exertion as a condition of his continuing his own university education; nevertheless that would scarcely make it pleasant, and it shows a body of character not always found in connection with such sensibility and quickness of talent, that he should have submitted to this painful drudgery, and still have been sufficiently in spirits to enter so heartily, as we have seen, into the life about him.

Nevertheless, a change was to come over this light-heartedness, and it was a natural, and in his circumstances, proper change. As his adolescence advanced, the necessities of his position became at once graver in themselves, and plainer to be seen. The mountains grow bigger the nearer we approach them. He must live, and moreover, as his affectionate heart foresaw, he must prepare to support others. His father, sixty-seven when his youngest son was born, was, of course, by this time in extreme old age, and, so far as can be seen, a small annuity from some provident institution, which would terminate on his death, was all the fixed income of the family. True, Thomas had many elder brothers and sisters, but none of these were in a position to afford serious assistance; and, moreover, Tom had been looked upon throughout as the "decus," and he knew he was expected to be the "columen rerum." He

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had worn the family crown so long, he must not shrink now from its responsibilities. And he was nowise so disposed, but he was not insensible to their weight. Accordingly, his later adolescence was a period of considerable suffering to the poor lad, as indeed that season which we reckon the very prime season of youthful rejoicing usually is to the youth who is to be worth much as a man. What share errors, to which his excitable temperament and the detestable social habits of the time laid him but too open, may have had in producing the gloom which overcast his spirits at this period of his life, we have no means of knowing. His uncertain prospects would themselves have been enough to explain it. His friends seem to have been disposed to accuse him of changeableness and instability of purpose, because he sucessively tried and gave up several professions in turn. He was for a short time (this was while quite a boy, and attending college during the sessions) in a writer's office in Glasgow, but that experiment was soon given up. At a somewhat later period, again, he had thoughts of entering the Scottish ministry, a step from which we may say he was happily saved. He subsequently made more than one serious effort to read for the Scottish bar, but was disappointed for want of friends to supply capital. We are not sure that he did not at one time try medicine for a short period, and he had again decided upon emigrating to join two of his brothers who were engaged in commerce in Virginia, when the advice of another brother prevented his executing his intention. This looks like unsteadiness of purpose, and yet it need scarcely be so interpreted. For some young travellers the burden of life is ready made up, not too heavy for their strength, and well enough packed to save them any trouble beyond that of flinging it over their shoulder, and going on their way rejoicing or at least content. Another class, if not quite so lucky, are yet by nature patient or dull enough to trudge away grumbling with a load which may not fit them exactly, but which they have not the spirit to think of re-adjusting. There may be a good deal of quiet heroism, no doubt, displayed by this class; but it may also be doubted if this temper of submission is not generally carried rather too far, and whether the world, on the whole, would not be better served if young men would take a little more trouble to discover their true places, and not be so content to occupy those which first happen to fall within their reach. At any rate, if it be certain that every man has his special aptitudes, we may at least tolerate, if we should not rather admire, the troublesome instinct which generally sets the finer and more energetic natures seeking for their true vocation, possibly even in a restless manner, and leaves them quite unable to settle till they have found it. Campbell did, indeed, make or attempt more false starts than is permitted to most; but the sufficient explanation lay in the circumstance that his position offered so little suggestion in any particular direction, while it did not allow him to pause long enough to mature his choice before endeavouring to execute it. And so, when we see our young pilgrim taking up one load after another, and shifting the burden from shoulder to shoulder, in the vain attempt so to dress the weight that it shall not drag, but leave him free to climb the hills for which he pants with the elastic step which is natural to him, we may, if we please, rather admire throughout the resolution with which he maintained his first ambition, and refused to forego what he instinctivly felt a right if he did not consciously regognise it as a duty. And this tribute is the more due, when we come to observe that, throughout this trying period, he was steadily (and, for all we can see, conscientiously) performing tasks which were far from congenial to him. During one of his last college vacations, when he was seventeen, he had spent some months in Mull, engaged as private tutor to the children (apparently quite young children) of a lady with whom he had some family connection—if that be not superfluous to state of a Campbell in the Highlands. There is a joyous account of the pedestrian journey—pedestrian *pour cause*—of the young poet and a college companion: how they sang and recited poetry throughout the long Highland glens; how they plunged into the sea and saved a child's life, and then rewarded their heroism with an unwonted treat of beefsteaks and a tankard of ale, sitting in their wet clothes till they dried upon them—probably *pour cause* also. This is about the 18th of May, and in the middle of June he is "weary of life," Mull is so sublimely dull. Campbell's chief enjoyment of the beauties of nature, we suspect, was always in poetry. He liked his Scenery as Horace Walpole (if we are not mistaken) liked the English climate, "framed and glazed." Poor lad, for an active, excitable spirit like his, these early days of Mull, with nobody to speak to but his hostess' family, whom he scarcely knew, must have been a dismal change. Before his box, which contained the writing materials apparently unattainable on the island, had arrived, he had scribbled the white-washed wall of his room all over with a pencil, till it looked like a great sheet of MS. It may be an object for our Highland

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tourists next summer to discover that palimpsest. Forty years after he still spoke of this period as his "Pontian exile;" but, little as he liked it, he persevered to the end of his original engagement,—he did not throw it up, as one might almost have expected.

And little as he liked this life, and constantly as he kept before him the intention of escaping from it, he did not hesitate the following year to accept a similar engagement, although this time under somewhat more agreeable circumstances. He now became tutor to the son of General Napier, the present Sir William Napier of Milliken, then residing at Downie, a lone farmhouse in Argyllshire. This residence he found much more tolerable, although he had but litle society even here. But "neat pocket copies of Virgil and Horace, affluence of English poets, a sort of flute, a choice selection of Scotch and Irish airs," and "the correspondence of a few friends," served, he says, in one of his letters of this date, "to relieve the tædium vitæ." And he would certainly appear to have studied seriously while in this seclusion.

Early in 1807, he again returned to his family in Glasgow, and now he made up his mind to a decisive effort. He would go to Edinburgh and make the plunge. The bladders were to be law and literature; or rather, to choose a more exact figure, law was to be the pearl of price for which he was to dive in the great gulf, and literature the slender pipe through which he was to draw the common air while searching for the precious gem.

It is hard to say whether the contemplation of Campbell's life at this period is more depressing or inspiring. His points d'appui in Edinburgh at this moment were these: 1. His sister, who lived near Edinburgh at the time, a governess. 2. A widowed aunt, who resided at Edinburgh for the education of her family. He might reckon, perhaps on an occasional dinner or breakfast here—scarcely more. 3. An old pupil, subsequently Lord Cuninghame, who was then in the responsible office—of a writer to the signet, in commencement of his legal studies. So much for persons. Besides these sources of assistance, he had nearly ready for the press two translations, from Euripides and Æschylus. We must suppose also an indefinite, if not almost infinite, amount of verse composition in other shapes; but no mention is made of these, nor, with two or three exceptions, do any of his verses composed previous to this time make their appearance among his works. He seems already to have embraced his principle, that not everything which drops from a poet's lips is to be considered pearls and diamonds, or, at any rate, that not all his pearls and diamonds are to be considered worth setting.

The result of the total exertion of the interest Campbell could engage in Edinburgh on his first arrival was an engagement as a copying-clerk in the Register Office. It was honourable in him to accept it; it was wise to exchange it a few weeks after for a position of the same kind, but somewhat better remunerated, in a private writer's office. It would seem as if Campbell also about this time gave private lessons in the classics. His circumstances on the whole, were at as low an ebb as they well could be, and the suffering they could occasion to a nature so sensitive may be imagined—perhaps the more accurately that he never spoke of them. It was a feature of Campbell's character to be expansive *to a certain extent*, but there he stopped. Such superficial frivolity is the art with which some natures conceal their deeper sensibilities.

But the comfortable doctrine of the bard is often strangely true—

> "When the night is the mirkest,
> The dawning is nearest."

Campbell's dawn was at hand, in the shape of an almost accidental introduction to Dr. Robert Anderson, the author of the Lives of the British Poets. The benevolent veteran espoused his cause with a warmth equally creditable to both parties, and a friendship commenced which was only terminated by the death of the elder. Its first fruits was an introduction to Mundell, then a principal Edinburgh publisher, and an engagement from him to abridge Edwards' West Indies for L.20. The statement reads like a bathos, but Campbell was in no case to regard it as such. It was employment—it was the opening of a career—and, besides, *is* L20 in the pocket of a poet à vingt ans (one might almost say of any young man of that age) only 400 shillings? They had better give up calculating who think so.

Yet we must not leave the impression that Campbell was extravagant. He wasted perhaps in his lifetime more money than the majority of poets ever have the opportunity of wasting, but it was not from extravagance in the ordinary sense. So far was he, indeed, from that, that at this time he had actually managed to save a small sum. With this he proposed that a magazine should be started among himself and his Glasgow College friends (who were, it would have been fair before this to have remarked, the élite of the University youth), for which he was ready to subscribe *cash*. The subject of Campbell's relations with money

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would be worth study, but we have no space to enter upon it.

And we must hasten on. It was early in 1797 that he was introduced to Mundell, and he retired to Glasgow and its neighbourhood to complete his task. During this period he wrote a song, called the "Wounded Hussar," which became instantly popular throughout the kingdom; and he also produced a poem, called the "Dirge of Elderslie," which had at least local favour. The former verses he subsequently published, but he never could be prevailed on to admit the "Dirge" among his poems, although it may safely be said to be, in its style, fully equal or superior to others to which he gave that sanction. In the autumn of the same year, now just turned twenty, he returned to Edinburgh, to divide his time between college lectures and work for the booksellers; but the job-work, which was all he could obtain from the latter, failed to meet his expectations, and he was compelled again to resort to tuition. Yet his position was far from being as discouraging as it had been a year ago. He was no richer, but he was in better heart. He had obtained some recognition as a young man of promise among the Edinburgh dons; he had made some pleasant and creditable acquaintances, and friendships even, with some men of his own age. Jeffrey, the future Malleus Poetarum; Grahame, the author of "The Sabbath;" John Richardson, Henry Brougham, the late Lord Cockburn, —these were friends by whom a man might be content to be known. A circumstance which, to young man of his especially domestic and affectionate temper, would not be that of least influence on his spirits, was the removal of his family from Glasgow to Edinburgh, which was arranged about this time. Campbell was always a nest-bird. With his mother at hand, if his faith in himself should ever flag, he had an inexhaustible reserve of encouragement. The old fable of Antæus is true still.

The result of his necessities upon his rapidly-maturing powers, under the cheering influence of this sense of sympathy and expectation, was the determination to enfranchise himself, if possible, from his drudgery to the booksellers, by some serious original effort. It was a wise design; but, perhaps, a greater poet would have been brought to it rather from within than from without. The choice of his subject, when he chose it, spoke to the same purport as the fact that he had never yet attempted any long poem. To build on another man's foundation is, indeed, susceptible of two readings. It may be the indication of the consciousness of an unbounded wealth of genius, or it may betray poverty of invention, or at least a deficiency of originative impulse. There can be no doubt now in which sense we are to interpret the fact of Campbell's deciding to add the "Pleasures of Hope" to the "Pleasures of Imagination" and the "Pleasures of Memory."

The poem made rapid progress when once commenced; and before the conclusion of the year (1798), an arrangement was made with Mundell for its publication early in the ensuing spring. The terms on which the copyright was sold are somewhat variously stated; the poet himself says that it "was sold out and out for sixty pounds." Mr. Redding, however, corrects this statement by the production of the actual engagement, which appears to have been, that the author should receive 200 copies in quires, no mention of any sum in ready money being made. The amount realized by the sale, Mr. Redding again calculates at L.57 odd. The bargain, if carried out in the literal shape, was less favourable than otherwise, because there was, of course, the chance of the 200 copies not selling. Yet, on the whole, Campbell was scarcely justified in grudging this house the bargain, as he seems afterwards to have done. Is there any poet now breathing, from sixteen to sixty, who got, or expects to get as much for his first volume of poems? We trow not. It was a proof, not only that Mundell was a liberal man (which was sufficiently shown by his voluntarily presenting the poet with L.50 on the issue of every new edition until they fell out, and also permitting him to publish an edition for himself at a later period), but that Campbell had already made a strong impression upon the literary world in Edinburgh, that he should have obtained such a good terms. This latter point, the expectation entertained of him, may be judged, perhaps, by the volume itself, which, humble as it looks now, was handsomely enough got up for the time. It did not aspire to the state of quarto indeed —it is a simple 12mo; but then it was decorated with several illustrations. Strange those faded illustrations are to look at now! Shall we come back in time to that old style, as we are come back to hoop petticoats and inverted saucer-hats? The artist (one J. Graham) is of the Fuselesque order of genius. The miseries of Commodore Byron are touchingly exhibited, as he lies "cradled on the rock," his leg (shoe and stocking absolutely gone, and trouser diminished to a span) protruding dangerously over an ocean rolling boisterously some mile below. But Hope is there to console

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him, if he could but see her, only, unfortunately (the cradle only accommodating one), the goddess is obliged to remain behind him among the trees, where she is visible to the spectator uncomfortably reclinning on the fluke of an anchor. In another illustration, Venus is seen with that extraordinary long (bare) leg which the more mythological beauties of that period usually exhibit, spinning what looks precisely like a star-fish, but which we may presume to represent the evening star itself, from one hand, while with the other she "flings the vesper dew" from a "golden urn," of the shape which we all remember (in silver, and serving to dispense evening dew of less etherial kind) on the tea-trays of our grandmothers. But enough of description, though it is hard to pass over "Heaven's Fiery Horse," perhaps the highest inspiration of the artist, or the touching scene where Kosciusko falls (his wound was in his thigh), and Freedom shrieks and holds up—what, we cannot say; but it looks like a lance with a small parasol fitted to the stem, no doubt a convenient adaptation in the days of Amazonian warfare.

The expenditure of all this imagination on an unknown poet's first work implied a considerable confidence in its success. We need not say how fully it was justified, or rather how far beyond any expectation that could have been formed was the actual result. Edinburgh, still a literary centre second only to London, was sixty years ago, as a ganglion of the intellectual circulation, almost equal to London itself. The impression made upon Edinburgh was so strong that it was immediately communicated throughout the kingdom; and the difference between Campbell, the author of the "Pleasures of Hope," and Tom Campbell, the clever young man from Glasgow, was almost the difference between the butterfly and the caterpillar.

II. After this comparatively detailed sketch of Campbell's period of formation, the reader will be prepared to trace more rapidly his subsequent career. A very few lines will despatch the short period which elapsed before his marriage.

The immediate effect of his success with the "Pleasures of Hope" was the conception of a new poem. Campbell did not lack his share of the national shrewdness, although it was often overlaid by a stronger instincts. He had, doubtless, observed how greatly his first work had benefited by the warm allusions it contained to topics of national or general interest,—allusions, doubtless, the more effective that they were only the sincere expression of his own personal interest. And not unlikely, too, he may have noticed that, warm as might be the response to his eloquent appeal in behalf of the wrongs of the Pole or of the Negro, "the Bruce of Bannockburn" was a name that roused yet deeper sympathy. At any rate, he decided to enlist national feeling *tout de bon* in favour of his next work, and its subject was to be "The Queen of the North."

No such poem exists, nor, as far as would appear, was any considerable portion ever written. Why? Was it that there was no longer pressure enough upon him to induce him to make the effort required from him for the execution of a large work; or was it that, after all, the theme did not very deeply engage his own interest? Perhaps both circumstances may have have had their influence. Before he could engage seriously in the work, he for the first time had left Scotland. A few months were spent in Germany, and he returned—in fulfilment of a long-experienced desire—by England. The motive of his German expedition was the cultivation of German literature, and the polish he might expect to derive from seeing a little of the world. Listen to our artless poet, writing to his intimate friend:—

"Besides, upon reflection, I see the propriety of making my first appearance in London to the best advantage. At present I am a raw Scotch lad, and in a London company of wits and geniuses would make but a dull figure with my northern brogue and 'braw Scotch boos.'" (Letter to Mr. Thomson, June 1800.)

Shall we most admire the modesty or the assurance of that extract?

However, this is certain, that as soon as Campbell reached England he naturalized therein. His imagination dwelt still with Scottish subjects and images, but it cannot be denied that he dropped the provincialism at the first opportunity, and acclimated himself easily to the larger sphere. Perhaps the failure of his "Queen of the North" intention may have been referable to, as it was coincident with, this development of his mind and character. Campbell was nothing if not sincere. His dramatic faculty, like that of many others, was limited to the conception of characters which he could have himself fulfilled, and we suspect that he lost the power of enacting the enthusiastic Scot before he had been long out of the country.

It was on this sudden return from the Continent in 1801—necessitated by the outbreak of war with Denmark, his winter residence having been at Altona—that he

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first saw London, where he landed "with only a few shillings in my pocket." His only friends were Perry of the *Morning Chronicle*—for the Poet's Corner of whose paper he had already been supplying verses at two guineas the copy—and his old school-fellow, Mr. Thomson. This would scarcely have seemed to have been the triumphal entrance into London society on which the ambitious young poet had reckoned, but he soon attained all he could have hoped for. His liberal opinions combined with the peculiar character of his poetic gift—at least as developed thus far—to recommend him to the notice of the Whig Mæcenas, and inquiries were soon made about him. The lad, now twenty-three, handsome, clever, sufficiently witty, gifted as we have seen with the social *sine quâ non* of modest assurance, and really refined in nature, passed the ordeal of Holland House, and was of course stamped thereby for currency wherever in London society talent or liberal opinions were considered recommendations. In many of the saloons thus opened to him, doubtless, he was the young lion and no more; but in others the real attractive qualities of the man told, and he found friends. The death of his father, at the age of ninety-one, occurring at this moment, threw as strong a shadow as could be expected over his exaltation. He exhibited no lack of feeling, and shortly left London for Edinburgh to assist his mother in the difficulties, or rather destitution, into which this event had plunged her and his sisters. An incident, which we might almost indifferently call too good or too bad to be true, is related to have occurred upon his return. He found his mother seriously alarmed at rumours, which had previously reached himself, that he was to be arrested for high treason! The report appeared to be sufficiently credited to induce him to call on the Sheriff of Edinburgh to refute the absurd story. To his astonishment, that functionary announced to him that the report was true, that a warrant was actually out against him for conspiring with General Moreau in Austria, and the Irish at Hamburgh, to get a French army landed in Ireland. But the Sheriff added that the authorities were unwilling to press the matter, and he begged him, therefore, to keep quietly out of his way. The conclusion of this little episode was equally melodramatic. The indignant poet refused the cruel mercy, and insisted on an examination; and he was examined,—he had a box full of papers which had already been seized, and in which the pith of the treason was naturally expected to be discovered. The box was opened and ransacked, and among other things they found the MS. of "Ye Mariners of England!"—Are these good old times ever to return again?

To return to his family circumstances. They were as bad as could be. A small pension, which his father had received from the Merchants' Society in Glasgow, ceased with his death, and the mother had nothing. Of the three sisters, two who had been out in good families as governesses, had been compelled to leave from ill health, and the third was a confirmed invalid.

Campbell's conduct towards his relatives, both now and throughout his life, was worthy of all admiration. It is difficult even to understand how he contrived to give them the assistance which he did; and, in truth, it can only have been by a hazardous anticipation of his own resources. His regular allowance to his mother, continued throughout the remainder of her life—for five and-thirty years, that is, after the present date of 1801—was L.70 per annum; and when his eldest sister died, in 1843, she left him a legacy of L.800, which, he stated, did not reimburse him the sum which he had allowed her in annual payments. It is noticeable, too, that this annuity to his sister (which did not commence till some years after this date) had not been afforded for her actual support, but to add a small annual superfluity to an income which she had earned for herself, and which just sufficed for her needs, in order that she might have the comfort of laying up something for a legacy to a companion who lived with her, but whom, after all, she herself survived.

His means of assisting his family at this moment were, besides some payment he had received from Perry, the issue, by subscription, of an edition of the "Pleasures of Hope," liberally permitted to him by Mundell and Son. It was an experiment not without its hazard, for the edition was to be in quarto, and in a style sufficiently expensive to make anything less than 1000 subscribers unremunerative. To get 1000 people to put their hands into their pockets is not always an easy operation even for a national object. Campbell, however, achieved his purpose, and in 1803 his subscribers received a volume which must have delighted those who like to be dazzled with the appearance of a page, and to take a gentle exercise in the perusal of lines almost too long to be easily collected in a stationary glance at ordinary reading distance. The volume, when it came out, contained, besides a few other copies of verse, "Lochiel's Warning" and "Hohenlinden."

But much had passed before then. Lord Minto had taken up the young man in a

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fashion of kindly patronage. He had spent the autumn of the present year (1801) with his Lordship at Minto, and returned with him for the winter to town, nominally as secretary, really as protégé. There is not a word dropped which does not reflect creditably on the sense, intelligence, and kindness of Lord Minto; yet Campbell scarcely seemed then (or ever, it may be observed) quite at his ease in society of a rank so much above his own, or, at any rate, on the footing on which only he could expect to be received in it. This connection, however, completed his introduction to London society, into the excitement of which he threw himself with the ardour of his excitable character. But there was always a steady something at the heart of all Campbell's volatility; and in that didactic style which is to the clever young Scotchmen what the first callow-down is to the young—let us say eagle at once—he makes profitable reflections to his friends on the unprofitable character of those brilliant jousts of the London wits, of which he was now admitted spectator. Hear the acute remarks of this precocious philosopher: "I have watched sometimes," he writes, "the devious tide of conversation, guided by accidental associations, turning from topic to topic, and satisfactory upon none. What has one learnt? has been my general question. The mind, it is true, is electrified and quickened, and the spirits are finely exhilarated; but one grand fault pervades the whole institution,—their inquiries are desultory, and all improvement to be reaped must be accidental."

Somebody says, with a certain amount of justice, that you will never be wise if you have never been a fool. Campbell was clearly on the way to wisdom, if not yet arrived; but the truth is, the dissatisfaction which he tried to put upon the account of the London wits (strange to say, considering the nature of the complaint, Mackintosh was the individual who appears especially to have elicited this rebuke), was more probably the mere reflection of an unconscious dissatisfaction with himself. In fact, he was *dissipating*—probably in all senses, certainly mentally; and that is not a comfortable process to any young man, unless of a shallower nature, or of stronger animal spirits, than this finely fibred and fundamentally well-compounded young poet. Besides, he was getting rather too old. Freaks may pass in the mental twilight of adolescence which look foolish at twenty-four, which respectable age he had now reached. A summer spent in Edinburgh and Minto, with a visit to Liverpool and the Potteries, and another winter in town—this time under the guardianship of his friend Telford, for it seems to have been generally recognised among his friends that he required looking after—seem to have worn out his patience with life on the loose. His nerves had acquired an irritability which made London almost intolerable, and the real domesticity of his character at last revolted in the most imprudent, yet the happiest act of his life. He had become attached in London to a cousin of his own, Miss Matilda Sinclair, youngest daughter of a gentleman who had been a wealthy merchant at Greenock, but now conducted a reduced business in town. The attachment was of the tender rather than the passionate sort—passion, indeed, in this kind did not belong to his character—but it was true and deep, as a happy union of twenty-five years subsequently witnessed. Yet the imprudence of the match was insufficiently measured by the fact that when it was resolved on, he had no fixed income, and only L.50 in his desk. The more serious objection lay in her being a cousin (although we are not sure that the relationship was very near), and of a constitution marked by an hereditary irritability, which, at a subsequent period, consigned one of her sisters to confinement. The day will surely come when physiological laws will receive more due recognition than they did sixty years back, or do now. For a man of his temperament—the youngest son, moreover, of a large family, and born when his father was close on seventy years old—to marry a lady who could be described as above, was to invite the sufferings which were afterward to try so severely his affectionate nature. Of two children who were the issue of the union, one died at an early age, the other (still surviving, we believe) became subject, as he grew up, to a mild but decided mental aberration. We anticipate these events, because we can only spare time for the most cursory notice of the two remaining periods into which we have arranged the poet's life. His marriage, ill-judged as it was in some particulars, may be read as the revolt from and triumph over the inferior elements of his character. The excitement and hurry of London life appealed to instincts which, if lively in him, were yet superficial to his sounder and better qualities. Of flattery he had drunk his fill, and his appetite for this condiment was not voracious after all; of pleasure, as pleasure is called, he had also partaken freely enough to know that it did not please him, or, at least, that if it pleased for the moment, he was not strong enough for such hard work. Of the peace, and seriousness, and gentle play of the affections, which were essential conditions equally

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of his happiness and his genius, he had learned that society, as he knew it, would not and could not be expected to yield him any taste. His marriage was a resolute act of adherence to his better part; and if he suffered through a disregard of natural conditions, which in his haste he had overlooked, he yet had his reward.

III. We have accompanied the young poet pretty closely up what we may call the gradual and toilsome ascent of his life. He has now reached what may be regarded as the table-land where the prime of his manhood was to be happily spent. It was a healthy region;—the climate, to continue the metaphor, moderate, the air fresh and pure, the scenery devoid of striking varieties of feature, yet affording more than one point where even a poet's soul might satiate itself with the grandeur of the distance opened to its contemplation. But the happiest feature of the scene was the quiet home, where a faithful woman constant in affection and good sense, kept ever bright a cheerful household fire, which, as long as it continued burning, rendered even her sensitive husband almost independent of the weather without.

But, to drop figure, this period which we have named distinctively the Sydenham period (although Campbell did not immediately go to reside at that pleasant village), is coincident with his married life, — extending, therefore, from the autumn of 1803 (when he was twenty-six) to 1828, when he lost his admirable helpmate. It was a quiet period, which can be rapidly passed over. Happiness neither says much usually, nor can much be said about it; and fortunate is the family, as the nation, whose annals are dull. Campbell, during this quarter of a century, was in the element which really suited him. Protected against his chief weaknesses, his position was one which especially favoured his higher dispositions. He but rarely entered the great London world, and was the more respected for his abstinence; when he did, he returned with added zest to his placens uxor, his family, his books, and his pleasant and sincere intercourse with accomplished and congenial friends whom he had made at Sydenham. The events which marked this period may be shortly mentioned. In 1805, Charles Fox gave him a pension of L.200 a-year. It is painful to learn that the nation, while bestowing this bounty of L.200 a-year with the right hand, thought fit to deduct L.40 annually with the left. Even with its deductions, however, his first taste of a fixed income must have been welcome, indeed, to the father of two boys, himself at this time in a state of serious ill health, occasioned chiefly by anxiety of mind. The interval between this event and 1809 was occupied by various literary projects and performances; and in the spring of the latter year, "Gertrude of Wyoming" was published. The summer of this year was a mournful one; he lost his younger boy, Alison. No man was ever more strongly marked by the paternal instinct; and this wound was one which never ceased to bleed to the end of his life. In 1812 he delivered lectures at the Royal Institution, which proved a great success, and were the means of opening to him more important and remunerative employment as a prose writer than he had yet attained. Three years later, a great addition was made to his comfort by a legacy of L.5000 from a Highland cousin, MacArthur Stewart,—the laird whose larger possessions had, if we are not mistaken, absorbed the long-departed Kirnan! It should be an encouragement to good poets and good sons to know that, while his kinsman left his benefaction to the "Author of the 'Pleasures of Hope,'" he had been heard to mention to his friends that "little Tommy the Poet" ought to have a legacy, because he had been so kind to his mother.

During the two following years he was engaged in an undertaking which had arisen out of his lectures at the Royal Institution. This was his "Specimens of the British Poets"—a work which implies a great deal more labour in a man of Campbell's fastidious, if not always unerring, critical sensibility, than the ordinary reader can easily understand. It is and will remain a valuable acquisition. Its chief defect is that supplementary character which induces sometimes the omission of the most characteristic specimens of a writer, because they may be already generally known; the introductory essay must always be reckoned among the principal critical exercises of our literature. A visit to Germany, in which he penetrated as far as Vienna, occupied the first nine months of 1820. Shortly after his return he quitted Sydenham, in order to enter on the office of editor (for Colburn) of the *New Monthly Magazine*. It was at this period that his connection with Mr. Redding commenced; nor can it be doubted that the careless and unmethodical poet greatly gained by the business-like habits and practical activity of his colleague. A salary of L.500 a-year recommended an office which must have owed its attraction rather to that circumstance than to any consciousness of peculiar fitness. In plain English, Campbell on this occasion, and still more distinctly on that of his second editorship, sold his name.

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It was not a high-minded thing to do; but Campbell, if he held a fair place among those of his day for honourable sentiment, was not in advance of them. If the publisher thought fit to fee him, he was ready to plead, as he might, the cause. He did his best; but it was not congenial labour. However, with the help of Mr. Redding, and the effect of the literary prestige of his name in drawing contributors round him, he was —or at least the *Magazine* was—successful, and he continued to edit it for ten years. The other events which are chiefly worth notice in this period are his publication of "Theodric" in 1824; his exertions resulting in the formation of the London University (in the cause of which he paid another visit to Germany) in 1825; and his election and re-election as Lord Rector of Glasgow. While in the midst of a satisfaction measured rather, perhaps, by the warmth of old associations than by the actual value of the honour, he was painfully reminded of the mortal conditions of his triumph by the loss of his excellent wife. The happier portion of his life was ended at the age of fifty.

IV. Sixteen years, however, yet remained to him; but they were to be years of little satisfaction. Although he still continued to keep house for a twelvemonth or two, his *home* was lost. His unfortunate son, who had now for some years been the cause of the deepest anxiety to his parents, required an attention which the widowed father, with his literary engagements upon him, could not afford, and he had to be placed under medical care. If Campbell was ever reproached as betraying some indifference to his son's melancholy condition, it was before his letters were given to the world. No parent could have been more feeling, or more tenderly considerate and anxious about the poor youth's comfort. Indeed, his parental feelings were even unusally acute. The disappointment he experienced in this son, and the loss of his younger boy, may not improbably have been among those shocks which, together with that of the death of his wife, and together, it must painfully be surmised, with the effect of those early imprudences which, in their origin at least, had been the fault of the customs of the time rather than his own, began now soon to impress a character of premature decline equally on body and mind. The change was of course gradual; but its progress casts a melancholy shade over this whole period. Its indications are to be traced in divers shapes: one, the saddest of all, his relapse into sins which had been at least rare, if not wholly absent, during his married life. It would be incorrect, we believe, to say that Campbell ever became, in the strict sense of the term, a drunkard; for he never became, to our means of knowledge, the habitual slave of stimulants. It is lamentable enough to be obliged to admit that he grew less and less able to resist the temptation to drink when it came in his way. It would be easy, and only true, to say that he was of more excitable brain than other men; that he was extraordinarily thoughtless and inconsiderate in many respects; that he was unhappily to the manner born, and in his early days saw this vice as commonly recognised for a privilege of his sex as—well, let us say *smoking*, at present. But why should we make all these reflections? Is not the man down? Let us be satisfied to be thankful that we in *our* generation are not like this poor publican.

This, however, did not at once (or ever, indeed, wholly) quench the generous spirit of the man; and it was in this last period of his life that he took up with his wonted ardour the cause of the Poles. Their wrongs had been one of the topics of his youthful declamation, it may be remembered, in the "Pleasures of Hope;" and it was characteristic of the nature of Campbell, self-contained in spite of its wide divergencies, that he should now in his old age become practically, and even powerfully (for great is the power of speech, whatever Mr. Carlyle may have to say about silence), the advocate of that oppressed nationality.

Two years after his wife's death—that is, in 1830—he and Mr. Redding, almost simultaneously, fell out with Mr. Colburn, and resigned the editorship of the *New Monthly*. He enjoyed his emancipation, and laughed gaily over the pecuniary sacrifice. A year later he resumed harness as editor of the *Metropolitan*, at a lower salary, and, seeing that there was no sincerity in the thing, a loss of dignity. The literary works which he executed in the last ten years of his life partook of the general decline. He wrote a Life of Mrs. Siddons, whom he had always sincerely admired, as the vivacious temperament always admires the phlegmatic; he edited Shakspeare for Mr. Moxon, with a prefatory Life, containing, as everything he wrote must contain, much shrewd remark and clever writing, yet indicating too distinctly a failing taste; and, after a visit to Algiers in 1834, he arranged his observations under the title of "Letters from the South." In 1842 he published his last poetical work, "The Pilgrims of Glencoe," accompanied by a few copies of occasional verse. It was a flicker in the socket. He was at this time sixty-four, and, after a series of changes of lodgings too numerous to record, and be-

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speaking itself, at his time of life, the moral restlessness under which he suffered, had recently settled again to housekeeping in Victoria Square, where he had adopted a niece, in the hope of re-constituting for himself a home. But the disease had taken too deep a hold. Some pecuniary anxieties, which would have much more prudently been met by remaining where he was, determined him on letting his new house, at a considerable sacrifice, and seeking a more economical residence in France. The worst evils are those which never happen. The emergency was obviated before it actually occurred; but he had been startled off his form, and he could not settle to it again. He crossed the Channel to Boulogne, where he furnished a house in the bleak upper town. That, indeed, was probably a matter of small moment: the dry leaf falls, whether the wind blow north, south, east, or west. He passed a winter of serious ill health, yet quietly looking before and after. He died peacefully in the Spring of 1843, at the age of 66.

He lies among our strangely-assorted assembly of national worthies in Poet's Corner. None will grudge him his place.

Turning now for the short space yet at our command to Campbell's literary works, we find far ampler store of illustration of the man's own nature than we shall be able to use. Every poet, of course illustrates himself to a great extent; but many have a power of imaginative self-expansion in which Campbell was wholly wanting. His very force lay in everything he wrote (speaking now of these works in which his *genius* took any part), carrying along with it his own personal feeling, his brief but strong passion, or his prevailing tenderness, and love of gentle and domestic interests. Yet he was not one of those whose poetry is only a metrical autobiography; he was even sparing in occasional verse, the truth being, that though he might often feel the suggestion to write, the execution always required an effort. It was probably one of the elements of his success, that he subordinated his feelings *to subjects*, and on these bestowed serious labour. Nevertheless, the subjects and their filling up were derived alike from his personal sympathies and sentiments. The "bloodiest picture in the Book of Time" was painted so vividly, because he really thought it such. The young man who declaimed so eloquently about Hampden and Tell was the youth who four or five years before had begged his mother to give him three shillings that he might spend a couple of days in Edinburgh (a walk, there and back, of near an hundred miles), in order to see Gerald and Muir. His magnificent apostrophe to Nature against Slavery was the expression of his own sincere indignation.* So, again, when he came to construct the scenery for his other poems, the Highlands of Scotland, or America, which he had so long looked to as not improbably his own future home (as it had at one time been that of his parents), supply the locality. His three noble patriotic odes—those

"sparkles dire
Of fierce vindictive song"—

bear evidence in the same way to his personal feeling or experience. He was one of those spirits (far more rare than we suppose) who can feel genuine *national* sentiment as distinguished from the almost brute or, at best, childish instincts which we are too apt to confound with true patriotism; and "Ye Mariners of England" was the expression of his own feeling in prospect of a war with Russia in 1800. So the "Battle of the Baltic" was as personal an effusion as any "Lines on My Mistress' Eyebrow;" and if he had not been present at Hohenlinden, which seems doubtful, it was his actual experience at Ratisbon and Ingoldstadt which was embodied in that most solemn piece.

Connected with, and indeed arising out of, this sincerity, was the characteristic reality of his imagery. His observation, whether of nature or man, was not marked by any unusual acuteness; on the contrary, the points which he seizes in description are usually the more obvious characteristics; and herein lies a great secret of his universal popularity. But if he did not see much more than others see, he yet *saw* the things or features which men in general rather take for granted, because they expect them, than actually see. It is astonishing to what an extent this mental substitution for sight prevails in our bookish time; but, with qualification to be stated, Campbell really used his own eyes. He saw as Homer saw, or as the shrewd countryman sees whose natural perceptions are not affected by conventional

* Perhaps the logic of the imagination was never more splendidly employed than in the lines alluded to. It is impossible to resist quoting them:—

"Eternal Nature! when thy giant hand
Had heaved the floods, and fixed the trembling land,
When life sprang startling at thy plastic call,
Endless her forms, and man the lord of all,
Say! was that lordly form inspired by Thee
To wear eternal chains and bow the knee?"

Pleasures of Hope, B. I.

As we are in duty bound to be critical, it may just be observed that "plastic call" is a barely allowable, and decidedly not happy license, and that the last line would be all the better if the order of the two propositions it contains were interchanged.

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fictions. This earnestness even betrays him sometimes into a certain simplicity, which in his stiff language — the point which more than any other betrayed the Scot — sounds rather amusing. Who can help smiling at the description of "Young Henry Waldegrave," in the Second Part of Gertrude of Wyoming—

> "She her lovely face
> Uplift on one whose lineaments and frame
> Wore youth and manhood's intermingled grace:
> *Iberian seemed his boot.* His robe the same,
> And well the Spanish plume his lofty looks became."—(St. xiii.)

He was by no means incapable in general of smiling himself at this amusing introduction of Spanish leather into the crisis of a romance; but the fact was, he, in his imagination, saw the thing, and he was too deeply engaged in the feeling of the scene to notice the incongruity. It was as a man may misspell when he is writing under strong excitement. But the most usual way in which this absence, or rather absorption, of mind is evidenced is in the extravagantly bad English in which, under stress of rhyme and feelings, separate or in combination, he ventures sometimes to indulge. What would Jeffrey have said to Wordsworth if he had talked of a "desolated panther" (G. of W., I. 17), or a "ruinous walk" (Lines on Visiting a Scene in Argyllshire). What is the meaning of a "dark *unwarming* shade?" (the Beech-Tree's Petition). Shade is not expected to give warmth. What is "a tree-rocked cradle?". (G. of W., I. 23). According to ordinary rules of language, it must be a cradle rocked by a tree. The "fresh-blown air" (G. of W., II. 8) is only a trifle better. But Gertrude of Wyoming alone would supply many more expressions as awkward and unjustifiable as these. The extraordinary natural history which has conferred not only the "desolated panther," but the flamingo, the aloe, and the palm on Pennsylvania, as, in the Pleasures of Hope, the tiger on the shores of Lake Erie, has often been observed on, and the original error is probably to be explained on similar grounds. His maintaining the importations is to be referred to another feeling. it was in Campbell's way to alter and alter again, and scarce ever to be satisfied that he had corrected enough, as long as the poem was on the anvil. Once off and *cold*, he would have no more to say to it. He was tired of it — his imagination could not, and would not, warm again to the remoulding heat.

But if his earnestness sometimes betrayed him, it was to this he owed that power of intense expression which makes his verse immortal. Others have had far wider scope of imagination; others have had far deeper philosophic insight; others, again, have achieved in far greater perfection that grace of form which he made the principal object of his artistic effort, — nay, others have possessed in fuller sweetness that tenderness of feeling which was the *prevalent* characteristic of his genius; but no English poet has ever rendered, as he has, national sentiments in that language of passion at white heat — the passion that flings off no sparks, and makes no noise, but glows and is still — in which Campbell had the power to exhibit them. And they live, and will live. Many poets have endeavored to fix themselves on their country's national life — it is a natural and worthy ambition — by taking up the sentiment of their epoch, and uttering it in verse. Milton did to some extent, — Dryden, Cowley, a host of others; but somehow the fashion fadeth away. We read the verses now,—we acknowledge their stateliness and dignity, or their grace and felicity; but the feeling is no longer in them—it is the caput mortuum of patriotism. Ghosts may toss up their plumed beavers or their cocked hats for all we know, as they hear us read out the sounding couplets; but our wide-awakes can stay quietly on our cool brows, and before we think of taking them off we look up and consult the weather. But though Campbell's odes are, in fact, now half a century old — a hundred ages, as it may be, and is in our case, measured by change of taste and feeling—they are as fresh and glowing as ever. They are the old wine that is better. The fashion in which his genius was inspired to clothe his sentiments is of that moulding which never grows quaint, and the temporary is lost in the permanent, as the grand arch speaks to the triumph a thousand years after its inscriptions have ceased to be legible. Who, as with arm extended and flashing eye, he now recites that noble boast—

> "Britannia needs no bulwark,
> No towers along the steep,"

who ever thinks now that Campbell meant that it was needless to build Martello towers? which was the mode of fortification then in progress. But the bard was a prophet then, and was wiser than he knew. It belonged precisely to the simplicity and straightforwardness of the man that he should lay hold on the actual and temporary feature, and equally to his passion to fuse it, and leave it for future time simply a sparkling crystal in the granite mass.

It would be easy to carry this illustration into far greater detail, but we refrain, and with his genius as such we have on this occasion nothing to do. We have been care-

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fully guarding our eyes from the dazzling effulgence of that great gift, in order fairly to appreciate Campbell as a man. And if our view of him be true, we have surely exhibited a man well worthy of the admiration of all those who do not retain their admiration till they find humanity in perfect symmetry. To such symmetry even, it might be maintained, Campbell's character puts forth a stronger claim than might at first appear to those who do not sufficiently examine the nature of his failings. There are failings which really flaw the nature; there are others—or they may be the same in another degree—which are only superficial. The one may be compared to the derangement of the centre of gravity, which should send the body out of its true course; the other to the clouds which may darken its surface, but have no power to affect its orbit. Campbell's weaknesses were undeniably of the latter kind; they did painfully obscure at times his happiness, but they were powerless to influence in any perceptible degree his moral constitution. We are not attempting here to salve ugly sores by conventional charities, but endeavouring to do simple justice to a human being, and to morality itself. His character, if it may be judged by the evidence of his general life, conversation, and letters, as reported, was undoubtedly in many respects at its ripest when this grievous blemish was plainest and even largest on its face. But let his frailties be granted and estimated at their heaviest, there remains enough to justify the world in the value it placed upon him,—a value shown by the fact, that, sixteen years after his death, his friends are still producing their recollections of him, and men are well-disposed to listen to them. Qualities of a rare beauty were set in him in a framework of sterling worth. If the scale of the latter was not great, the gems were of the finest water; and humanity must be much richer in noble examples than she is, before we can cease to reckon Campbell, with all his faults and failings, as other than a rare and beautiful specimen of his race.

Art. II.—1. *Quakerism, Past and Present.* By John S. Rowntree. Post 8vo. Prize Essay.

2. *The Peculium.* By Thomas Hancock. Post 8vo. Prize Essay.

3. *A Fallen Faith: being a Historical, Religious, and Sociopolitical Sketch of the Society of Friends.* By Edgar Sheppard, M.D. Crown 8vo.

4. *The Society of Friends: an Inquiry into the Causes of its Weakness as a Church.* By Joseph John Fox, Fellow of the Statistical Society. Crown 8vo.

5. *Essay on the Society of Friends; being an Inquiry into the Causes of their Diminished Influence and Numbers.* By Samuel Fothergill. Crown 8vo.

6. *The Hibernian Essay on the Society of Friends, and the Causes of their Declension.* By a Friend of the Friends.

7. *The Quakers, or Friends; their Rise and Decline.*

8. *The Society of Friends; its Strength and its Weakness.*

9. *An Honest Confession of the Cause of Decadence in the Society of Friends, with a Glance at a Few of the "Peculiarities" of the Society.* By a Member.

10. *Nehushtan: a Letter, addressed to the Members of the Society of Friends, on their Peculiarities of Dress and Language.*

11. *Essay on the Decline of the Society.* "Quantum Mutatus!"

12. *A Letter to a Friend: being an Examination of a Pamphlet entitled, "The Principle of Ancient Quakerism considered with reference to the supposed Decadence of the Society of Friends."*

Early in the year 1858, the following quaint advertisement appeared in many of our periodicals:—

"SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.—PRIZE ESSAY.

"A GENTLEMAN who laments that, notwithstanding the population of the United Kingdom has more than doubled itself in the last fifty years, the Society of Friends is less in number than at the beginning of the century; and who believes that the Society at one time bore a powerful witness to the world concerning some of the errors to which it is most prone, and some of the truths which are the most necessary to it; and that this witness has been gradually becoming more and more feeble, is anxious to obtain light respecting the causes of this change. He offers a PRIZE OF ONE HUNDRED GUINEAS for the best ESSAY that shall be written on the subject, and a PRIZE of FIFTY GUINEAS for the one next in merit. He has asked three gentlemen, not members of the Society of Friends, to pronounce judgment on the Essays which shall be sent to them. They have all some acquaintance with the history of the Society, and some interest in its existing members; and as they are likely to regard the subject from different points of view, he trusts that their decision will be impartial; that they will not expect to find their own opinions represented in the Essays; and that they will choose the one which exhibits the most thought and Christian earnestness, whether it is favourable or unfavourable to the Society, whether it refers the diminution of its influence to

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degeneracy, to something wrong in the original constitution of the body, to the rules which it has adopted for its government, or to any extraneous cause.

"Rev. F. D. MAURICE, Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn; Professor J. P. NICHOL, Glasgow; and Rev. E. S. PRYCE, Gravesend, have agreed to Act as Adjudicators."

More than seventy essays, we have heard, were sent in, and many of them of great length. The labour, therefore, of the adjudicators must have been great indeed. From a comparison of the selected essays with those not thought worthy of the prize, several of which have been published, we are disposed fully to acquiesce in the soundness of their decision. We have not often felt called upon to notice prize essays, although our literature has of late been more and more cumbered with these productions. Prize essays and prize poems are necessarily for the most part unworthy of publication. Very good as forming a part of an academical course, in training the young student to the use of his weapons, they seldom possess much claim to an extended existence. All great works must be written *con amore*. The mind is struck with an idea, it germinates, study enriches it, fancy adorns it, until, in the course of time, it is given to the world in its perfection of form and beauty. How interesting it is to be told by Gibbon, that "it was when he was musing in the ruins of the Capitol, *while the barefooted friars were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter*, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to his mind." The motive arising from the hope of L.100 is not likely to act in the minds of the highest order. Writers of matured intellect and established reputation will not turn from their path to contend for such a prize, and it will too often be given to the intellectual tyro, who works without conviction, and looks only for his fee. We are disposed to depart from our rule in the case of these essays on the Society of Friends, which are written with unusual earnestness and ability, on a topic just now of peculiar interest to many. With the consent of the donor, an equal prize of 100 guineas was given to Mr. Rowntree of York, and Mr. Hancock of Nottingham, both names previously unheard in the literary world. These gentlemen take up the subject from the most opposite points of view. Mr. Rowntree, whose essay is written with great care and considerable force and precision of language, is evidently well acquainted with Quakerism, both past and present. He has been brought up in the midst of it, and writes with a feeling of sadness for the decline of a Society from which he believes he has derived many social and intellectual benefits.

Of Mr. Hancock, the other successful competitor, we wish to speak with respect. His essay, though disfigured with a mystical jargon, is written in a fresh, bold, and vigorous style. He professes to be an ardent admirer of Dr. Pusey, and we fear he is far on his way to Rome. He has studied deeply the writings of the early Friends; and whilst he finds much in their history to admire and commend, he regards the modern Quakers as a degenerate race, and rejoices in the prospect of their certain and speedy extinction. As we wish to look at the whole subject from our own point of view, we can do no more than call the attention of our readers to the other works quoted above.

In all periods of ecclesiastical history—and it is nowhere more clearly evident than in the Epistolary books of the New Testament—there has been in the world of faith a continual struggle between two opposing tendencies—the FORMAL and the SPIRITUAL. The great mass of mankind, though occupied with worldly pursuits and pleasures, are ever willing to respect religious observances, and their forms and ceremonies, the efficacy of which has always been overrated by ecclesiastics. On the other hand, men from time to time have arisen, with strong devotional natures, penetrated with the importance of a spiritual life, and longing for a closer intercourse with God. These have ever been the champions, and too often the martyrs, of the spiritual principle. From the end of the second century to the time of the Reformation, the views adopted by such men led very generally to monastic seclusion. Imagining it impossible to enjoy communion with God whilst mixing with the world in its pursuits and pleasures, they retired into the wilderness, and spent their days in contemplation and in mortification of carnal appetites.

From age to age, for more than a thousand years, both the Greek and Latin Church, which were not only founded and consolidated, but also corrupted, by the temporal power, went on increasing in pomp and arrogance, until the services performed by priests, in gorgeous dresses, in splendid temples, amidst clouds of incense, surrounded by paintings and images, and in words unintelligible to the hearers, resembled much more the system of Budhism, than the simple religion established by the disciples of Christ. The priest, more and more attaching sanctity to mere office, gradually usurped the seat of the Master, as the ignorance of the people increased, until,

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in pope and patriarch alike, that "Man of Sin was revealed, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped." Still there were in every age faithful witnesses, like stars scattered here and there in the heavens, whose light shone before men, who nobly advocated the primitive spirituality and simplicity of the Christian faith, and protested against prevailing corruption. The Waldenses, in the Western Church, will occur to every one; while, in the Greek Church, a constant succession of sects, described, by their enemies for the most part, and classed by historians, without much discrimination, as mystics, performed the same function. These occasional outbursts of the purer life lacked permanency, from want of organization. At length came the art of printing, and the Reformation. The Bible was circulated in the language of the people. Mind, coming out of a long and dreary imprisonment, walked forth, on its great work. In England, the reformation of the church, taken in hand by Henry VIII., of whom Luther, with homely wit, said, "he was a king, with a pope in his belly," and consolidated by his famous daughter, who, with all her greatness of character, inherited many of her father's prejudices, retained as much of Popish pomp and ceremony, and hierarchical influence, as a people with the Bible in their hands would tolerate,—a fatal error, from which the Church of England is still suffering. Its effects were immediately apparent. The most pious and zealous reformers were at once thrown into opposition, and the old struggle revived with renewed intensity. After raging for more than a century, the cause of the Puritans triumphed, and the crown and mitre were trampled in the dust. During this particular period, however, the purely *spiritual* element did not prominently and directly display itself. The controversy turned mostly upon forms of church government, dresses, festivals, and ceremonies, though some of those points of doctrine began to be discussed which were soon to divide the Protestant Church into the Arminian and Calvinistic parties. Southey asserts, that all revolutions are brought about by the zeal and energy of a minority; and this was certainly true with respect to the Puritan triumph. No sooner was the victory won, than the discordant elements, which a common cause had for a time combined together, began to appear in conflict. The stern rule of the conquering party became distasteful to the people. Society could not be comfortable, in the tight and rigid bands with which they attempted to confine it: the mass of the community, still addicted to their sports and pastimes, were, of course, discontented.

The public mind had become ripe for some new development of religious feeling. When the war was over, and the unconquerable army of Cromwell, whose cry in the hour of battle had been, "Let the Lord arise, and let His enemies be scattered!" the recreations of whose officers were prayer and religious exercises, society was in a state of the most violent fermentation. Anabaptists, Fifth Monarchy men, Levellers, Socinians, pure Republicans, contended together in a chaos of opinion. The more enthusiastic generally expected that a new era was about to commence; and even the practical, vigorous mind of Cromwell, was inflamed with the conviction that the reign of the saints was at hand. In his speech to the Barebone Parliament, he says, "I confess I never looked to see such a day as this, it may be nor you neither, when Jesus Christ should be so owned as He is in this day in this work. Jesus Christ is owned this day by the call of you; and you own Him, by your willingness to appear for Him. And you manifest this, as far as poor creatures may do, to be a day of the power of Christ. I know you will remember that Scripture, 'He makes His people willing in the day of His power.' God manifests this to be the day of the power of Christ; having through so much blood and so much trial, as hath been upon these nations, made this to be one of the great issues thereof: to have HIS PEOPLE called to the *supreme authority*."

In the same year in which Charles I. was beheaded, George Fox commenced his preaching in the Vale of Belvoir. His journal, a work of extraordinary interest, contains a full and minute account of the rise and establishment of Quakerism, an affecting narrative of his own intense mental conflicts, and much that curiously illustrates the spirit and proceedings of that extraordinary period. If the epistles and lengthy manifestoes were omitted, and this curious work republished by a judicious editor, it would, even in the present day, be a readable, if not a very popular volume. It is, on the whole, to be regretted, mainly for the sake of English literature, that Dr. Southey did not fulfil his intention of writing the Life of George Fox, for which it is well known he had collected materials. With characteristic amiability, at the entreaty of some influential members of the Society, who feared that ridicule would fall upon the sect, he desisted from his intention. Instead, therefore, of a full and copious life, written by a man whose liberality, sensibility, and enthusiasm would have

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well qualified him to do justice to a singular character, we have now, for the guidance of public opinion, two pages by Lord Macaulay, in which he throws together everything that tends to lower the character of George Fox. Mackintosh and Coleridge formed opinions of George Fox very different from those of Macaulay; and if Southey had written his life, we should have possessed a work by which he would have been made well known. The testimony of William Penn, tinged, however, by all the partiality of friendship, is worth quoting. Speaking of George Fox, he says: "He was a man that God endued with a clear and wonderful depth, a discerner of other men's spirits, and very much a master of his own. And truly I must say, that though God had visibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, and, indeed, his very presence expressed a religious majesty, yet he never abused it, but held his place in the Church of God with great meekness, and a most engaging humility and moderation. I write by knowledge, and not report, having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature, by night and day, by sea and land, in this and in foreign countries; and I can say, I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion. He was so meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company,—a most merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take or give offence. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things, that, whilst he was ignorant of useless and sophistical science, he had in him the foundation of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it everywhere. Civil beyond all forms of breeding in his behaviour; very temperate, eating little, and sleeping less, though a bulky person."

"George Fox," says Carlyle, "in his suit of leather, independent of mankind, looks down into the soft Vale of Belvoir: do not the whispering winds and green fields, do not the still smoke pillars from those poor cottages under the eternal firmament say, George, canst thou do nothing for us? George, wilt thou not help us from the wrath to come? George finds in the Vale of Belvoir a *very tender* people." Men were everywhere craving for freedom and for peace. Puritanism, flushed by victory, and intoxicated by power, in too many instances began to rest in mere outward forms. Without any clearly defined system of his own, or any ambition to be the founder of a sect, George Fox tells us that his "preaching was to bring people off from Jewish ceremonies, and from heathenish fables, and from man's inventions and worldly doctrines, by which they blew the people about this way and the other way, from sect to sect, and from all their beggarly rudiments, with their schools and colleges, for making ministers of Christ; and from all their images and crosses, and sprinkling of infants; with all their holidays and all their vain traditions, which the Lord's power was against; in the dread and authority of which I was moved to declare against them, and against all that preached not freely, as being such as had not received freely from Christ." He tells us he would go into orchards or the fields alone with his Bible. He could not join himself to any sect. His relations were much troubled, and by their advice he went to one priest after another. "One," he says, bade him take tobacco and sing psalms, "but tobacco was a thing I did not love, and psalms I was not in a state to sing." "Another," one Macham, a priest in high account, "would needs give me some physic, and I was to have been let blood; but they could not get one drop of blood from me either in arms or head, my body being, as it were, dried up with sorrows, grief, and trouble, which were so great upon me that I could have wished I had never been born, or that I had been born blind, that I might never have seen wickedness or vanity; and deaf, that I might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed." No wonder he was considered a desirable recruit for the Puritan army, and was strongly urged to become a trooper, but he looked to other work. "At the command of God, on the 9th of 7th month 1643, I left my relations, and broke off all familiarity or fellowship with old or young." For more than four years he continued in this state of high excitement, and in 1647 says: "During all this time I was never joined in profession of religion with any, but gave myself up to the Lord, having forsaken all evil company, and taken leave of father and mother, and all other relations, and travelled up and down as a stranger in the earth, taking a chamber to myself in the town where I came, and tarrying sometimes a month, more or less, in a place; for I durst not stay long in any place, being afraid both of professor and profane. For which reason I kept myself much as a stranger, seeking heavenly wisdom, and getting knowledge from the Lord. Though my exercises and trouble were very great, yet were they not so continued but that I had some intermissions, and was sometimes brought into such a heavenly joy, that I thought I had been in Abraham's bosom. As I cannot declare the misery I was in, it was so great and heavy upon me; so neither can I set forth the

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mercies of God with me in all my misery. Oh, the everlasting love of God to my soul when I was in great distress! When my trouble and torment were great, then was His love exceeding great. Thou, Lord, makest the fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field. Thou bringest down and settest up, Thou killest and makest alive; all honour and glory be to Thee, oh Lord of Glory; the knowledge of Thee in the Spirit is life, but that knowledge which is fleshly works death." "Then came people from far and near to see me, but I was fearful of being drawn out by them, yet I was made to speak and open things to them. The workof the Lord went on in some, and my sorrows and troubles began to wear off, and tears of joy dropped from me, so that I could have wept night and day with tears of joy to the Lord, in humility and brokenness of heart; for I had been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through and over the power of Satan, by the eternal glorious power of Christ."* In the journal of George Fox we occasionally meet with vivid pictures, graphically illustrating the times. Thus, in 1648, he tells us there was at Leicester "a dispute wherein Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Common Prayer men, were all concerned. The meeting was in the steeple-house, and thither I was moved of the Lord to go and be amongst them. I heard their discourse and reasonings, some being in pews and the priest in the pulpit, abundance of people being gathered together. At last one woman asked a question out of Peter, 'what that birth was, a being born again of incorruptible seed by the Word of God, that liveth and abideth for ever?' And the priest said to her, 'I permit not a woman to speak in the church,' though he had before given liberty for any to speak. Whereupon I was wrapped up as in a rapture in the Lord's power, and I stepped up and asked the priest, 'Dost thou call this steeple-house a church? or dost thou call this mixed multitude a church?' But instead of answering me, he asked me what a church was. I told him the Church was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members of a spiritual household, which Christ was the head of; but He was not the head of a mixed multitude,* or of an old house made up of lime, stones, and wood. This set them all on fire; the priest came down out of the pulpit, and others out of their pews, and the dispute thus was marred. But I went to a great inn, and there disputed the thing with the priests and professors of all sorts. And I maintained the true Church, and the true Head thereof, over the heads of them all, till they all gave out and fled away." Carlyle says: "Enormous sacred self-confidence was none of the least of his attainments." We cannot allow any man to set up a claim to infallibility, and we may be permitted coolly to investigate and criticise the claims and character of any of our fellow-men; and doing so, we cannot fail to see that George Fox was travelling on a perilous road. He began to believe that the light was leading him not only to understand all the mysteries of the spiritual, but to fathom all the depths of the natural world; that he was above all professors, and that not only priests, but lawyers, doctors, and schoolmasters, were as dead men under his feet. By degrees a judgment naturally cool, and a considerable endowment of common sense, brought him to view everything more soberly; probably the terrible example of James Naylor, who about this time had joined him, and whose fervid eloquence was causing crowds of enthusiastic admirers to follow him, may have produced a salutary effect. George Fox was exposed to the same danger, and the almost idolatrous, if not blasphemous flattery, particularly of his most enthusiastic female followers, was enough to fill any ordinary mortal with spiritual pride and arrogance.† That he laboured under delusions, and a state of excitement in which reason was in danger of

* Thus Whitfield describes himself as having all sensible comforts withdrawn from him, overwhelmed with a horrible fearfulness and dread, all power of meditation or even thinking taken away, his memory gone, his whole soul barren and dry, and his sensations like those of a man locked up in iron armour. "God only knows," he says, "how many nights I have lain upon my bed groaning under what I felt. Whole days and weeks have I spent in lying prostrate on the ground in silent or vocal prayer." An illness came on, and he says:—"About the end of the seventh week, after having undergone innumerable buffetings of Satan, God was pleased at length to remove my heavy load. But oh with what joy, joy unspeakable, even joy that was full and big with glory, was my soul filled, when the weight of sin went off. At first my joy was like a spring-tide, and, as it were, overflowed the banks."

* A form of expression much used in a recent controversy on the Headship; and suggestive.

† The following somewhat profane letter from Margaret Fell, who some years afterwards became his wife, and signed by several other zealous followers, is sufficient to prove this assertion:—

Our Dear Father in the Lord,—For though we have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet we have not many fathers; for in Christ Jesus thou hast begotten us through the gospel, eternal praises be to our father. We thy babes with one consent being gathered together in the power of the Spirit; thou being present with us, our souls doth thirst and languish after thee, and doth challenge that right that we have in thee, O thou bread of life; without which

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being utterly overthrown, the following extraordinary passage from the journal will abundantly testify:—"As I was walking along with several friends, I lifted up my head, and I saw three steeple-houses, and they struck at my life. I asked what place that was, and they said Lichfield. Immediately the word of the Lord came to me that I must go thither. As soon as they (the Friends) were gone I stept away, and went by my eye over hedge and ditch till I came within a mile of Lichfield, where in a great field there were shepherds keeping their sheep. Then I was commanded by the Lord to pull off my shoes. I stood still, for it was winter, and the word of the Lord was like a fire in me. So I put off my shoes and left them with the shepherds; and the poor shepherds trembled and were astonished; then I walked in about a mile, and as soon as I was within the city, the word of the Lord came to me again, saying, 'Cry, woe unto the bloody city of Lichfield.' So I went up and down the street, crying with a loud voice, Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield. It being market-day, I went into the market-place, and to and fro in the several parts of it, and made stand, crying as before, Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield, and no one laid hands on me; but as I went thus crying through the streets, there seemed to me to be a channel of blood running down the street, and the market-place appeared like a pool of blood. When I had declared what was upon me, and felt myself clear, I went out of the town in peace, and returning to the shepherds gave them some money, and took my shoes then off again. But the fire of the Lord was so in my feet, and all over me, that I did not matter to put my shoes on any more, and was at a stand whether I should or not, till I felt freedom of the Lord to do so; and then after I had washed my feet, I put on my shoes again." There is nothing else so extraordinary as this in the journal of George Fox, and to have permitted its publication is no small evidence of the honesty and good faith of those who gave the extraordinary narrative to the world. We may claim the right of making this use of such a passage; it leaves us at liberty to call in question his other views. He no doubt brought forward several important points in the Christian system, which its professors had entirely lost sight of or overlooked; the conclusions to which he came on the subject of oaths, war, etc., have been sanctioned by the approval of philosophic statesmen, and many of his views on the spirituality of religion have received the assent of thoughtful and devout men of every sect. We must allow to his teaching the great merit of holding up without flinching the duty of making the gospel a practical moral code. It called on the servant of Christ to take up the cross and follow whereever his Master might lead; but, at the same time, he sowed the seeds of weakness in his system, by descending to minor questions, and giving so much importance to nonessentials, that some of his scruples and peculiarities were proofs rather of a morbidly excited conscience than of a sound and enlightened judgment.

The preaching of George Fox had drawn together men whose object was not very clearly defined,—men who at first had no ambition to found a sect or a system, but who believed their views destined to pervade society, and that the true light was about to shine in the world with a new splendour. A paper in the handwriting of Thomas Aldam, one of the most influential of George Fox's earlier followers, issued from a yearly meeting held at the house of John Crook, a justice of the peace in Bedfordshire in the year 1657, is considered the first document on what the Friends call "THEIR DISCIPLINE." The concluding sentence runs as follows, and shows how cautious these earliest Friends were not to impose a yoke upon or cramp the freedom of their fellow-professors:—"Dearly beloved Friends, these things we do not lay upon you as a rule or form to walk by, but that all with a measure of the light, which is pure and holy, may be guided; and so in the light walking and abiding, these things may be fulfilled in the spirit, not in the letter; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." Many years after this, in 1676, George Fox says: "I was moved to travel about the nation again to recommend to Friends the setting up of the quarterly and monthly meetings in all counties,

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bread, our souls will starve. Oh, for evermore give us this bread, and take pity on us, whom thou hast nursed up with the breasts of consolation. Oh our life, our desire is to see thee again, that we may be refreshed and established, and so have life more abundantly. And let not that beastly power which brings us in bondage separate thy bodily presence from us, who reigns as king above it, and would rejoice to see thy kingly power here triumph over it. Oh, our dear nursing father, we hope thou wilt not leave us comfortless, but will come again. Though that sorrow be for a time, yet joy cometh in the morning. Oh our life, we hope to see thee again, that our joy may be full; for in thy presence is fulness of joy, and where thou dwell is pleasure for evermore. O thou fountain of eternal life, our souls thirst after thee; for in thee alone is our life and peace, and without thee we have no peace; for our souls are much refreshed by seeing thee, and our life is preserved by thee, O thou father of eternal felicity.—MARGARET FELL, THOMAS SALTHOUSE, ANN ALVERTON, MARY ASKEN, MARGARET FELL, BRIDGET FELL, WILLIAM CATON.

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for looking after the poor, taking care for orderly proceedings in marriage, and other matters relating to the Church of Christ." And we may consider that at this time, or about thirty years after the first preaching of George Fox, the Society of Friends was organized and settled very much in the form in which it still exists.

Before entering on an inquiry into the causes of the decline of Quakerism, we must remark that it is a common error to suppose it to be of recent date. A full consideration of the subject, and considerable investigation into the history of the Society, has led to a conviction that the decline of Quakerism, in the sense in which we commonly use the term, was as sudden almost as its rise, and that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the number of those who were esteemed its professors had greatly diminished. The small size of the meeting-houses scattered about the country, which were mostly built about this period, is sufficient proof that the congregations were not large. Of the multitudes who were drawn together by the fervid eloquence of George Fox, Edward Burroughs, and William Penn, comparatively few, we believe, became members of the Society. We read in Fox's journal of large meetings and great "convincements" in out-of-the-way parts of the rural districts, where it is now difficult to imagine a meeting of any kind to be held. This was in great part due to that extraordinary and widespread excitement to which we have before alluded. Fifty years after these eloquent preachers had passed away from the scenes of their labours, the prospects which the opening dawn of Quakerism held forth were clouded; promises hopeful to the sect had not been fulfilled; the system of birth membership had filled the Society with lukewarm professors; it ceased to be aggressive, and those who had renounced all forms became the most formal of professors: rules of discipline were perfected, but the spirit of the early Friends had entirely left the body. If we look at the history of the Church, this ought not to surprise us; indeed, it is the lot of humanity, and we find the same character stamped in the life of nations on their moral, political, and literary progress. There is a want of permanency in all the efforts of mere enthusiasm: the progress of mankind is not steady, persistent, and constant, like the growth of a tree; we see sudden outbreaks of vigour, followed by periods of evident languor and decay. We may have faith in the fact, and yet with our limited faculties not be able to see, how all is tending to

> That far-off divine event
> To which the whole creation moves.

It would almost appear as if there were some truth in the supposition, that at certain regularly recurring periods, the soul of man awakes under the stimulus of new impulses, and bears fruit in heroic actions, works of original genius, and great political and religious reformations; but in a few years all is again stagnant, apathetic, and commonplace. Revivals, which are harbingers of a better age, and which appear the appointed means for carrying on the work of righteousness in the earth, comparable to the Spirit of God breathing on the waters and bringing a new creation in power and freshness out of chaos, are the days of the Lord's power; and well will it be for the world when, in these times of refreshing, man shall be less intent on his own selfish objects, and more willing to forward his Master's cause. If, as we believe, the strength of Quakerism in its early days was in the rural districts, it is the less surprising that it should so soon have lost much of its early vigour and spirit; for it cannot admit of a doubt that the agricultural population in England has not only relatively but positively fallen from the condition in which it once flourished during the 17th century. We are told that when Hampden and the other members were threatened by the king with imprisonment, 4000 freeholders rode up from Buckinghamshire to guard the person of their member, a degree of public spirit hardly to be conceived of in that county in the present day. But the decline in feeling, public spirit, and enthusiasm was not peculiar to the rural districts; it is impossible to imagine a more dreary period than the reigns of the two first Georges. Literary men, no longer the colleagues or companions of Prime Ministers, were in the condition of squalid misery, so vividly depicted in the history of the early days of Johnson. The Church was sunk in slothful, if not infidel indifference, and the private character of her primates, was not free from reproach: in the State, Prime Ministers like Walpole and Grafton cared not to veil the immoralities of their private lives from public observation. Everything springing from a noble enthusiasm was in such times likely to decay; and Quakerism shared only in the common degradation; the descendants of the Penns, the Penningtons, and the Ellwoods, became sporting squires and cattle-dealing farmers. Their children, miserably educated, cut off very much from intercourse with refined society in the metropolis, leading an isolated existence, fell into immoral habits; and the records of the Society through these dark middle ages prove a sadly declining condition. What were called consistent Friends were formal-

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ists without zeal, and the description given by Coleridge was too applicable to the Society at large. He says: "Modern Quakerism is like one of those gigantic trees which are seen in the forests of North America, apparently flourishing, and preserving all its greatest stretch and spread of branches; but when you cut through an enormously thick and gnarled bark you find the whole inside hollow and rotten. Modern Quakerism, like such a tree, stands upright by help of its inveterate bark alone. Bark a Quaker, and he is a poor creature."

Such, then, was the state of the Society of Friends towards the end of the last century; but about that time a decided revival took place. The impulse given by the labours of Wesley and Whitfield vibrated through every part of the Protestant world. In the Church of England it was seen in the influence of Newton, Simeon, and Wilberforce, and in the Society of Friends the ministry assumed a more scriptural and evangelical tone. The want of scripture knowledge had been felt and lamented, and the excellent school at Ackworth was established by the zeal and liberality of the Fothergills to supply the deficiency. The Society, in its "Queries," recognised the duty of securing a sound education for all its members. It was a time of new and profitable excitement: good men, whose minds had been roused from their torpor by the volcanic explosion of the French Revolution, who had seen the golden dreams of political perfection dissolved, had begun to turn their attention to more practical and sober schemes for ameliorating the condition of the world. Clarkson and Wilberforce had commenced their attack on the horrible slave-trade; the Tukes were advocating the milder treatment of those unfortunate beings who were afflicted with mental disorders; Lancaster and Bell soon afterwards were promoting the cause of universal education; the British and Foreign Bible Society came into existence; and the Gurneys, Fowell Buxton, and Mrs. Fry, began their labours to improve the discipline of prisons, and to change the criminal law from a code of savage and indiscriminating vengeance to a milder and reformatory system. In all these good and noble objects the Society of Friends took a foremost and prominent place. The latent enthusiasm of its members was called into activity, and whilst labouring for the good of the whole human family, the interests of their own sect were not neglected. The discipline of the Society was reformed, its rules and advices were collected into a volume for the use of every member; the diligent reading of the Scriptures was earnestly recommended, and the influence and respectability of the Society in every way was extended and secured. The fifty years which followed the establishment of Ackworth School may be considered the halcyon days of the Society of Friends. The consistent *Quakers* during this period were the intelligent, moderately-enthusiastic professors of their faith. They gave themselves to steady assertion of the rights of conscience and the extension of civil and religious liberty, and were ready to unite without sectarian jealousy in every project for improving the condition and lessening the sufferings of their fellow-men. The name, no longer one of reproach, but honoured in the persons of William Allen, Elizabeth Fry, Thomas Shillitoe, and William Forster, opened to its possessors access to every condition of humanity, from the monarch on his throne to the lonely captive in his cell. Even in missionary enterprizes the Society took a part, and some of its leading ministers visited the dark places of the earth. The zeal, intelligence, and mental activity of the Friends led the mind into new inquiries. Actively engaged in recommending the Holy Scriptures to others, it was natural that they should begin to bring their own views and practices to the test of the Bible. The Society had all along been reposing in a traditional faith on the writings of the early Friends, and, whilst few read them, had continued to assume for them a species of infallibility. Although for the most part circumspect, there is no doubt that, in the heat of controversy, the first Quakers indulged in much violence of invective, as may be seen in the writings of William Penn particularly. With the new spirit of inquiry which had sprung up, there was no wish entertained at first to lessen the reverence for the early founders of the sect, who had done so much and suffered so much, to secure to their successors the privileges and liberties which they enjoyed; yet it was impossible to prevent an examination and criticism of their views, and a comparison of them with the standard of the Scriptures. Publications appeared which excited the jealousy of many of the most influential Friends. A controversy arose, in which, as is too often the case, the tempers of the combatants became heated, and their judgments clouded; and when at length a minister published a small work called the "Beacon," in which some unguarded doctrines of the early Friends were contrasted with the words of Scripture, the proceedings led to the most extensive schism, from which the Society has ever suffered. At

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this time many of its most active, intelligent and pious members were separated from the body, and its influence and numbers have since continued seriously to diminish. This crisis occurred about the year 1836. The commercial and political excitement of that period concurred to weaken the Society, and since then the continually increasing cultivation and pursuit of pleasure, the impulse given to a taste for continental travelling, the more and more eager pursuit of trade, and an inordinate desire for riches, have all combined to produce what is now generally admitted an unmistakeable and rapid decline in the Society of Friends.

After the preceding brief sketch of the history of Quakerism, it may appear almost superfluous to inquire further into the causes of its decline. The question may be considered as answered by pointing to the experience of past ages, which proves how impossible it is to sustain any great effort originating in enthusiasm; or by saying that the increase of a worldly spirit has been fatal to a system dependent upon a self-denying seclusion from the world. But we find that other religious bodies, which had their origin equally in seasons of religious excitement, maintain their ground and show no symptoms of decay. In England the antagonism of a richly endowed church, and the declining influence of a worldly spirit, are acting with equal force upon all denominations of Dissenters, and taking away the children of their influential members. How is it, then, that they constantly recruit their ranks and extend their numbers and influence, whilst the Society of Friends is so decidedly on the decline? These questions must induce us to examine a little more closely into the system of Quakerism, and inquire if there be anything peculiar in its practices, which gives it, above all other Dissenting communities, this liability to decay. In the first place, their views on the ministry, as connected with meetings for worship, have tended to discourage an increase of members. The religious world has been held much indebted to the Society of Friends for a testimony borne to the spirituality and simplicity of true worship. In giving their views on this, we cannot do better than quote the language of Dymond:—"To the real prostration of the soul in the Divine presence, it is necessary that the mind should be still. 'Be still, and know that I am God.' Such devotion is sufficient for the whole mind; it needs not, perhaps in its present state it admits not, the intrusion of external things. And when the soul is thus permitted to enter, as it were, into the sanctuary of God; when it is humble in His presence; when all its desires are involved in the one desire of devotedness to Him; then is the hour of acceptable worship, then the petition of the soul is prayer, then is its gratitude thanksgiving, then is its oblation praise." This definition of their silent worship is worthy of the serious consideration of all who take an interest in this question, as it is alleged by some that the want of it is felt and acknowledged by many thoughtful men as a defect in the services of their churches. We would not say one word calculated to lower this principle in the eyes of the Friends, who attach such very great importance to it. But this we must say to them, that they are in the habit of confounding silent *worship* with silent *meetings*, as if they were one and the same, and the one always implied in the other. We find even a tendency to commend silent meetings, as an approach to something most perfect and desirable. And yet it is clear that, speaking from their point of view, nothing was further from the contemplation of the first Friends, than that meetings should for the most part be held in silence. There was so much preaching in their meetings that they never looked forward to a deficiency of ministry, and consequently never provided against it. They had occasionally silent meetings, which they speak of as unusual and wonderful phenomena, as arising from a feeling too deep for utterance, and an awe too solemn for expression. They never anticipated the day when meetings should be held for months and years together without the sound of a preacher's voice. Themselves full of zeal and enthusiasm, members of the Society by firm conviction, they did not foresee the state of things which the principle of birth membership was soon to introduce.

Mr. Tanner, in one of his interesting lectures on the early history of the Society of Friends, at Bristol, says, "There is no doubt the number of ministers was very large. Robert Barclay states there was scarce any meeting in which God did not raise some or other to minister to his brethren; and that there were few meetings altogether silent. There were at least twelve *men* Friends engaged as ministers at one period in Bristol. The amount of vocal service in the meetings here seems indeed to have been greater than was profitable to some; and in 1678, and again in 1698, a proposal was made for the establishment of a *silent meeting*, to be held on first day afternoon, which any who were inclined might attend. In one instance the experiment was tried for a short time." In the

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early days of the Society, with this abundant supply of what they considered prophesying, they did not recognise or feel the want of the subordinate gift of *teaching*, which we find so clearly acknowledged in the primitive Church. Although there might be a question as to what is the difference between teaching and prophesying in the apostolic age, it is not unreasonable to conclude, when we consider the circumstances of these assemblies, and that the Scriptures of the New Testament were not collected into a volume, that teaching consisted in narrating the wonderful events in the life of Christ, unfolding the doctrines of the Gospel, and proving from the prophetic books of the Old Testament that Jesus was the promised Messiah. Much of this may now be done by a systematic reading of the Scriptures, by which alone the members of a church can be built up in a knowledge of the truth. George Fox himself constantly referred to the Bible, used it in his preaching; and the significant fact that he left it chained to the table of the meeting-house at Ulverston, where he worshipped, may be taken as a proof that he at least had not the same jealousy at its appearance in a meeting for worship which his followers in the present day evince. We believe that, if the reading of the Scriptures had been adopted, and permission given to men of devout minds and clear understandings to exercise a gift of teaching for the edification of the hearers, the Friends would have found their meetings more profitable, particularly to the younger members, and the minds of all would have been better prepared for that silent worship which *they all* value; for however much some, from early habit or extraordinary feeling, may be able to profit by sitting whole meetings in silence, there can be no doubt that for the assembled multitude, including as it does the young, the gay, the worldly-minded, the uninstructed, whose thoughts must naturally wander after outward things, systematic religious teaching is essential. Men of characteristic minds, who, from approval of its fundamental principles, have felt drawn towards the Society, are repelled by the silent meetings. Requiring that no one should open the mouth for the edification of the Church unless moved by an immediate and perceptible influence of the Holy Spirit seems likely to extinguish *men's* preaching in the Society; and we wonder this fact has not opened the eyes of Friends to the necessity of reconsidering their practice. The same principle applied to psalmody still earlier, produced a still more decisive effect. A modern Friend will hardly believe that Robert Barclay, in his Apology, says, "We confess the singing of psalms to be a part of God's worship;" but the restrictions and qualifications with which the Friends surrounded the simple proposition soon had the effect of extinguishing all singing in their meetings. R. Barclay says that the singing which pleases God "must proceed from that which is pure in the heart, and from the Word of Life therein, in and by which, richly dwelling in us, spiritual songs and hymns are returned to the Lord; and such singing is very sweet and refreshful when it proceeds from a true sense of God's love in the heart, and arises from the Divine influence of the Spirit." This language is instructive, the truth of it is worthy of the sincere worshipper's deepest meditation; but the action taken by the Society must have been wrong; for if the proposition is correct, that "the singing of psalms is a part of God's worship," we put it to the Society of Friends themselves, whether they are not, by their own confession, neglecting what it is their duty to perform. Not only does the universal consent of the pious of every sect and age prove that the gift of song ought to be exercised to the great Creator's praise as a part of Divine worship; but the example of the Saviour Himself, who, before rising with His disciples to go to Gethsemane, sang a hymn, and the practice of the Church in the Apostolic age, and in that immediately succeeding, as proved by Pliny's celebrated letter to Trajan, is conclusive evidence that singing has always formed part of Christian worship. Although the practice of singing has made much way of late years amongst the younger members, so great is the opposition of what are called the more consistent Friends, that there is little likelihood that the meetings of the Society will soon end with a hymn to the praise and glory of God. With meetings, thus silent, or with a ministry for the most part feeble and unimpressive, that the Society should have so long maintained its position as an active and influential sect, is evidence of the power with which it was at first established.

Requiring the profession of belief in, and the practice of, what the Friends call their peculiarities, has had a great effect in discouraging the increase of Quakerism. The doctrine of perfection, taken up, as it was by them, in its unequivocal and full meaning, and the belief that man is bound to look for the guidance of the Holy Spirit in the most common events of life, as well as in the services of the sanctuary, led to a belief that no things were small and non-essential, or beyond the domain of conscience. George

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Fox says—"Moreover, when the Lord sent me forth into the world, He forbade me to put off my hat to any, high or low; and I was required to thee and thou all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small. And, as I travelled up and down, I was not to bid people good morrow or good evening, neither might I bow or scrape with the leg to any one." If George Fox believed himself thus called upon to act —and there were reasons in that day for testifying against some of the above practices, which do not now exist—he did right in obeying; but it was an error to define and impose all sorts of scruples upon his followers. If he had simply followed the rule so clearly laid down in the Scriptures as to non-essentials, it would have saved him from imposing a yoke which has been most burdensome, and, at the same time, galling and unprofitable to his followers: "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him which eateth: one man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike; *let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind*." Instead of prescribing certain *forms* of dress, language, and behaviour, it would have been wiser if the founders of Quakerism had satisfied themselves with testifying against the vanities and follies of the world, and with recommending to all Christians the practice of truthfulness, sincerity, and simplicity, encouraging every one to carry out these great principles according to the dictates of his own conscience. But, on the contrary, there grew up a morbid tendency to seek out trifles, to invent scruples, and to establish forms, some of which, though in that day there might be reasons for them, altered circumstances have rendered inapplicable, and, consequently, absurd. As the spirituality of the Society declined, this tendency increased. Monthly meetings placed on their books minutes regulating the cut of waistcoats. We find even the yearly meeting, in 1718, in its printed epistle, thus coming down to trifling details, and speaking of "the great grief to faithful Friends caused by many now amongst us putting on extravagant wigs, and too many women wearing hooped petticoats." And there is still extant a tract against the practice of saying, "*What's o'clock?*"

One palpable evil, springing from the singularities of the Friends, is, that they prejudice mankind generally against their more important principles; just as we see that the opinions of a man guilty of some decided eccentricity, or the victim of *one* mental delusion, are the less thought of, although in all points, perhaps, except in that which constitutes his malady, his thoughts may be clear and his judgment sound. Dr. Arnold says—"I have always thought that the Quakers stand nobly distinguished from the multitude of fanatics, by seizing the true point of Christian advancement,—the development of the principles of the Gospel in the moral improvement of mankind. It is a grievous pity that some *foolishnesses* should have so marred their efficiency, or their efforts against wars and oaths would surely ere this have been more successful."

It is common with Friends to defend their peculiarities by saying, that they form a hedge which prevents the young Friends from roaming at large in the world; but we fear such a hedge is more efficacious in *excluding* than keeping in. The young Friends are now generally bounding over it; but the upholding it in all its formality to those who are without, no doubt still deters many from entering. As to plainness of speech and dress, it is remarkable that a people so intelligent and practical should not have foreseen that, by setting up a form, they could not secure the substance; that any amount of insincerity and deceit may be practised in what is called the plain language; and that expense, fashion, and vanity cannot be excluded by enforcing singularity in dress. An individual obeying the dictates of his own conscience, and testifying against all that he feels to be evil, is striking and instructive; but a community drilled into a common form is a mere lifeless spectacle. One evil attending the singularity of dress may weigh down all that can be said in favour of it: it has been known, in many instances, to promote dissimulation. When the desire of gaiety has been very strong, it has not been uncommon for those young Friends, whose parents were very strict in enforcing the plain dress, to provide themselves with fashionable clothes, and to change their dress, unknown to their friends, before going to places of amusement.

The journal of John Woolman, one of the most interesting of the numerous Quaker autobiographies, and a book worthy of a much wider circulation than it has obtained, may be taken as evidence that views leading to asceticism and singularity can only be carried out by the ancient expedient of monastic seclusion. This man of tender conscience, who wished to walk amongst his fellow-men without touching the unclean thing—who, when he visited England (he was an American), could not sit in carpeted rooms, nor use any article of silver at the table—who thought it right to avoid all dyed goods in his clothing—was an instance, no doubt, of a man following the dictates of his con-

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science; but it is evident that his practice would not have been adopted by the community at large, and therefore could not be right to recommend for imitation.

But, whilst the causes above set forth have, we believe, contributed greatly to deter candid inquirers from even thinking of the Society of Friends, another cause has operated most actively in reducing its numbers. Voltaire concludes his letters upon the Quakers by saying—"Their children, whom the industry of their parents has enriched, are desirous of enjoying honours, of wearing ruffles, and, quite ashamed of being called Quakers, they become converts to the Church of England merely to be in the fashion." It is a common remark, that no carriage goes for three generations to a Dissenting meeting-house. As long as England shall boast of an Established Church, in which there are bishops living in princely splendour; rich livings, which are termed the *prizes* in the ecclesiastical *lottery;* splendid services, carried on in time-honoured cathedrals; and venerable universities, exclusively in the hands of Churchmen,—we must expect such an institution to win the spmpathies and support of the rich and fashionable, and, consequently, bear hard upon all the less ostentatious Dissenting sects. Although the accumulation of wealth appears, therefore, to be equally fatal to all the Nonconformist communities, yet, as we before observed, all but the Society of Friends appear to make up for losses by continually attracting new members; and that Society, from the prudent habits it instils, is perhaps more liable to suffer from the evil than the others. A writer, who fortunately is not now so popular as he was formerly, has said, with bitter pungency—"The Quakers pursue the getting of money with a pace as steady as time, and an appetite as keen as death." In the anxiety to testify against superfluity in dress, and indulgence in the pleasures of the world, the Society of Friends have not been equally faithful in warning its members against the too eager pursuit of riches, and pointing out the utter incompatibility of wealth thus sought with the practice of a self-denying religion. The testimony of Scripture to the evil consequence of wealth is impressive, whether we look to the language of our Lord Himself, or that of the Apostle Paul, when he says—"They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil: which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows." When Friends, who take an active part in the affairs of the Society, make what is called a very *consistent* appearance, and loudly condemn the frivolous pleasures of the world, are still seen immersed in business, and more intent and eager than others in the pursuit of wealth, it appears to the world that they

> "Compound for sins they are inclined to,
> By damning those they have no mind to."

In this stirring age, when such vast openings for the extension of trade are appearing in every quarter of the globe, and Britain, by her enlightened commercial policy, is deservedly reaping her full share of the benefit; when we hope, by the kindly influence of honest commerce, to mitigate some of the greatest evils that afflict humanity, there may even appear something of a virtue in adding to the universal activity. Still it is the duty of Christians to testify as loudly against the love of money, as against war, slavery, intemperance, or any other desolating sin.

Whilst the spiritual condition of Quakerism has, during the last thirty years, declined, its influence, as a corporate body of citizens, appears to have increased. Friends are more often seen upon the hustings and the platform than was formerly the case. Objects of a philanthropic nature are most systematically supported; and even the existence of several societies has depended upon the liberal contributions of the Society of Friends. It may be thought uncharitable to suggest that these things have almost become a fashion amongst them. The pleasurable excitement of the platform may sometimes stimulate to an ostentatious charity very far removed from that of "not letting the right hand know what the left hand doeth." The eagerness with which Friends have lately entered into political questions is itself suggestive. If the spirit of George Fox could revisit the scene of his labours and sufferings, in the busy mart, at the table of the money-changers, on the hollow sounding platform, in the luxurious Paris hotel, he would fail to recognise those who profess to be the followers of his simple and self-denying creed.

We cannot, in endeavouring to point out the causes for the decline of Quakerism, omit to notice the practice of the Society on the important question of marriage, which has had a considerable tendency to reduce its numbers. In their anxiety to avoid the least risk of clandestine proceedings, in their purpose to preserve to marriage the character of a religious ordinance, the early Friends framed rules which involved public expos-

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ure, delay, and annoyance to the feelings of the parties. When the Dissenters' Marriage Act was passed, the Society lost a most favourable opportunity for revising and simplifying them. Instead, however, of so doing, the Friends, who watch over all legislative proceedings connected with their scruples, satisfied themselves with obtaining permission to celebrate marriages in accordance with their former rules and practices: these, therefore, became perpetuated; and as the requirements of the new law respecting notices to the Registrar and to the Guardians are to be superadded, the proceedings of the Society of Friends on marriages, instead of being simplified, have become more complicated than before. This has a tendency to promote marriages not in accordance with the rules of the Society, for which hitherto individuals have been deprived of their membership. There appears a strong tendency amongst the Friends for first cousins to marry; and as they are not allowed to do so by the rules of the Society, this again causes a loss of members.

A marriage cannot be solemnized in the meetings of the Friends, unless all the rules of the Society are complied with, and *both* the parties are members. There are now several large schools supported and conducted by Friends, where children, who are not members, are educated carefully in all the principles and practices of the Society. It is natural that these, as they grow up, should wish to form connections in the Society; but so rigid are the rules, that the marriage of such persons with a member is not permitted. No good reason can be given for such a course; and it seems simply absurd for a Society, which admits as members, without any discrimination, those who have become so by the mere accident of birth, to refuse admission, by the ceremony of marriage, to persons who are willing to comply with its rules, and who are quite as likely to become useful and faithful members as those who have exercised no volition, and have no preference at all. This question has now been for some time before the Society; but there is so much opposition to all change, that it is very doubtful whether any modification of the rules, after all, will take place. Propositions for any change in the rules or practices of Friends are generally referred by the Yearly Meeting to the "Meeting for Sufferings," which is a standing committee of the Society, and, in fact, its governing body; from the manner of its selection, it consists entirely of those who of called *consistent* Friends, and no Council conservative ever animated by a stronger [illegible] The ability possessed by many members of this meeting, the diligence with which professional men and tradesmen devote their time gratuitously to its service, are truly admirable; their zeal and attachment to the Society are unbounded; and, perhaps from this very cause, it is impossible to imagine any body more opposed to all change and innovation. Of this the very name they cling to is a striking proof: it was given in the early days of the Society, when they met chiefly on account of the sufferings of their fellow-members; but in these propitious days, a proposition lately made to alter the name into something descriptive of its present functions was strenuously resisted.

Believing that much good service has been rendered to philanthropy by the Society of Friends, and seeing how much remains to be done, and is called for at their hands, it is worth inquiring whether Quakerism is likely to revive,—whether, by cutting away the dead wood, by removing the fungus and parasites which absorb its nourishment, and are evidences of its decay, the tree may again flourish. Unless some decisive and vigorous action be taken by the influential members of the Society, this is not likely. An unfavourable symptom is, the rapidly widening distance between those who conduct the business of the Society and the young Friends. Whilst the former continue averse to any relaxation or modification of their peculiarities, the latter have naturally relinquished them; and there is little now to distinguish a young Quaker from other members of the community. The attendance at meetings, particularly in the large towns, has become more irregular; and it is not uncommon for the more seriously disposed young people to attend other places of worship once on the Sabbath, where an instructive ministry may be heard. They are also much less interested in what are called meetings for discipline than formerly. They complain that the proceedings are dry, formal, and uninteresting; and their views upon this subject are beginning to be forced upon the attention of the Yearly Meeting. The cultivation of music is also becoming much more extensive amongst this class, whilst it is still entirely discountenanced by the older and influential members. The altered habits of life, which prevent those engaged in trade from taking *young men* into their families, as was formerly the custom, and the necessity thus created for association with those not in fellowship with the Society, has had a great effect in taking that class away from the fold, and produces an inequality of the sexes. To this there does not appear any available remedy, unless the

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modification of the marriage rules above alluded to might to some extent be effectual.

The early Friends made no provision for adapting their system to altered circumstances. They never anticipated that a time would come when some provision for religious teaching would be required for the edification of the body; and now their successors will admit of no change. The proposal to introduce the systematic reading of the Bible in their assemblies is always resolutely opposed; and Bible classes are looked upon with something more than suspicion. When a large and influential portion of the Society attempted to introduce some modification to supply the increasing desire for religious instruction, it led, as we have seen, to one of the greatest secessions which have ever reduced the number of the Society. There does not, on the whole, therefore, seem much likelihood of an increased vitality in the system of Quakerism as it at present exists.

ART. III.—1. *Essays, Military and Political.* Written in India by the late Sir HENRY MONTGOMERY LAWRENCE, Chief Commissioner in Oude, and Provisional Governor-General in India. London, 1859.

2. *General Report on the Administration of the Punjab for the Years* 1850–51. London, 1854.

THE events of which for a period of eighteen months British India was recently the theatre, will leave indelible traces on the pages of history. They will be alternately darkened by narratives of the most revolting crimes which were ever committed by civilised man, and illumined by deeds of heroism, the brilliancy of which can never be surpassed. The crisis tried human nature as it has been rarely tried before. It is not military heroism alone which has been evoked by the deadly struggle, but civilians have emerged from the arena with a glory which sheds a lustre upon their profession, and upon the nation which has produced men whose avocations were those of peace, equal to some of the most trying situations and duties of war. There are two names that are inseparably united, and which will descend the stream of time together. It is scarcely necessary to say that Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence and Sir John Lawrence are the two men by whom, looking to the human instruments employed, India has been mainly preserved to Great Britain, rescued from anarchy, and restored to the position of a peaceful, and, as we may now hope, a prosperous and progressive dependency.

It may not, perhaps, be at once understood how we connect the services of Sir Henry Lawrence with the successful termination of the struggle in which we have been engaged. He died in the zealous and heroic discharge of his duty, but at a time when the political horizon was of the darkest hue, and the hopes of British India were the most depressed. But it is to his earlier career, and the wisdom and success which marked his administration of the Punjab, that we must trace the success of those measures that gave the British generals, at a period of the utmost need, an accession of force that enabled them to stem the torrent of rebellion and wrest the capital of Mahommedan India from the grasp of mutinous soldiery. Sir John Lawrence launched the legions of the Punjab against the city of Delhi; but Sir Henry Lawrence had previously converted the Sikh population from rancorous enemies into cordial allies, and inspired the remnants of an army that had once met the British forces in deadly strife, with as firm a loyalty to the crown of England as they had ever felt for the most renowned of their native sovereigns. Sir Henry Lawrence was the first British administrator of the Punjab, and, by his financial moderation and conciliatory policy, he transformed a province that had existed for years in a condition of chronic turbulence into the most peaceful and contented of states, and thus unconsciously prepared those elements of strength which his illustrious brother had, at a remoter period, only to organize and direct for the support of the power of Great Britain and the relief of its overtasked troops. Sir Henry Lawrence was the pacificator of the Punjab; Sir John Lawrence again summoned it to war. Sir Henry Lawrence completely disarmed it; Sir John Lawrence once again made it glitter with steel and resound with the note of preparation. It is a remarkable fact, that the work of pacification should have fallen to the professional soldier, and the summons to arms, in a new cause and for a new master, should have been given by the man who had passed his life in the peaceful occupations of a civilian.*

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* Sir Henry Lawrence was an officer of artillery, and served, in a purely military character, until the year 1838. He was known and appreciated as a good and zealous officer, and acted as adjutant to the portion of his corps that was employed in the south-eastern division of Bengal. He took part in the first Burmese war. In 1838 he was attached, with a portion of his corps, to the army of the Indus, whi[illegible] was destined to change the government of [illegible] The[illegible]istan, and place Shah Shuja on [illegible] was left, at Governor-General's agent [illegible] Wearied and a critical [illegible]

The friends of Sir Henry Lawrence have only done an act of justice to the departed statesman, and to the public, by collecting and republishing the essays, which from time to time he contributed to the pages of an Indian periodical. There is much in these productions that in one sense may undoubtedly be described as out of date; but much remains from which instruction may be gathered at the present time. Many of his administrative suggestions have been already adopted, but many yet remain to be acted upon. He saw but too clearly the rocks upon which the vessel of the state in India was drifting, and his prophetic utterances are of the most impressive kind, and would have roused into action, by their vivid representations of impending danger, any Government that was not rashly heedless of the future, and that had not obstinately shut its eyes to the realities of its false position. Upon the question of military reform, Sir Henry Lawrence is never weary of dilating; but his warning voice was unhappily lifted up in vain, and he himself fell one of the most lamented victims of the system that he had long energetically denounced. The lessons which these essays inculcate are still to be studied. The vital question, how the Indian army is to be reorganized, is yet to be answered; and the problem is still unsolved by our military administrators and Indian statesmen. We trust they will ponder well the lessons of wisdom which these essays afford. The empire of Great Britain in the East depends upon the decision now about to be taken; and great is the responsibility of those who have to plan the reorganization of that army upon which, as upon a pivot, turn the whole future of Indian government.

We have alluded to the prophetic anticipations of Sir Henry Lawrence. Let those who recollect the events which took place at an early stage of the insurrection of Delhi, peruse the following passage in an essay published in 1844:—

"The treasury of Delhi is in the city, as is the magazine: the latter is in a sort of fort—a very defenceless building—*outside* of which, in the street, we understand, a party of sepoys was placed, when the news of the Cabul disasters arrived. We might take a circuit of the country, and show how many mistakes we have committed, and how much impunity has emboldened us in error, and how unmindful we have been, that what occurred in the city of Cabul, may some day occur at Delhi, Benares, or Bareilly."

Again,—

"When a small party was beaten at Khytul, one of our army division stations, it was three days before a small force could move; it was then found, that there was no small-arm ammunition in store, and ascertained that a European corps could not move under a fortnight from Sobathoo, At that time, when both Kurnaul and Umballa were denuded of troops, and every road was covered with armed pilgrims returning from Hurdwan fair, the two treasuries, containing, we have heard, between not less than thirty lacks of rupees, were under parties of fifty sepoys, in exposed houses, or rather sheds, close to the native towns; and, extraordinary as it may appear, both within fifty or a hundred yards of small forts, in which they would have been comparatively safe, but into which, during the long years that treasuries have been at those stations, it seems never to have occurred to the authorities to place them."*

His sense of our insecurity in India is strongly exhibited:—

"Rome conquered the world, by never yielding a foot—by never confessing herself beaten—by rising with renewed courage from every defeat. We require such fortitude more than Rome did. As yet our tents are only pitched in the land. We have a numerous and a noble army, but six-sevenths of it are of the soil. We have *one* fortress in all India. We offer no inducement to extraordinary fidelity, even while we place our magazines and treasuries, and our very throats, at the mercy of any desperado. While we English are thus reckless, we, both at home and in India, are more easily panic-stricken than perhaps any brave people in the world. Not only does a Cabul or a Chillianwalla strike terror from one end of the country to the other, but a simple murder, a Santhial, or a Moplah outbreak, has scarcely less effect. *With few exceptions, there is no preparation to meet sudden danger. There is the most helpless alarm when it does occur.*"†

No man probably ever occupied a responsible position in India, that held higher principles of public morality, or more resolutely opposed the once prevalent but iniquitous doctrine, under the protection of which great criminals have too often found shelter, that, admitting corruption and injustice to have been practised, it was to advance the interests and extend the empire of England. He was not a statesman who would consent to substitute expediency, or any false view of the public advantage, for the simple rule of right and wrong. He therefore disapproved of the annexation of Oude, although, by a remarkable destiny,

overtasked, he complained of his position to the commander-in-chief. "There is an officer here," said the general, "who seems to have good material in him, and who is burning for employment; let me send him to you." "Do so," said the harassed official. The officer was Captain Henry Lawrence of the Horse Artillery, and the civilian Mr. Clerk, now Sir George Russell Clerk. On that day the military career of Sir Henry Lawrence closed and the political one commenced.

* Pp. 50, 51.

† P. 376.

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he himself perished among the foremost victims of the measure he had resisted, and which he was compelled to be the chief agent in carrying out. "Interference," he wrote, in 1844, "must be made on pure motives, for the good of the people, and not for the improvement of the finances of India. The day has gone by for annexing principalities because they are rich and productive. The spirit of the age is against such benevolence." The Oude rulers, he declares, were no worse governors than other monarchs under the influence of unprincipled favourites usually are; indeed, he thinks they were better than might have been expected. They were weak, vicious, and dissolute, but were seldom cruel, and had never been false. In all the storms of the last half century, Oude was the single native state that had been invariably true to the British Government. It neither intrigued against us, nor seemed to desire our injury. The people will, doubtless, reap the benefit of an improved administration; but the taint of a profitable annexation attaches to the British Government, which no apologies or excuses, however plausible, can remove. Sir Henry Lawrence's scheme of improvement stopped far short of conquest. He proposed to take the reins of power from hands that were not permitted to guide the state—to provide a ministry for the country, and take guarantees for its honesty—to govern Oude, "not for the king alone," but for the "king and his people;" but not a rupee, he declared, ought ever to come into the Indian treasury.

This consideration for the interests as well as for the independence and dignity of the princes of India is conspicuous in every transaction of Sir Henry Lawrence's diplomatic career. Yet this tenderness for their feelings was combined with an intimate knowledge of their character:—

"Few indeed," he says, "are the native chiefs, or natives of any rank, whose wisdom is consistent and complete. Most are mere children in mind and in the ways of the world; and, as children, they should be treated with affectionate sympathy, but with systematic firmness. Many are clever in the extreme, acute, persevering, energetic, able to compete with the best of Europeans in ordinary matters, to surpass them in some; but the most accomplished character among them has its flaw. We never yet met one that was not an infant at some hour of the day, or on some question of life."

Again, in a remarkable passage, he shows his penetration and skill in decyphering the nature of the people with whom he had to deal:—

"Man is everywhere unaccountable; but he who has to deal with Asiatics can least calculate with certainty on the future by the past. He must be prepared for every vagary,—for the violation of the plainest dictates of prudence during peace,—for the neglect or breach of all the rules of strategy during war. He may reasonably expect that to be done which should not be done,—that to be neglected which should be effected. No European diplomatist or soldier is so likely to be ensnared as he who, having taken the usual precautions, feels himself secure. The treaty signed, the piquets doubled; neither can be regarded as a guarantee of safety. Certain eventual destruction may await the enemy's move,—he may be assured of it on all rational calculations; but the goddess Bhowanee, or some other deity or demon, may have promised success—the day of the Feringees may have passed—and the infatuated wretches rush on destruction. Their desperation then is dangerous. Rashness, nay, madness, has succeeded in striking a blow where the best plans have failed. Indian officials should ever be on the alert."*

"If there is little veneration for sovereignty in India, there is abundance of awe,—loyalty and patriotism we put out of the question; but, in every case of insurrection, the majority of chiefs and men of war, of all castes, will first offer their services to the established power, to fight either for or against their own kindred and country; and it is only when refused employment that they flock to the newly-displayed banner. The middle and lower classes act differently,—their sympathies will be with their fellows; but they will naturally be cautious to conceal their feelings until the progress of events, and the conduct of the contending parties, afford some clue to the probable result of the struggle."†

It was for a long time the practice of all writers and speakers on India to exalt the Mahommedan and the Hindoo dynasties at the expense of the British Government. In a country that for nearly a thousand years has been governed by the sword alone, and the people of which, throughout its length and breadth, have, within the last hundred years, seen Moguls, Patans, Mahrattas, Pindarees, and the vilest of mixed combinations of every caste and clan, rooting up the old families and dynasties, how could, as Sir Henry Lawrence justly observes, "any government, however beneficial, subsist for a day, simply by its civil policy, on the ruins of such a tempest-tossed land." But these governments were not beneficent, nor did they consider the welfare of their subjects, except so far as it contributed to their revenue and personal greatness. Akbar made some good laws for the protection of his people; but he was an almost solitary exception. The great works which have been so much extolled, and sometimes made the themes of declamatory eloquence—the tanks, the aqueducts, the roads, the seraes, the temples, the palaces, the tombs (the ruins of

* P. 165. † P. 174.

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which even now excite our wonder and admiration)—were they the creations of an "insatiable benevolence," as Burke romantically supposed; and did these "true kings, the fathers of their people," really aspire to be "the guardians, the nourishers of mankind?"* Many of these great public works were mere fiscal instruments, without which no revenue could be raised; for, under the financial system of the Mahommedan and Hindoo rulers, the occupants of land were merely tenants at will to the universal landlord—the sovereign; and most of the great monuments of extinct dynasties are as much the production of unrequited and compulsory labour as the Egyptian pyramids or the palaces of Assyrian kings. Selfishness was the ruling motive of all public improvements. The high-roads, the seraes, the plantations, were not for the people. They were for the convenience of the royal progresses. In whatever direction the sovereign was likely to travel, *there* roads were made and luxurious accommodation abounded. Elsewhere the people might seek in vain for communications, for wells of refreshment, or for shade. On this vital point in the administration of a country of which Englishmen, by a mysterious destiny, are now the indisputable masters, the character of the British government stands out in marked contrast to that of every one that has preceded it. There are few districts of India that do not possess public works undertaken chiefly for the benefit of the people, and to which they are largely indebted for whatever prosperity and comfort they enjoy. It was a ruling principle of Sir Henry Lawrence's political life, that we should find our best safeguard in the well-being of the people of India; and as soon as his great merits had raised him to a position of eminence in the state, he applied in practice those theories which, as an individual, he had always entertained. There is nothing in these essays, unfortunately, that relates to the most important period of his life, namely, that in which he filled the appointment of the first Chief Commissioner and Administrator of the Punjab. On that, however, his great reputation was chiefly founded. There is no chapter in British history more glorious, as a combined moral and military triumph, than the conquest and pacification of the Punjab. The civil administration of the new province has cast even the brightness of our arms into the shade; and we shall, as an act of justice to Sir Henry Lawrence, and as a mode of bringing out, in the strongest possible light, both his character and his abilities, specify a few of the most striking results of his government of a country which was for a long time the fanatical enemy of British power, and the military democracy of which openly aspired to the sovereignty of Hindostan.

Of all the public records connected with our rule in the East, there probably is not one that can be compared in point of interest with the General Report on the Administration of the Punjab for the years 1850 and 1851. It is the production of Sir Henry Lawrence, and, as a State paper, is not to be surpassed in ability and comprehensiveness. For historical detail, rich and animated description, enlightened principle, and practical wisdom, it is unrivalled. Sir Henry Lawrence there stands forth as a great expounder of political science; and shows how a country, which has fallen into a state of almost hopeless barbarism after ages of misrule, may be reclaimed and made a tower of strength to a Government that undertakes the task of regeneration in a spirit of justice and liberality.

The most pressing danger when the country was first annexed to the empire, was the existence of the old Khalsa army, which wandered over the country in sullen and discontented masses, animated by the fiercest spirit of hostility to its new rulers, brooding over its lost prestige, and meditating schemes of revenge. It was a crisis that required both the wisdom of a statesman and the firmness of a soldier, and Sir Henry Lawrence was both. An immediate disbanding of the soldiery was resolved on, and a proclamation to that effect was posted throughout the country. By the vigour of the step, the Sikh army was completely taken by surprise, and no time was left for combination or resistance. Vast quantities of arms were seized or surrendered, and the strongholds were at once and simultaneously dismantled. A general muster was called: the men were chiefly assembled at Lahore, and there paid up and dismissed; but offers were made to large numbers to enter, if they pleased, into the service of the British Government. To a considerable extent these offers were accepted. Those who retired, overawed by the display of firmness, or subdued by the conciliatory language and demeanour of the British resident, returned to their homes, liberally pensioned by the power they had so recently defied. So complete was the satisfaction of the Khalsa soldiery generally with the treatment which they received, that large numbers of them immediately resumed their long-neglected rural occupations, and were seen, the day after their return from Lahore, guiding the plough, but still clad in

* Burke's Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts.

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the uniforms in which they had fought at Chillianwalla and Goojerat.

Sir Henry Lawrence then arranged the general administration of the government, and established civil and criminal courts, where justice, probably for the first time in the history of the country, was impartially administered. Not less than 8000 convicts were lodged in prison in the first year of the new administration. An improved system of excise and customs was introduced, scientific surveys and public improvements were planned, the coinage was reformed, and the whole of the British system was introduced. After the first year, which was necessarily one of inauguration, the material progress of the country became most rapid, and much was done to instil juster notions of morals among the people. The crime of infanticide, by a system of agitation in which the leading members both of the British Government and the native aristocracy took part, was almost entirely suppressed. But the subjugation and civilisation of the mountain tribes is one of the most remarkable results of the new *regime*. They were, perhaps, some of the most ferocious and ungovernable barbarians that ever resisted the advance of civilisation, or defied the justice of man. The Huzara district was more particularly the seat of these intractable people. Of this frontier country, containing not less than 2500 square miles, scarcely more than one-tenth is level; and in the recesses of glens, darkened by overhanging mountains, and secured by almost inaccessible precipices, lived for centuries tribes spurning all law but their own, and combining to rob or murder every traveller adventurous enough to encounter the perils of their savage retreats. Their valleys have, from time immemorial, been traversed by caravans laden with the productions of Central Asia, but with conductors armed to the teeth. These outlaws were able even to extort black-mail from the native rulers of the Punjab. No part of the country has made greater progress under the beneficent plans for its improvement introduced by Sir Henry Lawrence. A district that required the constant presence of a strong division of the Sikh army in its neighbourhood, to prevent a people from bursting their rocky barriers, and inundating the neighbouring plains, is now ruled with the most perfect ease, and requires only a small body of police for its security. The people have, without a single exception, proved loyal. The agricultural classes have been conciliated by a very light assessment, and the peasantry, left to the management of their own chiefs, now abstain altogether from plunder, and have been brought even to pay a small contribution to the revenue. "They no longer," in the words of Sir Henry Lawrence himself, in his report as Chief Commissioner, "cultivate armed to the teeth with the sword and matchlock by their side, but they gratify their martial spirit by enlisting into British regiments, and distinguish themselves in the service as the best soldiers in India."

This remarkable transformation is doubtless due, in a great degree, to the politic lowering of the assessment by the Punjab government. The Sikhs are said to have levied as much as twelve lacks of rupees annually from the valley, and probably took as much more in a less authorized way. The British Government contents itself with taking six lacks, and probably spends as much monthly in the country. The ownership of land is now said to be eagerly sought for; within a few years, every one tried to prove that he was not a landed proprietor. Now, deeds fifty years old are hunted up and eagerly produced, and old claimants from Bokhara or Cabul frequently reappear, and try to resume their long abandoned possessions in the valley.*

Nothing has tended so greatly to reconcile the Sikh people to the change of rulers as the improved administration of justice, for which they are pre-eminently indebted to Sir Henry Lawrence. He found a simple legal machinery existing in the country, resembling in some of its features the English system of county courts. Instead of importing the complex and vexatious judicial system of India into the new province, he improved upon the primitive institutions of the people, compiled a code, and introduced some valuable additions. The system which is now in force in the Punjab is understood to work so well, and to give such complete satisfaction to the people, that we give the outline of it in the words of Sir Henry Lawrence himself:—

"We are, indeed, without elaborate laws, but we have brief rules, explaining in an accessible form, the main provisions of the several systems of native law in such matters as inheritance, marriage, adoption, testamentary or other disposition of property, and setting forth the chief principles to be observed; in other branches of the law, such as contracts, sales, mortgages, debt, commercial usage, we have the most open and liberal provisions for the admission of evidence. We have complete arrangements for reference to arbitration, and for the ascertainment of local custom. We have a procedure without any pretension to technical exactitude, but a procedure which provides for the litigants and their respective witnesses being confronted in open court, for a decision

* Cooper's Crisis in the Punjab.

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being arrived at immediately after this brief forensic controversy, and for judgment being delivered to the parties then and there. We have a method for executing decrees, which, while it allows no door to be open for evasion or delay on the part of the defendant, and thus renders a decree really valuable to the plaintiff as being capable of ready enforcement, and gives him right, free from lien, incumbrance, or doubt; yet, on the other hand, prevents the defendant from being hastily dealt with, or from being placed at the mercy of his creditor. We have small cause courts scattered all over the country, and several regular courts at every central station, so that everywhere justice is near. Our civil system may appear rough and ready. Whether it would be suited to other provinces in a different degree of civilisation, and with a different machinery at command, may be a question, but in the Punjab it attains the broad and plain object aimed at, and, without doubt, gives satisfaction to the people."*

So benevolent an administrator as Sir Henry Lawrence was not likely to overlook the importance of agriculture in a province committed to his care. He found that, as in almost all other Eastern countries, it had been for ages in an unprogressive state; and not more than one-fourth of the total area of the country was, on a careful survey, found to be under cultivation. The neglect of canals and decay of wells had converted many tracts that once teemed with plenty into a wilderness. He was instrumental in establishing an agricultural society, and induced many native chiefs and gentlemen of property to become members of it, and called their attention to the great want of the Punjab,—namely, a superior description of produce as a substitute for the excessive quantity of corn which was raised in the country. When, under the influence of favourable seasons, production became excessive, prices were forced down to ruinous rates—often as much as 50 per cent.—and widespread distress was the result. Then attention was directed to the production of flax, the growth of wool, the cultivation of tea, the establishment of grass farms on the plan of the winter meadows of Italy, and to the naturalisations of European plants and vegetables, of which the seeds were sent from England by the liberality of the Government. The Punjab is now reaping abundantly, as we shall presently show, the fruits of the provident scheme for its improvement which was then suggested by Sir Henry Lawrence.

The great works of reproductive industry required for developing the natural riches of the country, especially engaged the attention of the British Commissioner. Since the annexation, 8749 miles of new road have been constructed with more or less completeness; but the most important feature in the progress of the country has been the construction and restoration of the canals which are so essential both for transport and irrigation. The great Baree Doab Canal, between the Ravee and the Sutlej, will, when completed, traverse 466 miles of country, draining off the entire water of the Ravee during the winter months, and rolling down a body of 3000 cubic feet of water per second, diffusing fertility by its channels of irrigation for a distance of 180 miles from its source, and then available for navigation for the remainder of its course. This great work will restore animation and industry to a district which was once one of the richest in the Punjab, but which has been for ages only a scene of desolation,—a wilderness of jungle, and a haunt of wild beast. The estimated cost of its completion is one million sterling, with the certainty of returning very large profits on the outlay.

It was not to reproductive works alone that the Government turned its attention, but it took under its care the embellishment as well as the industrial development of the country. The wants of all classes were taken into consideration, and public improvements were planned that would never have been thought of by a native power. The people, in the most comprehensive sense, were considered, and their most essential wants provided for. The Sikh Government was utterly regardless of trees; and from the waste and improvidence of ages, the country had become almost totally bare, presenting, notwithstanding its natural fertility, a bleak and uninviting aspect. No people on the face of the earth appreciate more highly the refreshing verdure of trees, and the luxury of their shade, than the natives of the burning plains of India. In almost every district of the Punjab this essential want has been, or is now being, supplied; and at the end of the year 1858, it was estimated that the British authorities had planted not less than six millions of trees in various directions. In one province forty miles of road had been provided with an avenue, and in numberless places hedgerows had been planted and groves formed. Even the above number, great as it is, is said to be small relatively to the wants of the country. Four trees have been estimated as the proper number to a cultivated acre; at that rate, the cultivated area being estimated at twelve millions of acres, fifty millions of trees will be needed, *and are now being actually raised*, for these territories.

The humanity of Sir Henry Lawrence was conspicuously displayed by a measure which, more than any other, must have convinced

* General Report on the Administration of the Punjab.

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the natives of the beneficent character of their new government. He established those unheard-of institutions in India,—public dispensaries, on a large scale, at or near all the principal cities. In the course of the year 1855, 71,000 persons were relieved at these stations. The establishments are maintained at the Government expense, aided in a slight degree, by European residents. No charge is made for medicines or attendance, and these institutions constitute, in fact, a State charity on a very extensive scale.

The financial result of the few years of British administration which have elapsed since the annexation of the Punjab, is perhaps the most astonishing fact in the recent history of India. Notwithstanding the enormous expenditure upon public works, being at a rate of 15½ per cent. on the revenue, a sum of L.9,649,387 had been realized in the Punjab proper since the year 1849, to the end of the financial year 1856; and L.14,158,409 from the whole of its cis- and trans-Sutlej territories with the Punjab combined, producing a clear surplus, after the payment of all the expenses of their administration, of L.5,555,585 in seven years. No page in the annals of India will be brighter than that which records the first year of the British administration in this last and most unexceptionable of our acquisitions. Even the Supreme Council at Calcutta appears to have been roused from its habitual official reserve, and to have expressed itself in the language of unwonted emotion. "I feel," one of its members observes in an official minute, "that I do not use too strong an expresion when I say, that the efforts which began so immediately to be worked out in the Punjab are wonderful in a very high degree; and I trust I may add, without overstepping the bounds of official etiquette, that India owes a large debt of gratitude as well to the statesman who formed the general scheme for the government of the province, as to the able and energetic men who have effected, by means of it, such beneficial results."

There can be no doubt that, on the annexation of the Punjab, our Indian empire reached, and not until then, its natural and most defensable boundary. As the masters of Hindostan, the line of mountain range beyond the Indus, and not the Sutlej, is, in the opinion of all competent authorities, our true military frontier. The country of the Five Rivers had long been regarded by Indian statesmen as the natural barrier between our own territories and Affghanistan, and it was traditionally held that it was a kingdom, the independence of which it was most desirable to maintain, although it could at best be considered as only a precarious ally. It was thought that it might be made to play, with dexterous management, a highly important part in the event of India ever being seriously threatened or invaded from the north. Our diplomacy here found a field for the display of its highest skill, and the court of the Punjab was long ably managed by British residents. But the task was a difficult one, and it always needed a very strong government, like that of Runjeet Sing, to keep down the spirit of rivalry and check the ambition which was known to animate the Sikh army. Sir John Lumley, on marching through the Punjab with a division of British troops a few years before the annexation, was openly insulted in his camp by the refusal of the authorities to return his salute to the garrison of Lahore; and it was afterwards discovered that a conspiracy was formed to cut off his whole force, and that it had been defeated only by the energy of the minister. In this acquisition of territory at least, our hands are clean, and our motives admit not of being questioned. No nation ever more perseveringly strove to subjugate another than the British Government did to preserve, reform, and perpetuate the Sikh rule in the Punjab. It applied its highest administrative skill to rescue the country from anarchy, established a regency, took its young sovereign under its protection, superintended with the most self-denying industry every detail of administration, and, notwithstanding all its solicitude, was eventually obliged, by a most unjustifiable rebellion, to put an end to its nationality, and incorporate it with the Indian dominions. The necessity was fully admitted, and the act approved by Sir Henry Lawrence, elevated as his conceptions were of international morality, and shrinking as he instinctively did from any act which bore harshly upon a native race, or could cast a slur upon the British Empire. Nor did he overlook the importance of the possession of the Punjab in a strategical sense, and with reference to any possible invasion of India by the power that has been generally supposed to hope to wrest it eventually from our grasp. That he always estimated slightly the probability of a Russian invasion is true; but since the annexation of the Punjab, he treated it as an impossibility. He thus records his opinion on a subject which has been a theme of much controversy among our leading Indian statesmen:—

"There will be no Russian invasion of India; nor, probably, will the tribes be again impelled on us. The latter now understand our strength. Russia has long understood both our strength and our weakness. There will be no foolish raid as long as India is united in tranquillity and contentment under British rule. Russia well knows that

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such an attempt would only end in the entire destruction of the invaders. India *has been* invaded some forty times, but always by small armies, acting in communication with domestic parties. A small Russian army could not make good its way through Affghanistan; a large army would be starved there in a week. The largest army that could come, with Affghanistan and Persia in its train, would be met at the outlet of the only two practicable passes, and, while attempting to debouche, would be knocked to pieces. A hundred thousand Anglo-Indian troops might, with the help of railroads, be collected at each pass in as few days as it would take an *unopposed* Russian army weeks to traverse them. Hundreds of eight-inch guns would there be opposed to their field-pieces. The danger, then, is imaginary. Herat is no more the key of India than is Tabrezz, or Khiva, or Kohan, or Meshed. The chain of almost impenetrable mountains is the real key to India. England's own experience in the western passes, and in the Crimea, have proved the absurdity of the tale of Russian invasion. No, the dream is idle. *England's dangers are in India; not without.* We trust that in India they will be met, and that there will be no third Affghan campaign. Such a move would be playing Russia's game. We are safe while we hold our ground and do our duty. Russia may tease, annoy, and frighten us by her money and her emissaries. She may even do us mischief, but she will never put foot in Hindostan."

The most valuable portion of these essays is, undoubtedly, that which relates to the Indian army; and the services rendered by Sir Henry Lawrence to the cause of military reform cannot be too highly appreciated. Although he was taken from the profession which he honoured and delighted in, and summoned to higher duties in the State, his mind was constantly occupied on questions connected with the welfare of the Indian army and with plans for its improvement. He saw clearly the dangers; and his warning voice was too often lifted up in vain. The lessons which he inculcates may still be turned to account; for the problem of the reconstruction of the Indian army is, as we have before stated, still unsolved; and there is yet embodied a large native force, composed of all arms and all classes. An efficient army in India is indispensable. In the nature of things it cannot be an exclusively European army. Great Britain could not supply one without impairing her own strength and diminishing her political influence in Europe. Nor would such a course, were it practicable, be just to the natives of India. If that country cannot be ruled to some extent by the agency of its own people, we had better relinquish the thankless and unprofitable duty of keeping races in subjection whose habitual feeling is one of enmity. But no such alternative ever presented itself to the mind of Sir Henry Lawrence. He believed that India might, in time, be ruled more easily through its affections than by our arms. The great object in his military essays is, to prove that India requires an army deriving its strength, not from its numbers, but from its efficiency. He allows, indeed, we must always bear in mind, that at present we are but encamped in the land, and are "dwelling in the tents of Shem," and have yet to prove the permanence of the encampment; but his aspiration always was, "that after a fertilizing and blessed rule of centuries, we might voluntarily hand over regenerated India to her own educated and enlightened sons." Until that proud day shall arrive, we must, however, keep embodied an armed force adequate for all the reasonable purposes of police, and sufficiently large to impress the sense of the might of England upon an imaginative and excitable people. "Wellington's maxim," he says, of "keeping the troops out of sight will not answer for India. There must be trusty bayonets within sight of the understanding, if not of the eyes, of Indian subjects, before they will pay willing obedience or any revenue." But it is not, he repeatedly declares, a numerically strong army, but a contented one, with efficient officers, that is wanted. "What we want is not men, not money, but mind. A hundred men may be made to do the work of a thousand; a hundred pounds, wisely spent, may contribute more to the strength of our empire, than a thousand."

There is no doubt he wrote with prophetic sagacity in 1844, "that whatever danger may threaten us in India, the greatest is from our own troops." It was, therefore, a settled maxim with him, while giving them no legitimate cause for discontent, and paying them well, and providing for them in old age, to abstain from bestowing favours and rewards indiscriminately, and, above all, to carefully avoid giving anything or doing anything under an appearance of coercion. It was a system of strict discipline, tempered with kindness and consideration for their prejudices, that he thought best calculated to strengthen the bonds of military discipline. How far short of these prudent councils the measures of Government fell, and what fatal mistakes were committed by the administrators of the army, is unhappily now too well known to the world. Aged and incapable commanding officers ruined the *morale* of regiments, and threw discredit upon the service. The seniority system, Sir Henry Lawrence believed, worked incalculable evils to India; and, by placing incompetent men in responsible positions, impaired the British power and prestige. One

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such misplaced officer has been known to drive a thousand men into discontent, and that thousand men probably corrupted many thousands more. The evils of such men being entrusted with commands are amusingly portrayed:—

"The man who never reflected in his life cannot be expected to reflect on an emergency. An irregularity in construction of the ground puts him out; the unexpected appearance of a crabbed brigadier flusters him; the whirlwind rush of a Sir Charles Napier down the line frightens him out of his senses. Cards, manuals, catechisms, and all other helps are forgotten, and the unhappy field officer is like a babe in the wood. He loses his senses, and is alike the laughing-stock of his sable soldiers and of his younger countrymen. Is such a man—*and there are scores of them*—the fitting leader of a brigade through the Bolan or the Khybur, up the Persian Gulf, or to China or Burmah? Yet they are the men so sent, daily so selected. Can such men be expected to preserve their senses in the presence of the enemy? That such have not lost armies is no fault of the present system, but is attributable to the courage and skill of subordinates. But let not Providence be too long tempted. Rome lost her legions when commanded by generals who were soldiers only in name. Napoleon's words to brother Louis at Toulon apply to our argument. Standing in the midst of the corpses of 200 grenadiers, slain through the ignorance of their commander, at the assault of an impregnable side of Fort Phuron, he observed, 'If I had commanded here, all these brave men would be still alive. Learn, Louis, from this example, how absolutely necessary instruction is to those who aspire to command others.'"

The practical suggestions on the subject of Military reform are, in every respect, admirable; and had they been taken into consideration, and consistently carried out, the appalling mutiny of 1857 could not, in all human probability, have broken out. He placed his opinions, on every possible occasion, before the "authorities," and before the public, but they were almost entirely unheeded by those who alone had the power to give effect to them. On the annexation of Oude, the native army was disbanded; and do we not find a key to the mystery of the mutiny in the significant fact thus simply recorded by Sir Henry Lawrence, just two years before its outbreak: "The eighty or ninety thousand disbanded Oude soldiers are the Brethren of the British Sepoys!"

Among the many suggestions for increasing the efficiency of the native army and binding it to its allegiance, must be noted the very important one, which Sir Henry Lawrence always put prominently forward, namely, opening the service, in its higher grades, to natives. "There is always," he says, "danger in handling edged tools; but justice and liberality forge a stronger chain than a suspicious and niggardly policy. Our regular issue of pay and our pension establishment are the foundation-stones of our rule; and there cannot be a doubt that, for the lower orders, our service is a splendid one. But it offers no inducement to superior intellects or more stirring spirits. Men so endowed, knowing they can always gain their bread in any quarter, leave us in disgust, and rise to rank in foreign services. *Did the times avail, they would raise standards of their own, and turn against us the discipline they learned in our ranks.* Rank and competence in our service, would bind such men to our interests. It is a straw that turns the current." He suggests three descriptions of infantry: the first-class regulars, officered by a full complement of Europeans, the second class partially so officered, the third class commanded and officered entirely by natives; but the two last always employed in brigade, or at least in concert with the regular troops. There is another recommendation well worthy of attention by those who are charged with the duty of reorganizing our Indian army. He proposes to attach permanently to each European regiment, while in India, two companies or more of picked men, chiefly composed of Mussulmen and the lower castes of military Hindoos, to act as the auxiliaries and velites did with the Romans. He thinks these companies should be considered as light infantry, and, as select troops, should receive additional pay; and as Europeans cannot march in India without a detachment of natives accompanying them, the service now performed by followers might be made a duty of honour, and the sepoys of such auxiliary companies, acting habitually with Europeans, would, he believes, be found of almost equal value in the field.

Sir Henry Lawrence's notions of campaigning were somewhat of a Naperian character, and he sternly denounces the folly of attempting to combine the luxuries of peace with the duties and requirements of war. He allows, indeed, that an Indian army can never move like a European one, but insists that very much can be effected *if officers will set the example.* There was no necessity, he thinks, for a lieutenant-colonel to take three elephants, and double-poled tents and glass-doors, to Candahar; neither was it necessary, in his opinion, for subalterns to take dressing-boys and butlers, with their assistants, on their establishments during the Affghan campaigns. He proposes, that for every army there should be a director-general of baggage, with deputies and assistants for divisions and brigades

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who should be men of stern natures, with authority to burn all extra baggage, and all burthens of overloaded cattle, and indignantly protests against the very existence of armies being risked, in order to give "Cleopatra sofas and fresh bread to gentlemen whose services, at best, are ill worth such a price."

The discipline through which the officers of the Indian army have passed since the above opinions were recorded has doubtless introduced a firmer temper and a hardier spirit among them. The conduct of European officers throughout the whole of the terrible ordeal to which they were exposed, was, by universal testimony, worthy of their country and their race; and, however in ordinary times they might indulge their Sybaritic propensities, they were fully equal in the hour of trial to all that they were called upon either to do or to suffer.

The duties of an officer were never more beautifully portrayed and powerfully enforced than in the following passage, which we cannot resist the temptation of quoting:—

"It is not merely the duty of an officer to attend parade, to manœuvre a company or a regiment, to mount guard, to sanction promotions, to see the pay issued, to sign monthly returns, and to wear a coat with a standing collar. The officer has higher duties to perform—a duty to his sovereign, a duty to his neighbour, a duty to his God—not to be discharged by the simple observance of these military formalities. He stands *in loco parentis;* he is the father of his men; his treatment of them should be such as to call forth their reverence and affection, and incite in them a strong feeling of shame on being detected by him in the commission of unworthy actions. It is his duty to study their characters, to interest himself in their pursuits, to enhance their comforts, to assist and to encourage with counsel and with praise every good effort, to extend his sympathy to them in distress, to console them in affliction,—to show by every means in his power, that, though exiles from home and aliens from their kindred, they have yet a friend upon earth who will not desert them. These are the duties of the officer,—duties, too, which cannot be performed without an abundant recompense. There are many idle, good-hearted, do-nothing officers, who find the day too long, complain of the country and the climate, are devoured with ennui, and, living between excitement and reaction, perhaps in time sink into hypochondriasis; but who would, if they were to follow our advice, tendered not arrogantly but affectionately, find that they had discovered a new pleasure,—that a glory had sprung up in a shady place—that the day was never too long, the climate never too oppressive—that at their up-rising and their down-sitting serenity and cheerfulness were ever present,—that, in short, they had begun a new life as different from that out of which they had emerged as the sunshine on the top of the hill from the gloom of the abyss. Some may smile, some may sneer, some may acknowledge the truth dimly and forget it. To all we have one answer to give, couched in two very short words—'Try it.'"

It is now almost universally admitted that the dissolution of the Bengal native army was caused, not by any inherent vice in the sepoy nature, or inevitable infidelity to its officers. The system broke down with a crash, but it had been infected with rottenness in every part for a lengthened period. There were faults in its original constitution, and they were aggravated from year to year by the obstinacy or blindness of its commanders, by injurious relaxation of discipline, by inefficient officers, by timid language, too often by weak concessions and indiscriminate adulation engendering self-conceit leading on to arrogance and presumption. The services it performed in the field were generally of the most insignificant description. General officers and brigadiers *now* freely express themselves on this long-forbidden subject. In truth, the native army of Bengal, with very partial exceptions, could not be relied upon in the field. Its conduct was often disgraceful, and at Chillianwalla especially its unsteadiness exposed the mere handful of British troops to the imminent peril of defeat. In the Cabul campaign, a whole regiment that had turned their backs at the first shot was shortly afterwards seen decorated with medals to a man. It was held to be impolitic to tell the truth, and the officer who dared to publicly reveal it would probably have found his own services dispensed with in a very summary manner. Lord Clyde is reported to have recently declared, that he had often praised the conduct of the Bengal sepoys when he felt that they did not deserve it,—that such eulogy was according to form, and always expected at the seat of government. We lament the hard alternative of the distinguished commander, and we are sure that on no other occasion of his life have his expressed sentiments been in opposition to his convictions.*

The source of this military inferiority was not so much in the native character as in the manner in which he had been treated. There are periods in the earlier history of India in which the military virtues of the Bengal sepoys shone with a brightness rivalling, and, on more than one occasion, even eclipsing those of the European soldier. Under able commanders, intelligent officers, and a strict discipline, they have performed all that could be desired of troops. The late lamented General Jacob is an instance

* See Russell's Diary.

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of what one man with a knowledge of native character, can effect with the swarthy soldiers of India, when he has obtained the key to their hearts. Their loyalty to the Government could only be exceeded by their attachment to him; and the famous Scinde Horse would have felt imputation on their fidelity far more than a wound, and were ready at any moment to prove their devotion to the death.

We cannot follow in more detail Sir Henry Lawrence's recommendation for improving the *morale* and the material of a native army. His suggestions embrace a plan of opposing class to class, creed to creed, and interest to interest, not by a mixture of sects in each regiment, but by separate regiments, each consisting chiefly, though not entirely, of a single sect. The numerical strength of the European troops in India should never, he thinks, be less than one-fourth of the regular army, but should be always in the highest state of efficiency, and kept in a state of perfect readiness for action. With a view to this, Sir Henry Lawrence suggested, many years ago, that at least two-thirds of the European force required for India should be permanently located on the hills. The plan is now, we believe, being seriously entertained by the Indian Government, and is likely, in a few years, to be carried into full effect; and when we consider that one British recruit costs the country L.100, the policy is obvious, on merely pecuniary grounds, of economising human life, availing ourselves of those sources of health which India itself affords in its hill districts, and thereby maintaining the troops in a state of efficiency far greater than they could ever be if enervated by the heat of the plains and decimated by inevitable disease. It is almost incredible, that Chunar, the hottest rock in India, was permitted for years to be used as a station for European invalids. Now railroads are gradually making accessible the finest hill stations of India; and the Nielgherries, Dharjeding, Kussowlee, Mussourie, and Simla, will soon be as easily reached as they were formerly difficult of access. We shall then realize Hyder Ally's notion, and keep our Europeans in cages, ready to let slip on occasions of necessity.

There is one work of benevolence, which, as bearing on the well-being of the British soldier in India, it is impossible not to notice in connection with the services of Sir Henry Lawrence. It is the institution which bears his name and which owes its existence to his munificence. The Lawrence Asylum, located near Kussowlee, in the Himalayas, for the orphan and other children of British soldiers having served or serving in India, is now too well known to need either description or eulogy. It has placed a healthy climate, a sound moral training, and a good education, within the reach of every soldier's family in India, and the benefits are equally felt by the parents and the children. The one are relieved from all anxiety for the welfare of their offspring, and to the other are ensured a sound physical and intellectual development which could not otherwise be obtained, and which makes their services eagerly sought for, and well rewarded, in the various situations of life which are open to them as soon as their training is complete. This noble institution is doing much to increase the British element in India. It is, by its annual supply of vigorous and educated adults, gradually raising up a hardy race of colonists that must, at no distant day, greatly strengthen our position in India, and materially influence its future. Since the death of its founder, and the consequent loss of a considerable portion of its revenue, we are happy to learn that the Government, in a spirit of the highest wisdom and beneficence, has taken upon itself the whole cost of its maintenance, fully adopted the views of its originator, and made it a public institution.*

Prolific as India has been in great administrators, few ever effected so much, and is so short a time, as Sir Henry Lawrence in the province which he ruled. He was of that school of public men, to whom expediency is strictly subordinated to justice. It was the confidence which his character inspired that made the task of pacification so easy in the Punjab; and no public officer probably ever existed in India, better qualified to represent the British nation, or to embody and show forth in his character and acts the spirit with which it is actuated towards the people of India. It is as the pacificator and regenerator of the Punjab, that the name of Lawrence will illustrate the recent history of British empire. His influence over the people was unbounded. His presence alone at Lahore, in 1847, seemed to check the refractory spirit of the Sikh soldiery. Fearless and confident, he

* We give the following extract from the description of the asylum, and its results, by a gentleman who visited it:—"The personal appearance of the pupils, both male and female, really astonished me, suddenly arriving, as I did, from among the languid forms and pale faces of the southern plains. I felt as if I had dropped from the clouds, among groups of children, on the breezy, heathery slopes of the Grampians, they all looked so hale and stout, so imbued with athletic energy; while their round and chubby cheeks seemed to vie in glowing blushes with the freshest rose of summer."

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went unattended among them, attaching them by acts of kindness, and controlling them by the energy of his administration. His temporary absence in England proved the signal for disturbances, which brought him back to public life, but too late to avert the rebellion which ensued. The private virtues are the source of all public excellence. Those of Sir Henry Lawrence were as conspicuous as his services were great. Indefatigable in the discharge of his duties, he was a rigid exacter of "work" from all who held office under him. With a heart of feminine softness, and a tenderness for the feelings of others, that to more rugged natures sometimes almost assumed the appearance of weakness, he displayed an immoveable firmness of purpose when he had to deal with tyranny or wrong. He was feared for his justice, quite as much as he was loved for his beneficence. In the highest part of his character, that of an earnest and consistent Christian, he was unsurpassed by any individual in India; and it may be long before we shall again see the skilful administrator, the military reformer, the sagacious statesman, and the active philanthropist so beautifully blended and usefully combined as in the eminent man whose services we have briefly sketched, and whose memory must always be held in the most reverential estimation, not only in the country which was the immediate sphere of his duties, but in that which has the honour to number him among her sons, and by the Empire whose interests he greatly contributed to advance, and whose true glory it was ever his highest ambition to promote.

ART. IV.—*Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines; together with the Proceedings of Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendices.* By Authority: JOHN FERRIS, Government Printer, Melbourne. 1859.

IN close alliance with the geographical element in human knowledge are several questions, the general solution of which is fitted to exercise a salutary influence on the progress of scientific inquiry, and the advancement of the highest interests of society. Of these questions, however, some of the most significant are peculiarly liable to neglect, partly because, at first sight, they seem trivial and superficial; but mainly, perhaps, because of the intrusive inroads of the logical faculty on the legitimate domain of the law of association, and the consequent depreciation, by minds of a certain order, of any method of intellectual culture that is apparently opposed to the claims of a rigorous dialectic.

That an exact answer to the question, in what direction do the principal rivers of a new country flow? cannot, of course, be received from any description, however faithful, of their characteristic fishes, or the plants that adorn their banks, is a proposition too obvious to require any detailed exposition. No such organic connection subsists between the naked phenomena of *locality* and *life*, as will allow any question regarding the former to be directly replied to by the latter.

From the stimulus, however, that is naturally imparted to the thoughtful explorer of any new region, by the presence of living forms, animal or vegetable, more especially if such are of a novel character, all questions regarding the strictly inorganic features of the district in which they occur cannot fail to assume an increase, alike of definiteness in form and urgency of import. In some vital respects, indeed, the manifold activities of life and growth,—of organic, rather than inorganic phenomena,—are a needful auxiliary to the distinct apprehension and serviceable remembrance of the merely visible bearings of the earth's surface, but especially of such portions of it as have not been directly submitted to the chain and theodolite of the surveyor.

And in this view both of the desirable excitement and the associative links of thought that are supplied by the presence of life, in its relation to the definition of the mere geography of a country, the most minute and trivial portions of a thoughtful traveller's observations assume no mean or transient importance. Attaching a positive value to the smallest fragments of fact, and even to their most limited engagements of the suggestive faculty of thought, the shrewd inquirer into the local arrangements of nature, as presented to the eye, in different regions, will promptly accept illustrations, however faint and remote, of his determining principles of inquiry. He will not, for example, peremptorily refuse to appreciate the feelings of a venerable judge in former days, whose lively botanical predilections were wont occasionally to exceed the due limits of senatorial self-restraint; because, in that delighted twinkle of the eye, when, as on one occasion, he unexpectedly beheld from his carriage-window a pre-eminently handsome specimen of the common harebell, a silent but emphatic expression of his having acquired a more distinct knowledge of

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the surrounding district, was unconsciously implied. In that sharply realised habitat of that very simple plant, for the first time, a clue to far wider relations in the organic and inorganic constitution of the environing landscape had been indirectly vouchsafed.

Nor, if the subtle bonds of sympathy, that, winding in mystic mazes through the thoughts of the poet, link together in fertile union the inward law of interpretation with the outward facts of observation, be recognised as of legitimate influence in the structure of true knowledge, will the following brief narrative of a summer noon's walk be devoid of instruction as to the suggestive nature of living things, when viewed in the light of stepping-stones to a more intelligible acquaintance with the visible scenes in which they occur, and a more enlarged conception of the landscape of which such scenes form a part.

"When," remarks the Rev. Perceval Graves, in a charming letter to Mr. Woodward in Archer Butler's Life, "we reached the side of Loughrigtarn (which you may remember Wordsworth notes for its similarity, in the peculiar character of its beauty, to the Lago de Nemi, Dianæ Speculum), the loveliness of the scene arrested our steps and fixed our gaze. The splendour of a July noon surrounded us and lit up the landscape, with the Langdale Pikes soaring above, and the bright tarn shining beneath; and when the poet's eyes were satisfied with their feast on the beauty familiar to them, they sought relief in the search, to them a happy vital habit, for new beauty in the flower-enamelled turf at his feet. There his attention was attracted by a fair, smooth stone of the size of an ostrich's egg, seeming to imbed at its centre, and, at the same time, to display a dark star-shaped fossil of most distinct outline. Upon closer inspection, this proved to be the shadow of a daisy projected upon it with extraordinary precision, by the intense light of an almost vertical sun."

But, moreover, in recognising the importance of organic forms—the characteristic mammal or bird, or attractive blossom of a prevailing tree—in relation to man's more definite and memorable acquaintance with the superficial features of any region, it is also deserving of special remark, that, in submission to the laws of the inorganic phenomena of nature, living beings constantly receive lasting impressions from these, and are moulded by them into various impressive forms. It is, indeed, impossible so to analyse the history of any one species of animal or plant, as to trace the sources of its specific colours, or describe the causes of the different proportions of the raw materials of organic or inorganic chemistry, that in different parts of the earth enter into its manifold tissues. Of the many formative influences of life, however, when selecting the appropriate materials as they exist in a crude form, that unique force quietly transforms them into novel shapes—giving to the eye its characteristic pigment, to the muscle its fibre, to the nerve its sheath, and to the bone its cells—every man, who at any time asks himself the simplest questions regarding his own flesh and blood, is fully aware. While, in the presence of *life*, accordingly, there is a stimulus to the better knowledge of *locality*, in the material phenomena, also, of a country, there are, to some extent, the means of interpreting living forms. Man, for example, is not only the creature of animal causes—nutrition, growth, decay—he is also the result of a daily inorganic synthesis. The living soul, on which no physical agency can exert any direct effect, and which, amidst the ceaseless transformations of dead matter around it, is ever consciously the same, is the tenant of the dust, and the neighbour of corruption.

In judging, therefore, of the manifold varieties in which man's animal life makes itself known, in different regions of the world, it is of vital importance to be ever on the watch to form a due estimate of the influence, exerted on their respective structures and functions by the inorganic phenomena amidst which they were originally produced, and by which they have been gradually moulded. Anything, of course, like a complete explanation of the manifold causes of the present condition of any one aspect of the human family, or of the extent to which the primary type has been affected by the agency of the essential laws of matter, during the vast periods of time that have elapsed since its creation, is obviously impossible. Why the Ugrian stock of man, for example, should embrace within it the Lap and the Magyar, between whom very wide differences indeed obtain, both physically and morally, is a question for the solution of which no more sufficient materials can be had, than for the explanation of the common descent of the Caucasian and Oceanic varieties from the first parents of our race. But in the view of giving to the reader such an impressive view of physical and moral extremes in the various races of man, as may tend to enhance the importance of an inquiry into the influences of geographical distribution upon the latter, we give the following extracts, which are not more instructive than suggestive, from Dr. Latham's "Varieties of the Human Race:"—

"The Western Ugrians consist of the Laplanders, the Finlanders, the Pamians, Siranians and

Votiaks of the Russian governments of Perm, Vologda, and Viatka; the Tsheremiss, the Mordvins, the Tshuvash, on the Middle Volga; the Voguls and Ostiaks on the ridge of the Ural mountains, and along the rivers Obi and Yenesey, and finally the Majiars of Hungary. Between the extreme types there are broad differences, *e. g.*, between the Laps and Majiars. So there is in respect to their social and intellectual histories.

"In regard to physical form, the Ugrians are light-haired rather than dark,—many of them are red-haired. This is the first stock where the colour has, in any notable proportion, been other than dark.

"The Majiars of Hungary belong to the Ugrian stock,—a fact which has long been known to philologues, but which is not sufficiently flattering to the Majiar pride to be willingly admitted. So, however, it is. But as the Majiars are outlyers, having conquered Hungary from the southern part of the Uralian Mountains, they lie beyond the true Ugrian area, just as the Osmanli of Rumelia lie beyond the Turks. Laying aside, however, the Majiars, the Ugrian stock extends far southwards, and far westward as well,—to Lapland in the latter direction, to the *Mordvin* country in the former. Now, the Mordvins occupy parts of the Russian governments of Karan, Saratov, Simbrisk, and Tamboo. So that the Ugrians extend as far south as the latitude of Lombardy and Piedmont—Northern Italy; thence to the Arctic circle, as aforesaid.

"The northernmost portions of the Ugrian area are *tundras*. Here the inhabitants are nomadic, with the rein-deer for their domestic animal. They live, too, in tents. Elsewhere, however, the Ugrian dwells in houses, and tills the soil. The tribual organization grows less prominent as we advance westwards. The steppe gives way to the forest, for alluvial tracts, thickly wooded, are occupied by the various Ugrian populations along the whole of the upper and middle Volga. There are no great mountains in the Ugrian area; the most considerable range being that of the Uralians, between Europe and Asia. These are cold and inhospitable; not because they attain any great elevation, but because they run far towards the north, and lie far inland. Their occupants are the Voguls, a population of hunters in the country of the bear, the beaver, the glutton, and the elk,—hunters of the *forest* rather than of the *prairie* or open country.

"As hunters of the extra-tropical forest rather than the open country, the Voguls are the most northern tribe of the world—as hunters of game rather than as fishers. This last is what their neighbours are—the Ostiaks of the rivers Obi and Yenesey. Contrast these two tribes with their neighbours of the south and west—with the Ugrians of the leveller country, and the alluvial soils on the Viatka and Rama—and we see the difference between the life of agriculture and a life of venatorial activity. The size of the villages gives us the means of comparison. With the Voguls, the villages consist of some five or ten huts, made of poles, branches, bark, or skins, with a distance between them of not less than ten or twelve miles; so much free space being necessary to the sustenance of the hunter. The Tsheremiss villages number from thirty to forty houses. The Tshuvash are larger still.

"The Vogul and Ostiak are undersized, even as compared with the agricultural tribes—not, however, as compared with those of the tundras. Their face is eminently Mongol; so much so, that the eminent geographer Malte Brun, has allowed himself to believe that they are a 'Kalmuc population, conquered at some far back period by th Hungarians, who imposed upon them their language.' No philologue, however, assents to this. The Voguls are the more Mongol of the two.

"The word *Hungarian* introduces a new series of facts. It is to these venatorial and piscatorial Ugrians—these Voguls of the Uralian ridge, and these Ostiaks of the lower Obi—that the Majiars of Hungary are the most closely allied, at least in language. How is this explained? That the Majiars are an intrusive population, who invaded Europe from the north-east, in the tenth century, is a matter of history. That their original country was the southern part of the Urals, is a matter of almost equal certainty. If so, they were the third branch of a Uralian division of the Ugrian stock, whereof the Voguls and Ostiaks were the other two. But their habits have changed. So have those of the Ugrians of Vologda and Viatka, who were once hunters like the Vogul, but are now tillers of the soil like the Finlander and the Esthonian.

"To the characters of the Majiars of the tenth century, when they won their present quarters, let the old chronicle writers give their testimony:—'Out of the aforesaid parts of Scythia did the nation of the Hungarians, very savage, and more cruel than any wild beast,—a nation that some years ago was not even known by name,—when pressed upon by the neighbouring people of the name of Petshinegs, came down upon us; for the Petshinegs were strong, both in numbers and valour, and their own soil was not sufficient to sustain them. From the violence of these the Hungarians fled, to seek some other lands that they might occupy, and to fix their settlements elsewhere. So they said *Farewell* to their old country. At first they wandered over the solitudes of the Pannonians and Avars, seeking their daily sustenance from the chase, and by fishing. Then they broke in upon the boundaries of the Carinthians, Moravians, and Bulgarians, with frequent attacks. *Very few did they slay with the sword—many thousands with their arrows*, which they shot with such a skill, from bows made of horn, that it was scarcely possible to guard against them. This manner of warfare was dangerous in proportion as it was unusual. The only difference between the Hungarian manner of fighting and that of the Britons (*sic*), is, that the former use arrows, the latter darts.' Again: 'They never know the ways of either a town or a dwelling, and they never fed upon the fruits of human labour until they came to that part of Russia which is called Susudal. Till then, their food was flesh and fish. Their youths were hunting every day; hence, from that day to this, the Hungarians are better skilled than other nations in the chase.'

"Looking solely at the physical conditions of this area, and remembering that he belongs to the most northerly group on the face of the earth, we may place the country of the Ugrians amongst the more favoured portions of the extra-tropical world. The oak and lime grow in its southern

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parts; the fir and birch extend beyond the Arctic circle in the northern. There is abundance, too, of mineral wealth. Nevertheless, the Ugrian population is scanty, fragmentary, and dependent. It lies between two stocks eminent for their aggressive character, — the Turk on the east, the Russian on the west. For this reason there is only one country where the stock is well represented, and that is, the Duchy of Finland. In the Duchy of Finland alone, about one-half of the whole Ugrian population is contained. Here, and in Esthonia, we find the Ugrians, for the first time, in contact with a practicable sea; for the Arctic Ocean, which washes the seaboard of the Laps and Siberians, can scarcely be taken into account as an instrument of civilisation. But the Baltic connects the Western Ugrians with the nations that best represent European civilisation, — the German and the Swedes. Here, though the physical conditions of soil and climate are but indifferent, the social development of the Ugrian stock attains its best development; better, however, in Finland than Esthonia.

"The Northern Finlanders come in contact with the more southern Laps; the relations between the two divisions being of interest. In language they are liker than in bodily organization and habits. On the other hand, the bodily organization of the Lap is more like that of the Samoyed than is his language. Hence, the evidence of the two tests, or criteria — the anatomical and philological—differs.

"I believe, however, that the difference is greater in appearance than in reality; inasmuch as, at one time, the Laps were extended much further south than at present, and that on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia. Thus they covered nearly the whole of Norway and Sweden,—some say the *whole.* This was, of course, before the forefathers of the present Finlanders moved northwards, and before the forefathers of the present Norwegians and Swedes did so. As the one encroached, the other retreated. This is the history of the weaker families of mankind all the world over. But this is not all. Wherever two families of strongly contrasted frames and habits are brought into close geographical juxtaposition, and there is no corresponding change of the physical conditions of their respective areas, there has always been encroachment and intrusion on the one side or the other; on the side of the more southern population of the two, when the area is Arctic or Sub-Arctic, or the side of the more northern of the two when the area is Tropical or Sub-Tropical. Now, the result of such encroachments is the obliteration of transitional and intermediate forms. That the Finlander has encroached on the Lap is a matter of history; that he continues to do so is a matter of observation.

"As the eastern Ugrians are amongst the most American of the Asiatics, the western are amongst the most European."

Now, keeping in view the ceaseless drafts made by man's complex nature on inorganic matter, and the transforming laws to which that is subject, — the vital, chemical, electrical laws, — for the supply of physical stamina, sensational impressions, and the exciting occasions of pure thought, the reflections promoted by the foregoing extracts cannot fail to prove of much significance and fruitfulness as to their legitimate issue. Questions manifold will ever come forth, almost unbidden, and importunately demand at least a partial reply. Why is it, for instance, that, as Captain Beechey informs us, in the same Archipelago of Amphinesia, the darker skins are found in those tribes that inhabit the lower and coralline islands, while in the occupants of higher and volcanic islands lighter skins prevail? And why, in allied divisions of the same stock of men, do crisp, short, dense locks, characterise one section, while in another, a loose, lank, thin, style of hair, seems to be a permanent feature; and is there any direct connection between the prominent rocks and plants of a country, and the kind or quantity of bone, nerve, or colour, that obtains in its living inhabitants, in plants, beast, and man? Is there any basis, in fact, for the inference that, in Great Britain, the light and dark eye in man prevails or declines in proportion as the prevailing rocks of the district belong to the Carboniferous or Silurian series?

But we must now request the attention of the reader to the many illustrations, direct and suggestive, of not a few of these inviting questions that are supplied by the various instructive statements of a purely ethnological character, embodied in the Report which we have selected as the groundwork of this paper.

As the circumstances in which this document had its origin, will be found peculiarly interesting to such readers as studiously mark the vital, though indirect, effects of well-guided scientific inquiries on the highest interests of mankind, it may be well to explain these as communicated by the Hon. Thomas M'Combie, the Convener of the Select Committee appointed by the Legislative Council of Victoria to inquire into the condition of the Aborigines:

"Some time ago," Mr. M'Combie remarks, in the initial words of a communication, on the Aborigines of Victoria, to the Ethnological Section of the British Association met at Aberdeen, "the Ethnological Section forwarded to me at Melbourne, Victoria, a printed list of queries in reference to races likely to become extinct. I was requested to reply to all, or at any rate to such as might be suitable to the position, or bear on the character, of the Australian aborigines.

"In order that the subject might receive full justice, and have the widest possible attention, I moved for and obtained a Committee of the Legislative Council of Victoria, of which I was elected chairman. This Committee was granted not merely to gain all the information which could be acquired regarding them, but also to devise some means of improving their condition,

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and providing for their wants. In addition to the reception of evidence from a number of competent witnesses, questions were framed and widely circulated, and replies received from a large number of persons scattered over the interior. I was also favoured with the assistance of Dr. Becker and Mr. Soyer to obtain diagrams of aboriginal heads, which were skilfully engraved, and beautiful prints have been added to the report and evidence. I have, moreover, attached to this document two complete grammars of the aboriginal language, an account of the Pooindie School, and various other documents."

To the admirable manner in which Mr. M'Combie and his committee have accomplished their design, every page of this Report affords distinct and full testimony. A most instructive record of the wide aims and benevolent spirit of its authors, it is also replete with information, equally significant and pathetic, of the extreme degradation and the intensely rapid disappearance of the black man of Australia.

In briefly noticing some of the more prominent topics of ethnological import that are either expressly explained or are naturally suggested by references and hints of a more occasional nature in the pages of this valuable document, we shall have regard, though not exclusively, to their bearing on the higher interests of that unhappy race that forms the special subject of the Report.

To one or two preliminary sentences, however, of a more general kind, in explanation of the physical geography, the relations, organic and inorganic, of the Oceanic Archipelago, it will be needful to solicit the sustained attention of the reader; because not a few of the most instructive results of a careful investigation of the early history of the original inhabitants of Australia, in the more restricted meaning of the term, imply rather intricate processes of special study, and a nice adjustment of numerous details of fact.

In thoughtfully passing the eye, then, over any map allowing at once an entire view of the three groups, into which the vast assemblage of islands—to which some geographers have given the name of Oceanica—and which are situated between the 24th parallel of north and the 50th of south latitude, and between 92° east and 109° west longitude, it will, we believe, be felt, even by the most prosaic persons, to be no merely idle trick of fancy, to conjecture that they are the fragments of a former continent or continents.

For, not to dwell at any length on the impressive circumstance that the mountain chains exhibit a very marked polarity of arrangement, we would point to another fact, no less expressive of physical continuity throughout the Archipelago, that the axis of the great mountain range, which, rising in Van Diemen's Land, and then passing out of sight beneath the waters of Bass' Strait, once more rears its noble summits in the Australian Alps, is geologically extended into the southern coast of New Guinea. Whilst, moreover, evidences of convulsion by the agency of volcanoes arrest the eye of the speculative navigator at various points throughout these widespread islands, it is, at the same time, impossible for him to trace the outlines, more especially of the larger masses of land, without acknowledging that an incalculable amount of abrading and dislocating pressure has been excited upon them by the surrounding seas.

In the floras, also, of Australia, Papua, and New Zealand, there are specially close alliances; while, in still more remote members of the same vast insular aggregate, the obvious representation of one kindred genus of plants by another, is indicative of important conclusions respecting their common origin and uniform diffusion.

And, in leaving conjectures regarding the causes of similarities, more or less marked, in the distribution of animal and plant life over islands more or less divided, throughout the wide area of the Australasian seas, for inquiries as to the different races of man, in connection with the higher animals, that when wild contribute to his daily food, or when domesticated promote his social prosperity and comfort, there are many circumstances in his condition, both as regards other vital phenomena, and their necessary relations to prevailing kinds of inorganic matter, that seem to indicate a common origin and a similar diffusion. Of the means, indeed, by which these vast groups of islands were prepared for the reception of their various living occupants, their now prevailing animals and plants, and especially for the appearance of man, history cannot, of course, afford any explanation. It is obviously vain to ask questions where several answers are all equally probable, or where, because of a prevailing obscurity, almost no room whatever is left for conjecture. At the same time, it does not appear to exceed the limits of legitimate inference regarding the present physical and moral features of the existing human aborigines of Oceanica, to ascribe to their hereditary circumstances of various soils and climates, and to an intensely promiscuous intercourse of the sexes—that naturally inducing a profound disturbance of the better conditions of offspring, is also a too sure preparative for fatal familiarity with imported forms of vice—what

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ever departures from a common type may exist among them.

As existing, moreover, within the historic period, and included in that class of facts, from the explanation of which, considerations of important results in man, through the agency of inorganic laws, are commonly excluded, certain points of agreement in the languages of the Archipelago form an influential complement to the impressive indications of a common origin, not only in the physical structure of the islands, but also in their original living tenants, to which we already adverted. Because it is deserving of special remark, that, deep and massive though the obscurity be that invests the general history of these languages, it is in some measure needful to the most likely explanation of any one of them, that they be conjecturally grouped together by the comparative philologer, in almost entirely the same order as that by which the geographer and naturalist are theoretically led to associate the islands and their natural productions.

But, in the view of affording the most authoritative elucidation of these views within our reach, we submit to the careful study of the reader another valuable extract from Dr. Latham.

"The Oceanic Group.—*Area:* the Peninsula of Malacca, Sumatra, Java, and the chain ending in Timor and Rotti; Borneo, and the chain leading to the Phillippines; the Bashi and Babyani Isles; Formosa, Celebes, and the Moluccas; the islands between Timor and New Guinea; Madagascar.

"*Divisions:* Amphinesian and Kelænonesian.

"The Peleu Isles and Lord North's Isle; Micronesia (*i.e.*, the Caroline and Marianne Islands).

"Polynesia (*i.e.*, the Navigators', Society, Friendly, Marquesan, and Sandwich Island groups); Easter Island and New Zealand.

"The Fiji Islands.

"New Guinea, and the islands to the east thereof (*i.e.*, Louisiade Archipelago, etc.); Tanna, New Caledonia.

"Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land).

"Australia.

"*Language:* Agglutinate rather than monosyllabic, when Amphinesian, with patent and recognised affinities to the Malay; when Kelænonesian, with Malay affinities fewer, more obscure, and only partially recognised.

"*Physiognomy:* when Amphinesian, more brown (or yellow) than black, also more Mongol than Negro; when Kelænonesian, more black than brown (or yellow), and as much Negro as Mongol."

But we must now leave these general views, and proceed to the more detailed explanations that are demanded by our present design.

According to the information contained in the most recent maps, the colony of Victoria lies between the parallels of 34° and 39° south, and the meridians of 141° and 150°. It embraces an area of 98,000 square miles. Southward, its winding boundary extends from Cape Howe on the east, to the mouth of the river Glenelg on the west, and is washed by 900 miles of sea. Its northern frontier is skirted throughout almost its entire extent by the great waters of the Murray, to which the rivers Loddon, Goulburn, and Ovens, with numerous other smaller streams descending in a northerly direction from the leading water-sheds in the interior of the colony, largely contribute. Generally, the climate is mild and pleasant, though, at certain seasons of the year, dry parching winds from the north prevail. As first beheld by its earliest explorers, the widespread plains of luxuriant grass, dotted by shady groves of trees, suggested its earlier name of Australia Felix. Remarkably free from brushwood, the surface allows an immediate introduction of tillage as well as cattle, and thus presents a marked contrast to the primitive state of almost all other colonies; a circumstance which has not been overlooked by those writers who have described its peculiar advantages as a settlement.

In the words of Mr. Westgarth, "Victoria, and indeed Australia generally, has been, by the natural features of the country, more favoured than most others of our colonial settlements, as regards that preliminary physical drudgery of every new country by which colonial society is long withheld, more or less, from the higher aspects of refinement and civilisation. The beauties of cultivation presented almost everywhere throughout England, as we rapidly traverse by modern modes of travel; the varied surface of our noble country; the alternate port and garden; the every aspect of the arts and appliances of man,—represented the accumulated achievements of human toil, graduated over centuries since the age when the forest, the bog, and the morass formed the conspicuous features. If we transfer our view to the backwoods of America, we perceive the recommencement, as it were, of the same labour, and a society depressed in its outward aspects by the daily sweat and toil in which it is continually immersed. But the free grassy surface of a great part of Australia, ready made for the plough, has overstepped a long age of such customary

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colonial toil, and saved her fortunate sons from a century of physical warfare."

Of the aboriginal possessors of this colony —if any such term as possession may be used where occupation of the soil is so fluctuating and uncertain—and of the changes that have occurred since their earliest introduction into it, no materials of history exist. In so far, however, as the earliest records of Australian discovery seem entitled to reliance, the natives of Victoria, so long as they have been known to intelligent observers, may generally be described in the words first applied to the natives of other parts of the continent.

When Dampier landed, in January 1688, on the coast of New Holland, he found the natives sunk in the most abject physical and moral degradation. Destitute alike of houses and clothing, they were also ignorant of the most common forms of religion and government. Nor, while making all legitimate allowance for misconceptions, arising from inadequate knowledge of the true intellectual and moral condition of the Australian black, on the part of the earlier navigators and explorers, can a much more flattering description be given of him at the present day. He is still one of the most abnormal specimens of the human family.

Physically, the aborigines of Victoria, like the other sad decaying remnants of their race in other parts of Australia, are not only misshapen in outline, owing to the marked disproportion between the cranium and the limbs, but they are also characterised by a very great deficiency of bone throughout the skeleton generally. On the extreme frontiers of degraded humanity, their osseous system is evidently dying out. In sharp contrast to the ascending ratio of the endoskeleton in the upward scale of animal life, according to the most philosophical, because the most natural arrangement of the animal kingdom, the chemical proportions of the solid textures of the body in the native Australian seem to be steadily diminishing.

Let us take, in the way of eliminating this special point, the Australian style of head as shown by the "skull of King John, a chief of the Adelaide tribe," which is given in an appendix to the Report, and which, according to Dr. Ludwig Barker, is a typical character of the Australian race. In its parietal diameter it measures 5⅛ inches, in the occipito frontal 7½, and in the width of forehead between the temples 3¾. In every view—profile, front face, as seen from behind, and also from above—it is eminently the brain-case of a savage of the lowest and weakest form. The jaws are strongly marked by that peculiar prolongation or extension forward, that prevails also among the most degraded of the African nations, though the heads of the latter have their characteristic differences. In its superior segment, the cranium is of a pyramidal form. In front, when regarded on the upper surface, it is as remarkable for attenuation in breadth as it is for the direct aspect of the frontal sinus. Nor, when viewed in relation to intellectual capacity, do such inferior measures of accommodation for the use of the brain greatly belie the miserable native of Australia.

"If a line," remarks Professor Owen, "be drawn from the occipital condyle along the floor of the nostrils, and be intersected by a second touching the most prominent parts of the forehead and upper jaw, the intercepted angle gives, in a general way, the proportions of the cranial cavity and the grade of intelligence; it is called the facial angle. In the dog this angle is 20°, in the great chimpanzee, or gorilla, it is 40°, but the prominent super-orbital ridge occasions some exaggeration; in the Australian it is 85°, in the European it is 95°. The ancient Greek artists adopted, in their *beau ideal* of the beautiful and intellectual, an angle of 100°."

And on a comparison of their countenances and figures, when we take the *soft* parts of the frame which have their own distinct function in the expression of man's nature, as well as the *bony*, a similar result, as may naturally be expected, comes strongly out. In seeking for a test, we need not go higher in the scale of man than what is presented in a good specimen of the Hindoo. What more truly picturesque, and in certain aspects beautiful in contour, than the features and bust of Ram Ruttun, a Brahman, and secretary of Ram Mohun Roy, as given by Dr. Prichard in his "Natural History of Man." In the want of high serene repose, indeed, or, to use perhaps more exact terms, in the deep, strong, fiery passions that will not be concealed by the best-wrought veil of a purely Indian culture, the grand primary expressions of human elevation—an earnest thoughtfulness, simple affection, and humility—are painfully awanting. Most unmistakeably, however, it is one of the children of men, though widely distant from the highest ideal of our kind that is before the eye, in these Eastern outlines and hues, the regular features, the dolikho kephalic head, and the brunette rather than black skin. Nor, when estimating Ram Ruttun's ethnographic position, even from the elevated point of view peculiar to the most highly refined inhabitants of Western Europe, can any obstacles be experienced

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to such a judgment of the manifold sources of the physical and moral modifications of the human species, as will admit of a secure assent to the inference, that in the osseous framework of the face, the peculiar shape as well as markings of the eye, the mould of the lips, and the characteristic set of the head on the shoulders, the identification of their possessor with the other descendants of one single pair, in the beginning of time, is alike simple and just. These unique features, obviously, can only be scientifically explained by associating him with the other members of that sole genus among mammalia, of which there is but a single species.

In another part, however, of his great work, Prichard illustrates the extent to which strong and repulsive contrasts in physical form and features may prevail in different races. Two Australian natives of King George's Sound, as figured by M. D'Urville in his great atlas, are set before us at page 355. Attenuated in bulk, and weak in outline, almost to marked deformity, there is also a very strong disproportion in the size of the head and the limbs. A painful resemblance to the *Cretin* at once arrests the eye, and painfully affects the heart with the conviction, that nowhere else on the earth does man so obviously indicate in his skeleton—its amount and quality of bone—in his relaxed caste of muscular development, abject mould of features, and entire style, a fatal tendency to extinction.

At the same time, it must be admitted, that legitimate as such conclusions seem to us to be, opinions by no means so derogatory to the *physiognomy of the Australian black man* are entertained by writers fully entitled to use words of authority on this point. It is, for example, in the following terms that Pickering describes those natives whom he personally saw :—

"About thirty Australians came under my own observation, who neither had the lips so uniformly thick, nor the nose so much depressed, as in the Negro ; but in certain instances both nose and mouth were wider. Some individuals were of surpassing ugliness, while others, contrary to all anticipation, had the face decidedly fine, and several of the young women had a very pleasing expression of countenance. The general form, though sometimes defective, seemed, on the average, better than that of the Negro ; and I did not find the undue slenderness of limb which has been commonly attributed to the Australians. Strange as it may appear, I would refer to an Australian as the finest model of the human proportions I have ever met with ; in muscular development combining perfect symmetry, activity, and strength, while his head might have compared with an antique bust of a philosopher."

Mr. M'Combie also, in his paper on the Aborigines of Victoria, read at a recent meeting of the British Association, while expressing his full concurrence in these strong opinions of Pickering, at the same time expressed himself as follows :—"The Australian aborigines are active, strongly-formed, and stately."

On this opposition of sentiment, however, we will not enlarge, there being but few data embraced by the report that seem to us to lend any material support to more flattering conclusions than such as have been expressed by other observers. We will merely subjoin the following table of relative physical proportions, leaving the reader to form his own estimate of its import and value. It was laid before the select committee by Mr. Strutt :—

Name.	Weight.		Height.		Measures round the Chest.	
	Stone.	lbs.	Feet.	In.	Feet.	In.
Daniel	10	0	5	7¼	2	10
Johnny Johnny	10	0	5	5	2	10
Billy	8	0	5	4½	2	8
Jack	9	4	5	4	2	8½
Larry	10	10	5	8¼	3	0¾
Billy Toole	10	0	5	4¼	3	0¼
Murray	10	0	5	6¼	2	11¼
King John	11	12	5	9¾	3	1
Flora	9	0	4	10¼	3	2

No other woman could be persuaded to be weighed or measured.

Generally, as may naturally be anticipated, the black man of Victoria, in common with all the other tribes of his race, and the savage universally, is marked intellectually by a very great disproportion between his perceptive and reflective faculties. On this subject the following graphic delineation, by Mr. M'Combie, of the general accuracy of which the Report generally supplies many interesting confirmations, will prove interesting to our readers :—

"They are exceedingly quick and keen, their minds resembling rather a treasure which has been sealed up than a vacuum. Their perceptive faculties are of the very highest order, according to my own observation and all the evidence which I have been able to collect on the subject; but they have a great want in their reflective faculties. In imitating their civilised brethren, in mimicking, in drawing rude figures and likenesses of objects, they are very happy. If you examine a picture with one of these untutored children of nature, you would be astonished at his observations ; not an outline escapes his flashing eye. In most of the rude arts with which a race so isolated could have become acquainted, they are perfect. In throwing the spear and bomerang they are quite inimitable. The latter

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well-known weapon displays a greater amount of ingenuity than the world can boast of; and our most scientific countrymen have not been able to master the principle upon which its strange gyrations are guided. In shooting with any kind of firearms, and in managing horses, the aborigines shame civilised men by their expertness. Their quickness in pursuing game, or tribes with whom they are at war, is worthy of remark. They can detect the proximity of game with unerring correctness: they will creep after a kangaroo for miles; during the time that the glance of the animal is toward them, those in pursuit are like so many statues,—the trees around them are not to appearance more destitute of volition. By slow degrees they near the game, and the hunter, securely concealed behind a favouring tree, takes deadly aim with his spear, and lays the monarch of the Australian forest low. Their aim is quite as accurate with the bomerang; thrown in the opposite direction, it returns unerringly, and hits the intended object."

Several inferences of vital import will, we doubt not, promptly suggest themselves to every thoughtful reader of this passage, not only as regards the educational necessities of these aborigines, but also with respect to certain grave defects in the culture, even of the most highly civilised communities. Why, for example, it may be asked, is there so ripe an education of the observational senses in the untutored savage, who enjoys no opportunities of intellectual improvement, when some men of high philosophic reason and ample furniture of thought, are so often almost entirely destitute of a capacity for seeing what they look at? Is it not humiliating to witness how little an almost absolute imbecility in judging of the most familiar products of air, earth, and sea, tends to affect the conscience or lowers the pretensions even of some of the teachers of mankind? What a marked contrast between the dull senses of such men, and the highly educated eye of the roaming savage, of whom Campbell in former days so sweetly sang—

"Then forth uprose that lone wayfaring man;
But dauntless he, nor chart, nor journey's plan
For woods required; whose trained eye was keen
As eagle of the wilderness, to scan
His path, by mountain, swamp, or deep ravine,
Or ken far friendly huts on far savannas green."

"If," as that most memorable man, the late Dr. John Fleming, whose special mission and faculty as a teacher so few of our modern guides in theological science seem to understand or care to imitate, used to say, "I can promote the education of the eye, if I can help those that have eyes so to use them as to see objects in nature on more sides than one, I shall not have lived in vain." Is it not, however, much to be feared that many, of whom, to use the solemn accents of a regret, that in their deeper tones are far more of heaven than earth, "better things might be hoped for," are, in the service of intellect in its most extreme forms, either of a misty latitudinarianism or bat-eyed bigotry, greatly insensible to the valid worth of any such high accomplishment of the senses in happy union with the reason as would enable them to detect, for example, the tiny moss or lichen on the old wall coping, discern truly the characteristics of a chaffinch or a wren, or admire the exquisite memorials at their feet of bygone ages, in the sweet simplicity of the Pachypteris or the symmetrical leafage of the Sphenopteris? Surely in vain will men discourse of the claims of philosophy, or speculate on the reconciliations of the outward with the inward, of faith with knowledge, or of the deep chords of the soul that link together things "unseen and eternal" with the obligations of "things seen and temporal," if they are content to leave one-half of their nature as sterile of good as are the ashes that are cast out into the sea from the furnace of a steam engine. All truth is divine. All truth therefore, is fitted and designed, in its lower as well as higher discoveries, to transform the nature of man into its own lustrous and holy image. From the subtle, divining, and most certain eye and ear even of an Australian savage, the man of advanced Western civilisation may learn some wholesome lessons regarding the disadvantages of a one-sided culture; because it is only when in submission to the ample and methodical discipline of the senses, in a genial union of subordination with the intellectual functions of order, interpretation, plastic development, and rule, that man can be truly said to know anything to good purpose in the world around him. And then only, with our greatest national poet—an illustrious type of a many-sided soul—he may say—

"What a mental power
This eye shoots forth! How big imagination
Moves in this lip! To the dumbness of the gesture
One might interpret."

At the same time, however, no truly thoughtful ethnologist will fail to perceive, that, however remarkable the sensational energies of the wild man, in any region, may be, the superiority of these serve all the

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more powerfully to bring out in dark and terrible relief the abject weakness and famine of the higher powers of his spiritual being.

This defect in the capacity of a higher style of thought than is implied in the efforts of the merely practical understanding, is evinced with peculiar significance in their inaptitude for arithmetic. "Mr. Thomas," says Mr. M'Combie, "the guardian of the aborigines for the colony of Victoria, who has studied them most attentively for many years, said—"The female children are not so quick as the male in learning: both sexes can learn to read and write, but make no figure in arithmetic; they soon learn to sing, and get by heart poetry, and repeat pieces. They like oral instruction in geography, and knowledge of maps; they are very quick. An aboriginal boy at the Normal School of Sydney took the first prize for geography two succeeding years, but the master said he was stupidly dull in arithmetic."

Do any of our readers feel inclined to ask the question, Why this marked contrast of a ready mind for geographical knowledge in the native Australian in union with a marked incapacity for arithmetic? The reply may be given by means of another question. Does not the fact of that lively state of the faculties of perception, for which he is so conspicuous,—for example, of the eye that so shrewdly measures distances and so exactly discriminates objects—at once explain his ready use of the map or globe? And is not the *concrete* a main material of geographical knowledge, into the rudiments of which the wanderings of the homeless nomade are a special means of initiation?

In regard to numbers, however, the case is widely different. "The use of numerals at all," remarks Dr. Donaldson in his "New Cratylus," page 185, "is an abstraction, and one of the highest kind; it is stripping things of all their sensible properties, and considering them as merely relations of number, as members of a series, as perfectly general relations of place." However, then, indicative of the inferior nature of the capacity for abstract thought in the aborigines of Australia this marked defect of an arithmetical sense is—and nothing can more palpably evince such inferiority — there is, after all, no such great disparity at this point, if their unhappy lot be fairly estimated, between the young black and the children of more highly favoured races, as should render it unprofitable even for the most abstract thinkers of the age to revert occasionally with gratitude to their own sharp experience of perplexity and cumber in their earliest efforts to master the multiplication table. But as regards their improvability in intelligence by suitable methods of instruction and training, severely conflicting though some portions of the evidence are, it would be equally unjust and painful to have any serious doubts. If, indeed, as one or two of the witnesses seem to believe, a speedy extinction of the whole race is their natural and proper destiny, because of their generic inferiority to what are termed "the superior races," and if all efforts, however wisely made, to lead them to the cross of Christ, and the transforming baptism of the Holy Spirit, must, because of inherent physical obstructions in their mental constitution, prove of no avail, none but the most gloomy predictions regarding all endeavours to improve them, may be expected from the lips even of the most benevolent and reasonable men. If, moreover, a desponding spirit in the hearts of those who have higher views of the aborigines excited by painful disappointments originating in their unsettled habits generally, and their deep-rooted tendency, even at the distance of years, to relapse into the native style of life, is encouraged, while it does constitute a claim to sympathy and earnest intercession for Divine strength and comfort, it cannot expect any measure of vindication on the part of those who believe in the Divine power of Christ's presence with His Church in all ages, and the eternal validity of His hallowed counsel and purpose of mercy to men of all nations. All such theoretical notions, however, as have been referred to, with every gloomy feeling, natural though it be in such trying circumstances, are happily of no authority in dealing with the question, Is the black man of Victoria, or any other part of Australia, capable of intellectual and spiritual improvement? In the success of the "Poonindie Mission," and of the Aboriginal School at Mount Franklin, of which the most encouraging accounts are given in Appendices A and B of the Report, indisputable evidence is supplied of the success that may be expected from wise and persevering efforts.

"I will now," writes Mr. Hawkes, in a letter to the Bishop of Adelaide, giving an account of a visit to the Poonindie Mission, "attempt to give you a sketch of their week-day course of life. During the present (winter) season the first bell rings at seven o'clock A.M., prayers at half-past seven, then breakfast; at half-past nine the people go to their respective employments,—some to ploughing, some trenching and draining, etc., others (the boys chiefly) herding cattle, milking the cows, and digging the garden. The

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women and girls go to morning school, where reading, writing, spelling, and sewing, also arithmetic, are taught. The duties of schoolmistress are conducted by Miss Hammond. Most of the women make their own dresses. At twelve o'clock the men come back to dinner, which is cooked by Mindise. I believe several take the office of cook and butcher by turns. All the meals are prepared in the large kitchen. The children dine first, then the men and women. The bread they bake, made from flour ground out of wheat grown on the station, is capital. There is a large brick oven, which will bake a batch sufficient to last for several days. I was much amused at observing the conduct of the 'Wurley' natives, as they call the Port Lincoln natives, who congregate, especially during the winter months, in the neighbourhood of the station. They treat the Poonindie 'settlers' with marked deference, and are literally made 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for their more civilised brethren, in return for which they are liberally supplied with food, and further rewarded for good behaviour with tobacco. Our friends at Poonindie evidently look upon them as inferior beings. Seeing two ill-clad natives busy scrubbing out the kitchen, and another occupied in tending the fire and pouring water into a large pot containing rice, hanging over the fire, I asked who they were. The reply I received was, 'Oh, only wild black fellows.' These wild black fellows are often induced to leave their children at the station, where they know they will be cared for. In the afternoon, the women, children, and boys attend the school, when the men again return to work; from which they return at half-past three or four o'clock. After tea, the men willingly attend the school, to be instructed by the Rev. Mr. Hammond, in writing, reading, and arithmetic. I was much gratified to find that they all appeared both willing to learn and desirous to acquire knowledge."

In Appendix B similar information is given regarding the "Aborigines attending the Aboriginal School at Mount Franklin," in the following table. It shows their age, period of stay at school, and present educational progress.

But equally encouraging views of the docility and intelligence of the aborigines generally, and as specially afforded in the following table regarding those of Victoria, are expressed by several of the most intelligent witnesses (including Mr. Parker, who supplied this table), and who either appeared personally before the committee, or complied with their request to be furnished with written reports of opinion on this and the other points embraced by the object of their appointment.

Names.	Age.	Period of Stay at School.	Social Relation.	Progress in Education.
MALES.				
Morpoke	15	Occasionally for six years	Has an aged mother living	Can read and write, and has some knowledge of arithmetic.
Warbourp......	15	Occasionally for six years	An orphan......	Can read and write, and has some knowledge of arithmetic.
Weregoondet..	18	Two years and a-half......	An orphan......	Can read and write.
Willie........	9	Two years......	Half-caste......	Can read and write.
Denny	14	Three months..	Half-caste......	Can read and write.
Fred..........	9	Two years......	An orphan......	Can read and write.
Robert........	4½	Three months..	An orphan......	Can read.
FEMALES.				
Alice..........	18	Three years....	Half-caste......	Can read and write, and has some knowledge of arithmetic.
Helen..........	9	Four years.....	Father and mother living	Can read and write, and has some knowledge of arithmetic.
Mary Jane....	Adult	Occasionally for five years	Married......	Can read and write.

EDWD. S. PARKER, *Visiting Magistrate.* CHARLES JUDKINS, *Schoolmaster.*

Mr. Edward Stone Parker, who, since 1850, "has held the honorary appointment of visiting magistrate of the Aboriginal School at Mount Franklin, and has virtually acted as guardian of the aborigines," when under examination by the committee, stated—

"335. . . . . I have always been of opinion that, if the natives are taken at an early period of life, before their habits become decisively formed, they are just as capable of improvement as our own population. The great obstacle to their civilisation is to be traced to moral causes, and not to any physical disabilities. I may add that the members of these families are receiving instruction, either in the Aboriginal School, or, in the case of the young men themselves, by availing themselves of the opportunity of getting evening instruction at a denominational school in the neighbourhood. They regularly attend Divine service every Sabbath; and are always seen in European clothing, the women making their own entirely.

"336. *By the Chairman.*—In reference to that Aboriginal School, is it a school kept up by voluntary subscription or by Government aid?—It is solely a Government establishment. I had perhaps better state the history of that school. Prior to the abolition of the Protectorate establishment, I instituted, under the authority of Mr. La

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Trobe, an Aboriginal School, which is maintained to the present day, on the premises originally belonging to the Protectorate, and entirely at the cost of the Government.

"337. Is that school well attended?—I produce, for the information of the committee, a return drawn up yesterday of the number of the children then in the school, the time they have been at school, and their present educational progress. (The witness delivered in the same.—*Vide* Appendix B.)

"338. *By Mr. Paterson.*—Do you consider the results satisfactory?—To a certain extent they are satisfactory. I have not always been satisfied with the way in which the children have been treated. The native mind is so constituted, that it requires peculiar treatment to promote its educational progress. The system that would be most suited to the younger portion of the native children is that known as the infant school system; and in any system of scholastic instruction to which the natives are subjected, they should be made to feel as little under the influence of restraint as possible. The instruction should be given to them in the most attractive way."

It may, however, be thought by some of our readers, that this point has rather unduly absorbed our attention, especially when other matters of a greater strictly ethnographic interest—*e.g.*, the language of the aborigines — and therefore entitled to a larger place in our pages, have been almost overlooked by us. As, however, no subject can be more significant or interesting, even in a strictly scientific point of view, than the acquirement of exact information regarding the prospects and probabilities of any portion of mankind being redeemed from social extinction, or becoming merely a subject of meagre and fugitive tradition, we have been solicitous of enforcing the possibility of such redemption by the prompt use of a judicious communication of Divine truth, the reception of which is profitable alike for "this life and the life which is to come." It would, indeed, be an achievement worthy of the best efforts of missionary enterprise, if it could be shown, that while seeking to introduce the degraded black man of any portion of Australia into the serene activities and hopes of the Christian life, it should lay at the same time a decisive arrest alike on his decay as a member of the human family, and the predictions of those who are disposed to claim for him nothing higher in earthly destiny than a rapid and entire disappearance.

But we now turn to that most obscure and intricate question, viz., Whence have the aborigines derived their language, or languages, if there are more than one spoken amongst them?

And here it is necessary to have regard to a previous question, which naturally presents itself at the threshold of every linguistic inquiry, viz., Does any general concurrence of opinion now prevail among philologues regarding the safe method of investigating strongly-marked differences in the leading types of language? Is there such an agreement regarding fundamental principles as will conduce to anything like a trustworthy examination, for example, of the Tai and Malay stocks of speech, and promote true results respecting their conjectured alliances? And then, supposing that first principles of linguistic study are generally allowed, it may also be asked, Whether it is possible, however large our vocabularies of particular languages may be, to employ the rules based on such principles to any satisfactory end, if those special parts of speech which constitute the *criteria* be but imperfectly supplied?

Now, assuming as a guide the now commonly received axiom, that the syntactical or logical element of language, in contradistinction to the glossarial, is the true basis of classification, it is rather hazardous, in the present state of information regarding the Australian forms of speech, to affirm any certain conclusions, valuable in many respects though the vocabularies of Mr. Thomas, in Appendix D, undoubtedly are.

That there is, to a considerable extent, a relationship to the Malay—that remarkable link to various forms of Asiatic and Polynesian speech—is highly probable. As yet, however, there are but few traces of that connection so clearly ascertained as to afford a means of credible investigation.

As the words of Max Müller — in his "Last Results of the Turanian Languages," in reference to the link furnished, by the coincidences of Malay and Tai, between Asia and Polynesia—seem to have a very special applicability to the Australian language, as exemplified in the dialect of Victoria, we shall here quote them:—

"But further researches will strengthen this link, and add new traces of their common origin, though we have hardly a right to expect many, considering that we have to deal with languages in which grammatical elements are, as it were, at the mercy of every speaker, in which roots are of the vaguest character, and can, by means of accents and determinate syllables, be made to express every conceivable shade of meaning, —languages which had received no individual impress since their first separation, and have grown up since under the guidance of but

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few logical or grammatical principles, so as to make us sometimes doubt whether we should call them works of art or products of nature, or mere conglomerates of an irrational chance."

Did our space allow, one or two statements regarding the notions of the aborigines on their relations to God and a future state, would not only corroborate the views already expressed, as to the depth of moral darkness and physical degradation in which they are sunk, but would also show that there are still such fragments of truth cast up by the deep tides of hoary tradition and the dim impulses of conscience, as to invite the earnest labours of Christian love for their highest good. In reading those passages of the evidence in which the native religion is described, we were forcibly reminded of the following profound and touching words of Dean Trench, in his precious little work on "Words:"—

"Yet, with all this, ever and anon in the midst of this wreck and ruin, there is that in the language of the savage, some subtle distinction, some curious allusion to a perished civilisation, now utterly unintelligible to the speaker, or some other note which proclaims his language to be the remains of a dissipated inheritance, the rags and remnants of a robe which was a royal one once. The fragments of a broken sceptre are in his hand, a sceptre wherewith he once held dominion (he, that is, in his progenitors) over large kingdoms of thought, which now have escaped wholly from his sway."

Meanwhile, the opportunities of reclaiming the Australian black from the withering bondage of increasing evils, and restoring him, by the blessings of Divine love and worship, to the consciousness of true manhood and the hopes of heaven, are rapidly passing away. The many pregnant sources of decay that existed long ere the white man set his foot on their old sea-beaches and hunting-grounds, have been immeasurably quickened into activity of influence and enlarged extent by the infusion of foreign mischiefs. By the earnest and persevering prayers and toils of Christian missionaries and other benevolent men—and by these only—can that unhappy race be rescued from speedy annihilation.

Art. V.—*The Poems of Heine, complete: Translated in the Original Metres. With a Sketch of Heine's Life.* By E. A. Bowring. London, Longmans, 1859. Pp. 553.

Sheridan, in the "Duenna," speaks of an Israelite who had left his religion without adopting any other, as standing like a dead wall between church and synagogue, or like the blank leaves between the Old and New Testaments. Such was the religious position of Heinrich Heine. He, in early life, relinquished the Judaism of his fathers; and the multiplied evidence of both his prose and poetical works shows that he never, even in a lax sense of the term, became a Christian. What a contrast is published between his moral and religious history, and that of a distinguished contemporary, a few years older, who obtained a church-wide reputation as Augustus Neander. Neander abandoned Judaism to devote himself to the service of Evangelical Protestantism, with genius ever fresh, and learning never pedantic, to cause a new era in the study of the history of the Church, and to be carried to his grave amid the tears of thousands, and the lasting regret of all good men in Europe and America. Heine relinquished the Israelite faith apparently to get a freer opportunity to assail all creeds alike, and to win the questionable reputation of a German Voltaire, with weaker health, and a career cut far sooner short than that of his French prototype.

Mr. Bowring, already known as the translator of the poems of Schiller and Goethe, has given, in thirteen pages, a sketch of Heine's life. It is free from the unmeaning panegyric which deformed his sketch of Goethe, and which stands in such thorough contrast to the careful, though in some respects we think mistaken, criticism pervading the pages of the life of Goethe by Lewes. But Mr. Bowring, by this time a practised author, should have given his readers some idea of the relation in which Heine stood to all the immediately previous and actually contemporary intellectual agencies of Germany. This he has failed to do. In what way Heine was affected by Goethe and Schiller, by the Schlegels and Tieck, remains to be shown by some future biographer. The biography opens thus: "Although little more than three years have elapsed since Heinrich Heine was *first* numbered among the dead!" We were not previously aware that the enumeration in question admitted of being repeated! Further on, we read that he "is beyond question the greatest poet that has appeared in Germany since the death of Goethe." But the poetical reputation of Heine had been won long before the death of the patriarch of German literature, which occurred in 1832, after the poet before us had finally left Germany for Paris. The whole memoir is disfigured by such slovenliness of writing. Far more might have been done, even within the compass of thirteen pages, to prepare the merely English

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reader to appreciate the very peculiar, the strikingly unique author, whom Mr. Bowring has undertaken to naturalize among us.

Heine was born in December 1799 at Düsseldorf, where his father was a merchant. In the prose part of his "Reisebilder," he says of himself: "I first saw the light on the banks of that beautiful stream, where Folly grows on the green hills, and in autumn is plucked, pressed, poured into casks, and sent into foreign lands. Believe me, I yesterday heard some one utter folly, which, anno 1811, lay in a bunch of grapes I then saw growing on the Johannisberg. I am again a child, and am playing with other children on the Satlosplatz. There was I born; and I expressly note this, in case that, after my death, seven cities—Schilda, Krähwinkel, Bockum, Polkinitz, Dülken, Göttingen, Schaffenstadt—should contend for the honour of being my birth-place. Düsseldorf is a town on the Rhine; sixteen thousand people live there; and many hundred thousand lie buried there." After studying at Bonn and Göttingen, from the latter of which he was rusticated for duelling, Heine went to Berlin, where he remained for some years. Here for the first time he came into contact with a wide range of intellectual society. The fair translator of Byron, Elise von Hohenhausen, opened her house to him, and there he met Varnhagen von Ense, and his more celebrated wife, Rahel, Chamisso, and others. Heinrich Stieglitz, then in the blaze of his brief literary reputation, which his wandering life and his wife's suicide were afterwards fatally to impair, proclaimed on all sides the future greatness of Heine. But he was in a minority. For a time the indifference shown to his British master, Lord Byron, at his outset, was manifested to Heine. The cold reception of his first volume, published in 1822, was one cause of his leaving Berlin, and returning to Göttingen, where he took, in 1825, the degree of Doctor of Laws. He then settled at Hamburgh as a barrister, but did not gain much professional reputation. Literature engrossed more and more of his time and thoughts. We have various reminiscences of his Hamburgh life in his late poems, especially in his "Deutschland:"—

"Though as a republic Hamburg was seen,
  As great as Venice or Florence,
Yet Hamburg has better oysters; one gets
  The best in the cellar of Laurence.

I went there with Campe at evening time,
  When splendid was the weather,
Intending on oysters and Rhenish wine
  To have a banquet together.

I found some excellent company there,
  And greatly was delighted
To see many old friends, such as Chaufepié,
  And new ones, self-invited.

There Willie was, whose very face
  Was an album, where foes academic
Right legibly had inscribed their names
  In the shape of scars polemic.

My Campe was an Amphytrion there,
  And smiled and enjoyed the honour;
His eye was beaming with happiness,
  Just like an ecstatic Madonna.

I ate and drank with an appetite good,
  And these thoughts then crossed my noddle:
This Campe is really an excellent man,
  And of publishers quite the model.

Another publisher, I feel sure,
  Would have left me of hunger to perish;
But he has given me drink as well,
  His name I ever shall cherish."

—Bowring, p. 362–3.

The next publication of Heine exhibited him as a dramatic poet. "Almansor" and "William Ratcliff" appeared together in 1823. Large experience of men was not to be expected from a youth of three-and-twenty. These plays failed, then, to win attention on the stage, and even as closet dramas have found little favour. The latter tragedy is a weird poem of manaic love and revenge, of which the scene is laid in the Scottish Highlands.

An era in Goethe's mind dates from his Italian travels, the fulfilment of a long-cherished and deep-seated desire. The mind of Heine also received a strong impulse from his opportunities of travel, and his Reisebilder, appearing between 1826 and 1831, gave these forth to the public. He visited England, with which he expressed himself little pleased. After complimenting the small minority of Englishmen, who, especially the poets, were friends of liberty and intellectual development, he goes on to say: "The mass, the English blockheads, are hateful to me in my inmost soul; and I often regard them, not as my fellow-men, but as miserable automata—machines whose motive power is egoism. In these moods, it seems to me as if I heard the whizzing wheel-work by which they think, feel, reckon, digest, and pray; their praying, their mechanical Anglican, church-going with the gilt prayer-book in their hands, their stupid wearisome Sunday, is most of all odious to me. I am quite convinced that a blaspheming Frenchman is a more pleasing sight to the Deity than a praying Englishman!" England has attracted the respectful homage of most of the intellectual celebrities of the Continent in this century, and can afford to smile at the sceptical ravings of Heine.

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For a short time, Heine occupied the post of editor of the *Münich Allgemeinen Politischen Annalen.* The Bavarian capital does not seem to have pleased him much, if we may judge from the stanzas in his "Romancero," entitled the Ex-Watchman:—

"With Cornelius also perished
All his pupils whatsoe'er;
They shaved off their tresses cherished,
And their strength was in their hair.

For their prudent master planted
In their hair some magic springs,
And it seemed, as if enchanted,
To be full of living things.

Apropos! The arch-notorious
Priest, as Döllingerius known,—
That's, I think, his name inglorious,—
Has he from the Iser flown?

In Good Friday's sad procession
I beheld him in his place;
'Mongst the men of his profession
He had far the gloomiest face.

On Monacho Monachorum
Now-a-days the cap doth fit,
Of virorum obscurorum,
Glorified by Hutten's wit.

. . . . .

Ex-night-watchman, now be wiser!
Feel'st thou not thy bosom glow?
Wake to action on the Iser,
And thy sickly spleen o'erthrow.

Call thy long legs transcendental
Into full and active play;
Vulgar be the words or gentle,
If they're words, then strike away!"
—P. 447-9.

The revival of "Catholic" art in Bavaria, through Cornelius and his school, and the patronage by King Louis of Romanist scholars, of whom Döllinger (next to Möhler, who only lived a short time after he was attracted from Tübingen to Munich) was the most distinguished, could not be pleasing to the sceptic poet, who held Christianity equally in all its forms. But the Protestant North soon became for Heine as intolerable as the Romanist South of Germany. The French Revolution of 1830 developed further in him strongly liberal views, and he received hints, which made him gladly exchange Berlin, to which he had returned, for the more congenial atmosphere of Paris. There, after a while, he obtained from the Government of Louis Philippe a pension equivalent to L.200. With the exception of brief visits to his native country, he remained in the French capital till his death in 1856. Nearly one half of his life—far more of it, if we apply an intellectual admeasurement—was thus passed in exile from the Fatherland. In his "Geständnisse" he thus humorously intimates his reason for leaving Germany: "I had become acquainted with an old Berlin Justizrath, who had spent many years in the fortress of Spandau, and he told me how unpleasant it is when one is obliged to wear irons in winter. I myself thought it very unchristian that the irons were not warmed a trifle! I asked my Justizrath whether he often got oysters to eat? He said, No; Spandau was too far from the sea. He said, besides, meat was very scarce there, and there was no kind of *volaille* except flies, which fell into one's soup!"

Heine paid to his adopted country the compliment of first writing his prose works "Der Salon" and "Die Romantische Schule" in French. The critical powers evinced in both, justly gained for him great admiration. A different feeling was excited by his work "Uber Ludwig Börne," which appeared in 1840. Börne was a writer of the Young Germany school, also an exile in Paris. The publication of this book was very generally considered as a crime against friendship, and formerly professed political opinions. Insinuations against the memory of the deceased, in connection with a Madame Wohl, led to a duel with this lady's husband, in which Heine was wounded. He then promised to strike out the offensive pages in a new edition which, however, has not been called for. The two exiles were far different in temperament. Heine, with all his occasional seeming vehemence of liberalism, was at bottom much more of a poet than of a politician, and could not sympathise with the fiery and somewhat fanatical earnestness of Börne. With all its wit, the book was a most regrettable one.

Heine was a man of strong domestic affections. His attachment to his mother (who survived him) and to his wife, a Frenchwoman, is manifest from many passages in his poems. The occasion of his marriage, which, first accomplished according to the civil code, was afterwards consummated in the church of St. Sulpice at Paris, gave rise to a ridiculous assertion that he had become a convert to Romanism. He deemed it worth while to give public contradiction to the statement.

In 1847 there came a premonitory attack of the disease which, cured for a while, returned with greater power the next year. "Commencing," says Mr. Bowring, "with a paralysis of the left eyelid, it extended to both eyes, and finally terminated in paralysis and atrophy of the legs. The last time he ever left his

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house was in May, 1848. For eight years he was confined to his couch, to use his own expression, in a state of 'death without its repose, and without the privileges of the dead, who have no need to spend money, and no letters or books to write.'" Some of his later poems are but variations of Byron's:—

"Know, whatever thou hast been,
'Tis something better not to be."

We quote one specimen of his fretting against his lot:—

IN MAY.

"The friends whom I kiss'd and caress'd of yore,
Have treated me now with cruelty sore;
My heart is past breaking. The sun, though, above
With smiles is hailing the sweet month of love.

Spring blooms around. In the greenwood is heard
The echoing song of each happy bird,
And flowers and girls wear a maidenly smile,—
O beauteous world, I hate thee the while!

Yes, Orcus' self I well-nigh praise;
No contrasts vain torment there our days;
For suffering hearts 'tis better below,
There where the Stygian night-waters flow.

That sad and melancholy stream,
And the Stymphalides' dull scream,
The Fairies' sing-song, so harsh and shrill,
With Cerberus' bark the pauses to fill.

These match full well with sorrow and pain,
In Proserpine's accursed domain;
In the region of shadows, the valley of sighs,
All with our tears doth harmonise.

But here above, like hateful things,
The sun and the rose inflict their stings;
I'm mock'd by the heavens, so May-like and blue—
O beauteous world, I hate thee anew!"

—P. 510.

The vigour of his mind, struggling against disease, is, however, seen in his last great poetical work, "Romancero," written in 1850–51. In this, the influence of his Jewish descent, and of his study of Spanish literature, are more vividly to be seen than in any of his previous writings. In the epilogue to it, he thus characterizes his condition: "My bed reminds me of the singing grave of the magician Merlin, which lies in the forest of Brozeliard, in Bretagne, under tall oaks whose tops soar like green plumes towards heaven. I envy thee, brother Merlin, those trees and the fresh breeze which moves their branches, for no green leaf nestles about my mattress grave in Paris, where late and early I hear nothing else than the rolling of carriages, hammering, quarrelling, and piano-tuning. Long ago the measure has been taken for my coffin and my obituary, but I die so slowly, that the process is tedious for me and my friends too."

In 1855 Heine published, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, a French version of his "Neue Frühling." His last literary effort was correcting a new edition of his "Reisebilder." A few days before his death, one of his friends called just as a ponderous German professor was leaving. "Ah, my dear fellow, I fear you will find me very stupid! The fact is, I have just been exchanging thoughts with Dr. ——." He died in February 1856. His funeral was scantily attended, but Mignet, Theophile Gautier, and Dumas were among the company. Like Lamennais, he was, by his own direction, buried without any religious ceremony.

Mr. Bowring is not the first who has attempted to render Heine in English. Some years ago, Mr. Stores Smith published "Selections from the Poetry of Heinrich Heine," and Charles Leland, in America, commenced (whether he completed we are unaware) a translation in numbers of his complete works. In various of our periodicals, also, occasional translations of some of his best or most pleasing pieces have appeared. We give one of these from the "Reisebilder," which we think decidedly superior to Mr. Bowring's version:—

THE EVENING GOSSIP.

"We sat by the fisher's cottage,
We looked on sea and sky,
We saw the mists of evening
Come riding and rolling by:
The lights in the lighthouse window
Brighter and brighter grew,
And on the dim horizon
A ship still hung in view.

We spoke of storm and shipwreck,
Of the seaman's anxious life;
How he floats 'twixt sky and water,
'Twixt joy and sorrow's strife,
We spoke of coasts far distant,
We spoke of south and north,
Strange men, and stranger customs,
That those wild lands send forth;

Of the giant trees of Ganges,
Whose balm perfumes the breeze,
And the fair and slender creatures
That kneel by the lotus-trees;
Of the flat-skulled, wide-mouth'd Laplander,
So dirty and so small,
Who bake their fish on the embers,
And cower, and shake, and squall.

The maidens listened earnestly;
At last the tales were ended;
The ship was gone, the dusky night
Had on our talk descended."

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This will remind the reader of a fine poem in Longfellow's "Sea-side;" but the American poet is more sombre in the hues he employs, as perhaps becomes one more brought, as one of a maritime people, into contact with the dangers of the ocean.

The appearance of these different versions is a proof of the greater justice done of late years to Heine. We have read one popular volume, professedly on German literature, in which his very name does not occur! And a not undistinguished critic and translator from the German some years ago spoke of Heine as a mere imitator of Byron, and as sinking into a hopeless oblivion! We do not share in Mr. Bowring's over-admiration of Heine. We think this century has produced poets who, take them all in all, are better than Heine; but if not of very high merit, he was of unique distinction.

It is another question whether Mr. Bowring has done right in translating all Heine's poems in the original metres. Waiving at present the important query, whether the blasphemy of some and the personality of others should not have prevented them from obtaining what may in a sense be called the honour of translation, we cannot help thinking that it is somewhat unfair to the memory of Heine to give to the English public every scrap of verse he ever wrote. Mr. Bowring has studiously avoided giving us the prose connected with the poetry. Thus the dedication of the "Heimkehr" to Rahel is omitted, which we think an error, as it deprives the English reader of seeing how gracefully Heine could confess intellectual obligation. That Mr. Bowring has only, in this volume, pursued the course he adopted with regard to Schiller and Goethe, may be a motive with him, but can hardly be accepted as a sufficient justification by the public. That Heine continued to keep all these poems, however small, and however poor, in his collective works, is no reason. We see, from his later preface to the "Neue Gedichte," dated "Paris, 1851," with what over-fondness he evidently regarded his unfortunate tragedy, "William Ratcliff." An author's judgment of his works is too often one that may be justly excepted to.

Again, why employ the very metres of the original? The poet here may be taken as his own justifier. But the translator occupies very different ground. The genius of the language into which the version is to be made; the character of the translator's mind, certainly different from that of his original, and a number of other circumstances, have to be taken into account. It will often happen to be a mere *tour de force;* an attempted similarity, ending in practical, perhaps even disappointing or distasteful, unlikeness. We cannot compliment Mr. Bowring on having achieved what we believe none could have successfully endeavoured. He has, indeed, produced a handsome and bulky volume. For their money, the purchasers of his book get far more than the buyers of the German editions of Heine; for that poet has never yet, like Uhland, Freiligrath, and others, come into a cheap edition. His works are still kept in the old expensive style. The pages of the German are as scanty in contents as those of the English edition are crowded. This seems to show that it is a select rather than a numerous class in his native land that appreciate Heine. Partly, no doubt, this is owing to the way in which, in an age of revived religious thought and feeling, he scoffed at those truths which all good men in common hold. While Tholuck, and Neander, and Hengstenberg, and Julius Müller, with differences of a theological or ecclesiastical cast, were reviving the religion of the Fatherland, Heine, if he noticed their movements at all, did so only to scoff, and represent the religious revival as a mere playing into the hands of royal despotism. No wonder that from many families his works have been carefully excluded. The regretable portions of Burns are comparatively small in compass, and lie together; but you are never safe from the reckless impiety of Heine. From the most distant and the most solitary quarters he takes care to collect material for his sneer. He has been called the Julian of poetry, but the phrase is not very distinctive, for the Roman "apostate" had a belief, and it was in the interest of that resumed paganism of his that he persecuted the Christians as far as circumstances permitted.

The love of freedom which Heine really felt, and has so often expressed in his poetry, was prevented from exercising its just influence by his constantly obtruded scepticism. For Shelley, a boy all his life in most things, there might be some excuse; but Heine was wide awake in all matters, and we must refuse him the benefit of the excuse we may grant to the author of "Queen Mab." The noble cause of liberty is only endangered when its professed advocates set themselves against the only religion, in connection with which there has ever been freedom for all classes of the community, and for more than a few generations. How differently from Heine has Uhland acted! He, in his "Vaterlandische Gedichte," has, in the spirit alike of a true poet and a real patriot, pleaded for representative institutions and the other essential conditions of national freedom. But he has revolted more from

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the cause he supported, by intemperance of language and scoffing depreciation of good men. And with what high dignity of phrase has Freiligrath, after he departed from the poetic reserve on political subjects (which he in his earlier life not only maintained, but defended as needful for the poet), and to do so with more effect, relinquished the pension given him by the Prussian king, thrown himself into the cause of Liberalism! Even in the inferior style of advocacy of freedom which Heine adopted, he has often injured the effect of his poems by their length and their strange transitions of subject. How seldom does he attain to the compact power of phrase seen in the following lines of Hoffmann von Fallersleben:—

ON THE WALHALLA.

"Hail to thee, thou lofty hall
Of German greatness, German glory!
Hail to you, ye heroes all,
Of ancient and of modern story!

Oh! ye heroes in the hall,
Were ye but alive as once!
Nay, that would not do at all—
The king prefers you, stone and bronze!"

Or this:—

"Hurra! hurra! hurra! hurra!
We're off unto America!
What shall we take to our new land?
All sorts of things from every hand!

Receipts for tax, toll, christening, wedding, and funeral,
Passports and wander-books, great and small;
Plenty of rules for censor's inspections,
And just three million police directions!
Or when to the New World we come,
The German will not feel at home." *

Nor has Heine ever achieved so signal a success in any individual poem on liberty as that of Freiligrath in his "Fritz in Heaven," of which we give the concluding stanzas:—

"That were a bomb! What then? It might run cross a year or so;
But all would come to right at last: I'd end it well, I know,
And if the storm did gather round, and thunder, fire, and blood,
Why I, a king, would kings defy for such a people's good!

And when the storm was laid, how full of sun the land would be,
A free, united, happy land—a great, strong Germany!
Thus after storms the raindow hangs the shifting clouds beyond,
And kings the people's compact sign—a real German bond!

For a noble stream the people is! Who dares his life confide
To its strong wave, and scan its depths, and boldly trust its tide,
With joyous sound it bears aloft, and floats him bravely on;
And only sweeps, without a noise, the weak and coward down.

And me 'twould bear—me, too, 'twould speed—Ha! Blücher! is't not so?
Another age the people's king — even more than mine should know.
And when I died, they'd mourn my loss, and bless my name aloud!
'Ay, would they, please your Majesty,' the heroes said, and bowed."

We return to Mr. Bowring's translations. The following is from the second "caput" of "Deutschland:"—

"Whilst heavenly joys were warbled thus,
And sung by the little maiden,
The Prussian douaniers searched my trunk,
As soon as the coach was unladen.

They poked their noses in every thing,
Each handkerchief, shirt, and stocking;
They sought for journals, prohibited books,
And lace, with a rudeness quite shocking.

Ye fools, so closely to search my trunk!
You will find in it really nothing;
My contraband goods I carry about
On my head, not hid in my clothing.

Point-lace is there, that's finer far
Than Brussels or Mechlin laces;
If once I unpack my point, 'twill prick
And cruelly scratch your faces.

In my head I carry my jewellery all,
The Future's crown-diamonds splendid;
The new god's temple ornaments rich,
The god as not yet comprehended.

And many books also you'd see in my head,
If the top were only off it!
My head is a twittering bird's nest, full
Of books that they gladly would forfeit."
—P. 323.

The next is from "Atta Troll," and conveys his first impressions of Spain:—

"Early in the morn I started
With Lascaro on our journey,
Bound to hunt the bear. At noonday
We arrived at Pont d'Espagne.

So they call the bridge which leadeth
Out of France and into Spain,
To the land of west-barbarians,
Who're a thousand years behind us,—

Yes, a thousand years behind us
In all modern civilisation;
My barbarians to the eastward
But a hundred years behind are.

. . . .

We arrived not until evening
At the wretched small posoda,
Where an Olla-podrida
In a dirty dish was smoking.

* From a Paper on the Political Poets of Germany, in the *Athenæum*.

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There I swallowed some garbanzos,
Heavy, large as musket-bullets,
Indigestible to Germans,
Though to dumplings they're accustomed.

Fit companion to the cooking
Was the bed. With insects pepper'd
It appeared. The bugs, alas! are
Far the greatest foes of man.

Yes, the fiercest earthly trouble
Is the fight with noxious vermin,
Who a stench employ as weapons—
Is a duel with a bug!"—P. 277-9.

From the concluding "caput" of the same poem, "To Augustus Varnhagen von Ense:"—

"'Where in heaven, Master Louis,
Did you pick up all this crazy
Nonsense?'—these the very words were
Which the Cardinal d'Este made use of

When he read the well-known poem
Of Orlando's frantic doings,
Which politely Ariosto
To his Eminence inscribed.

Yes, my good old friend, Varnhagen,
Yes, I round thy lips see plainly
Hov'ring these exact expressions,
By the same sly smile attended.*

. . . .

Yes, my friend, the sound 'tis really
From the long-departed dream-time;
Save that modern quavers often
'Midst the olden key-notes jingle.

Signs of trembling thou'lt discover
Here and there, despite the boasting;
I commend this little poem
To thy well-proved gentleness!

Ah! perchance it is the last free
Forest-song of the Romantic;
In the day-time's wild confusion
Will it sadly die away.

. . . .

What a humming, world-convulsing!
'Tis, in fact, the big cock-chafers
Of the spring-time of the people,
Smitten with a sudden frenzy.

Other times, and other heads too!
Other birds and other music!
They perchance could give me pleasure
Had I only other ears!"

In connection with this last extract we may quote the remarks of a recent French critic: "M. Heine very willingly abused a certain kind of tactics in regard of his old friends the Romanticists. If Hoffmann, Von Arnim, Brentano, Novalis, were spoken of, none knew better than the author of the "Reisebilder" to discredit them. He knew well their faults and their follies; but he was equally acquainted with their original powers, their inventive resources, their varied treasures of genius. Of these secrets he scarcely ever spoke, preferring, doubtless, to keep them to himself rather than to make them known to the French public, which had a right to be ignorant of such things. M. Heine did not like people to look closely into his concerns, and he never pardoned us for terming him a Romanticist unfrocked."

The sight of the arsenal at Springfield suggests to a well-known American poet thoughts of the part which war has played in the history of the Old World and the New. Among the remembrances thus evoked are, that

"Aztec priests upon their teocallis
Beat the wild war-drums made of serpent's skin."

The same bloody page in the history of the meeting of European and Mexican modes of warfare has suggested to Heine one of his finest pieces, "Vitzliputzli." In it we have Cortez presented, not as he appears in the courtly pages of De Solis, but as modern humanity depicts him, the ruthless destroyer of the half-civilised empire of Montezuma—an anticipated Philip II. on a narrower field. We have not space to give a sufficiently long extract from a poem whose merit especially lies in its entireness of interest.

By Spanish literature Heine has obviously been much influenced. From his first tragedy, "Almansor," to his last great work, "Romancero," we see how frequently Spanish subjects presented themselves to his mind. He affords not a few points of comparison with one of the greatest of the writers of the Peninsula in this century, Mariano José de Larra, known under his assumed name of Figaro. To this distinguished literary man a term of life was allotted only half that of Heine's. At the age of eight-and-twenty, Spanish literature had to deplore his loss. But in the drama, in prose fiction, in periodical writing, whether humorous, critical, or gravely imaginative, he had already proved his fitness to take very high rank. Like Heine, he in early life travelled much for a middle-class man of his country,—like Heine, he felt much discontent with the state of matters in his native land—like Heine, he conquered indifference to his writings by repeated proofs of his competency to interest and please,—like Heine, his literary place is eminently a unique and unborrowed one. While, in prose fiction, Pastor Diaz, and especially Fernan Caballero, have surpassed him, and in some kinds of periodical writing he has been equalled by Hartzenbusch, it

* Varnhagen, it may be mentioned, was a townsman of Heine.

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can scarcely be questioned, that in the present century no Spanish writer has come so near, take all his writings together, to the "first three" in the Peninsular literature,—Cervantes, Calderon, and Quevedo.

The English reader will find in Larra a noble contrast to Heine in his treatment of this country. Circumstances of popular appreciation, as was natural between one Romanic people and another, have indeed made him a critic of French rather than of English authors. But he never loses, indeed he often makes, an opportunity of showing his just and hearty appreciation of England. In striking contrast to the scantily attended funeral of Heine was the magnificent cortége that accompanied, in March 1837, the body of Larra, to lay it beside the remains of Calderon. There are few finer tributes of homage in verse to departed greatness than the lines to his memory by his friend Zorrilla, "the representative," as Quinet calls him, with perhaps over eulogy, "of the tragic genius of Spain." To those in this country—and they are a regrettably large body—who think and speak with constant disparagement of Spain, we would recommend the study of the couple of volumes which contain the collected works of "Figaro." If capable of forming an intelligent judgment, they would probably come to the conclusion, that scarcely any writer, even of our country, has, in so short a period, given, we do not say so much promise, but so full performance.

The same year that witnessed the death of Larra, likewise saw the decease of another Southern Europe writer, with whom Heine has certain aspects of resemblance—Giacomo Leopardi. To him, as to the German poet, was allotted a course of painful disease, terminating in a long looked forward to dissolution. Leopardi died at the age of thirty-nine. He possessed a classical learning, not so common in his country as in Germany or South Britain, which in early life won for him the acquaintance and regard of Mai and Niebuhr, and to which neither Heine nor Larra could make pretension. On the other hand, he was far less influenced than either by modern literature apart from that of his native land. He also was profoundly discontented with the aspect of affairs at home. We may hope that there was merely momentary exasperation in the expression in one of his letters, that every person in his native Recanati was either a scoundrel or a fool. But, partly, in all likelihood, from the influence of long-continued ill health, the tone of expression in both his prose and poetical works assumes a gradually deepening tincture of saturnine discontent, until, in his lyric, "La Ginestra," he congratulates that wild-flower that it is happier than man, in never having dreamed of an immortality either natural or acquired! It is sad to look at the portrait of Leopardi, prefixed to his collective works, taken as it was when lying in his shroud. But sadder far it is to find the promise of a Christianized literature, which his earliest efforts show so thoroughly belied by the sceptical and desparing tone of his intellectually riper productions. His biographer, Ranieri, assures us that whoever came into contact with him loved him. They who can only estimate him by his writings, may regret that a healthier tone did not come from his being spared to see the gallant risings of 1848, and the changes which (prepared for even by the very errors and follies of that year of revolution) have made the nearly-elapsed twelvemonth, from the commencement of the Lombard campaign of 1859, so surprising and gratifying to the friends of progress throughout Europe. In the works of Manzoni, Amari, Colletta, and others, the studious Italian youth have abundance of contemporary counteraction to the morbidness which, with all their high and rare intellectual merits, pervades the Lyrics, the Thoughts, the Letters, and the other writings of Leopardi.

To return to Heine. He has not shown the desire to accomplish translations of foreign poetry, of which the fashion set by the two great master minds of German literature has been continued by Tieck, Uhland, and particularly Freiligrath. It is the opinion of Mr. Lewis and some other critics of our day, that poetical translations are nearly valueless. This, however, will probably never be the intellectual creed of more than a comparatively small minority of thinking persons.

As in one or two of the foregoing extracts, it will be seen that in the following, Mr. Bowring has gone beyond all rule, in making such words rhyme together as "portion" and "caution:"—

"SIR KNAVE OF BERGEN.

"At Düsseldorf Castle, on the Rhine,
They're gaily masquerading;
The waxlights sparkle, the company dance,
The music their nimbleness aiding.

The beauteous duchess dances too,
And ceases laughing never;
Her partner is a slender youth,
Who seems right courtly and clever.

He wears a mask of velvet black,
Whence merrily is peeping
An eye just like a shining dirk
From out of its sheath half creeping.

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The carnival throng exultingly shout
As they whirl in the waltz's embraces,
While Drickes and Marizzebell*
Salute with loud noise and grimaces.

The trumpets crash, and the merry hum
Of the double-bass increases,
Until the dance to an end has come,
And then the music ceases.

'Most excellent lady, thy pardon I beg,
'Tis time for me to go now :'
The duchess said, smiling, 'You shall not depart,
Unless your face you show now.'

'Most excellent lady, thy pardon I beg,
My face is a hideous creature's :'
The duchess said, smiling, 'I am not afraid,
I insist upon seeing your features.'

'Most excellent lady, thy pardon I beg,
For night and death are my portion :'
The duchess said, smiling, 'I'll not let you go,
I'll see you, despite all your caution.'

In vain he struggled with gloomy words
To change her determination ;
At length she forcibly tore the mask
From his face for her information.

''Tis the headsman of Bergen!' the throng in the hall
Exclaim with a feeling of terror,
And timidly shrink,—the duchess rush'd out,
Her husband to tell of her error.

The duke was wise, and all the disgrace
Of the duchess straightway effac'd he ;
He drew his bright sword, and said, 'Kneel down,
Good fellow!' with accents hasty.

With this stroke of the sword I make you now
A limb of the order knightly.
And since you're a knave, you'll hereafter be called
Sir Knave of Bergen rightly!'

So the headsman became a nobleman proud,
Of the Bergen Knaves' family founder ;
A haughty race! they dwell on the Rhine,
Though now they all underground are."
—P. 386–7.

Those who wish by one decisive instance to compare or contrast the poetry of Heine with that of Uhland, will read, in connection with the piece just extracted, "The Black Knight," translated by Longfellow. The poem of the Würtemberg bard will please more, and will please longer, than that of his rival from the Rhine-land.

A characteristic piece of Heine is "The Exorcism." Mr. Bowring has in it not fulfilled his promise of preserving the original metre. In the German the last line of the five verses of which it is composed has sometimes seven and sometimes eight syllables. In the English version the corresponding lines are of five, seven, and nine syllables. The translation is a diluted one :—

"He reads a magical book, which speaks
Of exorcisms only,"

is a feeble rendering of

"Er liest im alten Zauberbuch,
Genannt der Zwang der Hölle."

Again

"Her ice-cold breast
Her sighs of grief cannot smother,"

is a fluent generality, substituted for the simple expressiveness of

"Aus kalter Brust
Die schmerzlichen Seufzer steigen."

In "The Water Nymphs," Mr. Bowring translates,

"Die Eine betastet mit Neubegier
Die Federn auf seinem Barette,"

thus,

"The plume of his helmet the first one felt,
To see if perchance it would harm her,"

which is merely filling up for the sake of the rhyme. Again, in the same poem,

"Die Fünfte küsst des Ritter's Hand,
Mit Sehnsucht und Verlangen,"

is not translated, but transmuted into

"The fifth her kisses with passionate strength
On the hand of the knight kept planting!"

In another stanza we have "bosom" and "blossom" to rhyme together! But we will not pursue further this minute comparison with the original.

The following is a sonnet addressed by Heine to his mother :—

"With foolish fancy I deserted thee ;
I fain would search the whole world through, to learn
If I in it perchance could love discern,
That I might love embrace right lovingly.
I sought for love as far as eye could see,
My hands extending at each door in turn,
Begging them not my prayer for love to spurn,—
Cold hate alone they laughing gave to me.
And ever search'd I after love ; yes ever
Search'd after love, but love discovered never.
And so I homeward went with troubled thought ;
But thou wert there to welcome me again,
And ah! what in thy dear eye floated then,
That was the sweet love I so long had sought."—P. 43.

* Carnival masks.

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So much for the son. Let us hear the husband anticipating his wife's becoming a widow :—

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"Not one mass will e'er be chanted,
Not one Hebrew prayer be mutter'd;
When the day I died returneth,
Nothing will be sung or utter'd.

Yet upon that day, it may be,
If the weather has not *chill'd her*,
On a visit to Montmartre
With Pauline will go *Matilda*. (!)

With a wreath of immortelles she'll
Deck my grave in foreign fashion,
Sighing say 'pauvre homme,' and sadly
Drop a tear of fond compassion.

I shall then too high be dwelling,
And, alas! no chair have ready
For my darling's use to offer,
As she walks with feet unsteady.

Sweet, stout little one, return not
Home on foot, I must implore thee;
At the barrier gate is standing
A fiacre all ready for thee."—P. 460-1.

Among the early pieces of Tennyson are several distinguished by the names of Claribel, etc. But Heine has, in his "Neue Gedichte," given us a number of maids called Diana, Hortense, Clarisse, and so on. From "Friederike" we extract the following:

"O leave Berlin, with its thick-lying sand,
Weak tea, and men who seem so much to know,
That they both God, themselves, and all below,
With Hegel's reason, only understand.

O come to India, to the sunny land,
Where flowers ambrosial their sweet fragrance throw—
Where pilgrim troops on tow'rd the Ganges go
With reverence, in white robes, a festal band.

There, where the palm trees wave, the billows smile,
And on the sacred bank the lotus tree
Soars up to Indra's castle blue,—yes, there,
There will I kneel to thee in trusting style,
And press against thy foot, and say to thee,
'Madam, thou art the fairest of the fair.'"
—P. 105.

Again—

"Thou wast a maiden fair, so good and kindly,
So neat, so cool—in vain I waited blindly
Till come the hour wherein thy gentle heart
Would ope, and inspiration play its part.
Yea, inspiration for those lofty things
Which prose and reason deem but wonderings;
But yet for which the noble, lovely, good
Upon this earth rave, suffer, shed their blood.

Upon the Rhine's fair strand, where vine-hills smile,
Once in glad summer's days we roam'd the while;
Bright laugh'd the sun, sweet incense in that hour
Stream'd from the beauteous cup of every flow'r.

The purple pinks and roses breath'd in turn
Red kisses on us, which like fire did burn;
Even the smallest daisy's faint perfume
Appear'd a life ideal then to bloom.

But thou didst peacefully beside me go,
In a white satin dress, demure and slow,
Like some girl's portrait limn'd by Netscher's art,
A little glacier seem'd to be thy heart."

Heine is essentially a lyric poet. He has not the faculty to produce a work "de longue haleine." "Atta Troll" and "Deutschland" are only nominally long poems; they are but, after all, a succession of poetic sketches. He has himself bestowed, and most justly, on Goethe the high praise of saying, "His songs have a playful witchery which is inexpressible. The harmonious verses wind round your heart like a tender mistress. The word embraces you while the thought imprints a kiss." But so little does Heine, in the great majority of cases, care or seek to preserve the unity of tone, which is essential to the highest success of the lyric, that we cannot anticipate for him the widespread or permanent fame which has attended, both in the German and in such other languages as they have been rendered into, the songs of Schiller and Goethe. The testing influence of time has not yet been applied to the authors of the second age of German literature; but comparing Heine with those distinguished lyric poets, between whom he stands midway in age, Uhland and Freiligrath—the one a dozen years his senior, the other ten years his junior, we think he must ever remain, in power of impression, of delight, and of dwelling in the memory, inferior to either. What stanza of his has been quoted with the frequency of the concluding verse of Uhland's "Auf der Ueberfahrt"—

"Nimm nur, Fährmann, nimm die Miethe,
Die ich gerne dreifach biete!
Zween, die mit mir überfuhren,
Waren geistige Naturen,"—

more familiar, perhaps, than any other fragment of German literature, except the

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"Kennst du das Land wo die Citronen blühen,"

of Goethe, and the

"Du Heilige, ruf dein Kind zurück,
Ich habe genossen das irdische Glück,
Ich habe gelebt und geliebet,"

of Schiller? Again, Heine has several times amused himself with laughing at Freiligrath; but "Der Mohren Fürst" will long outlive his sarcasms; and the "Piraten-Romanze" and "Barbarossa's erstes Erwachen," not to speak of others of the "Balladen u. Romanzen" and the best of the "Vermischte Gedichte," will always occupy a high place in German literature. Freiligrath has perhaps not a richer fancy than Heine, but one more under control, and with the management of which greater pains are taken. Fitness of expression is far more generally a characteristic of his poems than of those of the Düsseldorf bard. It would, we think, have been a better occupation for Mr. Bowring, if, instead of attempting to give all Heine's poems in an English version, he had sought to select his best, and given them along with the finest of Freiligrath and Uhland. The sustained attempt to indicate the resemblances and differences of these three lyric bards might have given force, compression, and distinctness to his prose style—qualities in which, at present, it is considerably deficient. He intimates (but it may be only a verbal modesty) that this is his last translating effort. We would hope that if the intention be serious, it will be reconsidered. He has before him opportunities of honouring his subject and doing justice to himself, which, alike in fairness and with respect, we state he has not yet fully availed himself of. Or if his (as we think, excessive) admiration for Heine prevent him from seeking to stray from that author's side, why not leave out a third, or a half, of the volume before us, and with a revised, simplified, and condensed reviewal of the finest of the poems (leaving out the juvenility, the personality, and the blasphemy), give to the English reader selections from the prose part of the "Reisebilder," and from the most permanently interesting of the "Vermischte Schriften?" In his version of Schiller, he has had Merivale and Sir E. Bulwer Lytton as rivals; in his translation from Goethe, he has encountered the competition of Aytoun and Theodore Martin. We do not know whether any other man of letters is busy with an English rendering of Heine's prose pieces. At all events, Mr. Bowring may be said to be here in possession of the ground. The public is not partial to any one person forming by himself a library of translations; and probably Mr. Bowring might find it better for himself, as we have no doubt it would be more favourable to Heine's reputation among non-German readers, if in a single volume were presented the choicest products of that versatile pen. A good deal of his satire has not body enough to bear transport across either the Rhine or the Channel. This, however, is a class fault, not a personal one. The "Biglow Papers" have lately been introduced to the British public under the most genial of recommendations; but we cannot expect that beyond the other and republican branch of the Anglo-Saxon family they will ever be widely popular. In this country, as yet at least, we cannot enter into the spirit of such lines as

"I du believe with all my soul
In the gret Press's freedom;
To pint the people to the goal
An' in the traces lead 'em;
Palsied the arm that forges yokes
At my fat contracts squintin';
An' wither'd be the nose that pokes
Inter the Gov'ment printin',"

because hitherto we have not set such authorities as the "Jaalam Independent Blunderbuss" above better and honester guides of public opinion. And it may be hoped that any new Reform Bill we may get will not bring us into a national condition, where we may find our county or burgh hustings occupied by worthies of the stamp thus depicted:

"I'm an Eclectic; ez to choosin'
'Twixt this an' thet, I'm plagny lowth;
I leave a side thet looks like losin',
But (wile there's doubt) I stick to both;
I stan' upon the Constitution,
Ez preudunt statesmen say, who've plann'd
A way to get the most profusion
O' chances ez to *ware* they'll stand.

Ez to the answerin' o' questions,
I'm an off ox at bein' druv,
Though I aint one that any test shuns,
'll give our folks a helpin' shove;
Kind o' promiscoous I go it,
For the holl country, on the ground
I take, ez nigh ez I can show it,
Is pooty gen'rally all round."

Not yet in this country can the "Letter," from which the last extract is given, be fully appreciated; for the prose explanation accompanying it tells us, that "the first object which civilized man proposes to himself I take to be the finding out whatsoever he can concerning his neighbors." On ill-conducted railways we are sometimes annoyed by smoking, but hitherto we have escaped being "strangered." A weekly newspaper, clever but naughty (which, of course, reader,

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you and I never see), would say, perhaps, that administering to our venerable constitution a large dose of *Brightine* might be likely enough to bring us to the trans-oceanic level in that respect.

The following is a specimen of Heine's satire, from the fifth "caput" of "Deutschland"—Rhine complaining, and the poet consoling:—

"'That I am a virgin pure no more,
The French know better than any:
For they with my waters have mingled oft
Their floods of victory many.

The stupid song, and the stupid man!*
Indeed, he has treated me badly;
To a certain extent he has compromised me
In matters political, sadly.

For if the French should ever come back,
I must blush at their reappearance,
Though I've pray'd with tears for their return
To heaven, with perseverance.

I always have loved full well the French,
So tiny, yet full of sinew;
Still wear they white breeches as formerly?
Does their singing and springing continue?

Right glad should I be to see them again,
And yet I'm afraid to be twitted
On account of the words of that cursed song,
And the sneers of its author, half-witted!

That Alfred de Musset,* that lad upon town,
Perchance will come as their drummer,
And march at their head, and his wretched wit
Play off on me all through the summer.'

Poor Father Rhine thus made his complaint,
And discontentedly splutter'd.
In order to raise his sinking heart,
These comforting words I utter'd:—

'O do not dread, good Father Rhine,
The laugh of a Frenchman, which is
Worth little, for he is no longer the same,
And they also have alter'd their breeches.

Their breeches are red, and no longer are white;
They also have alter'd the button;
No longer they sing, and no longer they spring,
But hang their heads like dead mutton.

They now are philosophers all, and quote
Hegel, Fichte, Kant, over their victuals;
Tobacco they smoke, and beer they drink,
And many play also at skittles.

They're all, like us Germans, becoming mere snobs,
But carry it even further;

* Alluding to Nicholas Becker, who had written a poem, beginning, "They shall not have the German Rhine."

* This charming French poet had answered Becker by a song, commencing, "We have had your German Rhine."

No longer they follow in Voltaire's steps,
But believe in Hengstenberg rather.

As to Alfred de Musset, indeed, it is true
That he still to abuse gives a handle;
But be not afraid, and we'll soon chain down
His tongue, so devoted to scandal.

And if he should play off his wretched wit,
We'll punish him most severely,
Proclaiming aloud the adventures he meets
With the women he loves most dearly.

Then be contented, good Father Rhine,
Bad songs treat only with laughter;
A better song ere long thou shalt hear.
Farewell, we shall meet hereafter.'"

We have had some scruple in quoting the second last stanza; but as all who take an interest in French literature are well aware of the way in which, since Alfred de Musset's death, two years ago, his name has been brought before the public by the publication of George Sand, "Elle et Lui," and the far more amusing, as well as, we suppose, more truthful, reply to it by the deceased's brother Paul, "Lui et Elle," there can be no new propagation of scandal in giving it. It, of itself, is enough to show the unscrupulous personality of Heine. Assuredly he had small right to set up as a moral censor. One can excuse, though with difficulty, in a person of irreproachable character, the dragging another's personal failings before the public; but for Heine to seek to play the part of Cato—Parisiensis!

Our last extract is from the last part of that poem in the Romancero, called "The Poet Ferdusi." The East has, within the last forty years, attracted, especially in the three chief literary countries of Europe, a very large amount of attention. What a difference of understanding and interest in Oriental matters since the old quarrel between Europe and Asia seemed re-opened by the breaking out of the Greek insurrection! For France, the literary interest, commenced by Chateaubriand's "Itineraire," was carried on by the "Lascaris" of Villemain, and still more by "Les Orientales" of Victor Hugo. What their young Romanticist had done for the French side of the Rhine, was effected somewhat earlier by the patriarch of Teutonic literature in the "West-östlichen Divan," for the German. We do not find in Heine anything like the continuous influence of Eastern subjects and feelings which is manifest in these works of Goethe and Hugo. Of Brahmanism and Buddhism, so thoroughly studied by Parisian as well as German Orientalists, and which have affected other and younger poets, we find in his writings very scanty traces.

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By the classical mythology he is far less affected than either Schiller or Goethe. Mediæval legend has moved him more than either of the sources of interest previously mentioned :—

"Shah Mahomet paused, and presently said,
'Ansari, a thought has come into my head :

To my stables make haste, and with hands unthrifty,
Take a hundred mules, and camels fifty,

And lade them all with every treasure
That fills the heart of a mortal with pleasure.

* * * *

Ansari, when all these things thou hast got,
Thou must start on thy journey, and linger not.

Thou must take them all, with my kind regard,
To Thus, to Ferdusi, the mighty bard.'

Ansari fulfill'd his lord's behest,
And loaded the camels and mules with the best,

And costliest presents, the value of which
Was enough to make a whole province quite rich.

In propria persona he left at last
The palace, when some three days had pass'd,

And with a general's banner red,
In front of the caravan he sped.

At the end of a week to Thus came they—
The town at the foot of a mountain lay—

The caravan the western gate
With shouts and noises entered straight.

The trumpets sounded, the loud drums beat,
And songs of triumph rang through the street.

'La Illa El Allah !' with joyous shout,
The camel-drivers were calling out.

But through the east gate, at the farther end
Of Thus at that moment chanced to wend

The funeral train, so full of gloom,
That the dead Ferdusi bore to his tomb."

In his prose writings, Heine has given many just criticisms, many striking sayings, many felicitous pictures of men and things. If to call Madame de Stael "a whirlwind in petticoats" was mere impertinence, and to say, "Nature wanted to see how she looked, and created Goethe," was sheer enthusiasm, how happy is the *mot* about Talleyrand : "If an express should suddenly bring the news that T. had taken to a belief in accountability after death, the funds would at once go down ten per cent. !" How beautifully characteristic the description of a man insensible to artistic beauty ! "He is like a child, which, insensible to the glowing significance of a great statue, only touches the marble and complains of cold." As striking, though in another style, is his description of Rubens : A "Flemish Titan, the wings of whose genius were so strong that he soared as high as the sun, in spite of the hundredweight of Dutch cheeses that hung on his legs."

Heine might have become a thoroughly national poet—the German poet of the first half of the nineteenth century. He preferred becoming a sectional one. Poetry saturated with unbelief, never is long-lived. Where is the epigrammatic anti-Christianism in verse of the age of the Encyclopedie ? Even Voltaire is little read out of France, and not a great deal in it. That clever *persifleur* Arsene Houssaye will not succeed in writing up "Le Roi Voltaire" again. In an age of revived religious feeling and action, Heine was obtrusively irreligious, rudely anti-Christian. There are passages which under a wrong view, as we think, of a translator's duty, Mr. Bowring has given, for which the only fit place would be in the columns of the coarsest part of the newspaper press. We shall not, even once, quote any of these. "Would he had blotted a thousand lines !" is the alleged criticism of envy on Shakspeare. It is the just verdict of disappointment in those who would fain admire Heine, but feel themselves repelled by his mockery at all they hold most in veneration.

A few months ago, the German people in the Fatherland, and out of it, celebrated the centenary of the birth of Schiller. We cordially indorse the approval of that festival, as a whole (however objectionable some details in various places may have been), which has been lately, in the "Allgemeine Kirchen Zeitung," pronounced by Professor Lechler of Leipzig, on the twofold ground, that "Schiller, as a poet and thinker, stands upon Christian ground ;* and Christianity neither can nor will dissociate itself from true beauty and art." But we can anticipate no such future recognition of Heine. A distinguished name in the second period of a country's literature never can stand on the same ground as a great name in the first. Schiller was one of a band, and one of the greatest of them, who gave to Germany, for the first time in modern history, a poetic literature. So Burns gave again to Scotland a national poetry, which, since the sixteenth century conflicts, that nation had not possessed. He was the immediate poetic heir of Dunbar and Lindsay. Perhaps it may be added, he only of all poetic sons of Scotland may be placed with Shakspeare and Chaucer,

* Lechler adds, "Not indeed at the centre of Christianity, but still within its circumference."

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Spencer and Milton, among the princes of the literary blood-royal of Britain. More fortunate than her sister land, England never lost her poetic tradition. She had not the Scottish two centuries break. She could not therefore owe to any one what last year Scotland recognized as her deep obligation to Burns. So Heine was but one of many. He was distinctive, unique, in many respects original, in intellectual gifts. He wrote much, and fast. It was the age's fault as much as the man's. One he was among the stars, but far enough from being a sun. Among the best biographies of our time, are those of Schiller and Goethe—books not to be exhausted by one reading, but worthy of several—from which the young student of German, and the matured man of culture, to whom German is but one of many literatures, may alike derive intellectual profit. But we do not consider that any British man of letters could acquire or increase lasting renown, by seeking to make a third classic biography out of the chequered and saddening career of Heinrich Heine.

We part from Mr. Bowring with high respect for his talent and industry. With proper regard for the public and for himself, we hope he may win a lasting reputation, not on the lower platform of translation merely, but on ground altogether his own. There is danger in these days of our forgetting that Southern Europe has had, and still possesses, a literature; and Mr. Bowring will allow us to say, in conclusion, that he will translate none the worse from the German, and will none the less appreciate that one century old literature, if Spain and Italy should claim a share of his attention and regard. Neither of the southern literatures can be expected to influence our country as they did in the age of Elizabeth and James. The intellectual relation of the countries has changed too thoroughly for that. In the great historian, whose remains in the first week of this year were laid in our National Walhalla, we had, perhaps, the last eminent literary man by whom German was little known.* The tendency now is, to study German to the disparagement of all the Romanic tongues. For this linguistic kindredness may be a motive, but is no justification. Proportion is the rule here, as elsewhere. The choicest parts of all accessible literatures,—such is the intellectual food which the true man of self-culture will choose.

* A eulogistic reviewer asked that week, "What had he not read?" Will any one tell us (now that the very natural enthusiasm is over) how many allusions to German can be found in Macaulay's writings?

Art. VI.—*Church and State; the Spiritual and the Civil Courts.*

1. *Fragment on the Church.* By Thomas Arnold, D.D. London.
2. *The State in its Relation with the Church.* By W. E. Gladstone, Esq. London.
3. *The Cardross Case. Proceedings at the Commission of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland.* Edinburgh.

There are three possible ways in which the Church and the State—the body ecclesiastical and the body political—might exist in reference to each other. *First*, the State might be regarded as possessing a rightful sovereignty over the Church, and hence the religious society be put under the rule of the civil magistrate. Or, *secondly*, the inferiority of the Church to the State might be asserted, and the temporal government subjected to the regulation, or at least the control, of the spiritual authorities. Or, *thirdly*, the two societies might be viewed as distinct and independent bodies, entering into alliance, or existing separately, but each complete in itself, and supreme within its own province and for the determination of its own affairs. It is seldom, or perhaps never, that the idea of Church and State, according to either of these theories, is purely or accurately realized in fact. Still it is to one or other of these types that all existing examples of the relation between the two bodies more or less closely approximate, and in reality belong.

The controversy as to the preference due to one or other of these theories must very much turn upon the question,—Are the Church and the State originally and essentially two distinct and independent societies, with separate spheres and functions, or only one society under two names? Are they two bodies, different in their origin and nature—in the kind of authority belonging to each—in the character of the members that they include—in the class of matters with which they are conversant,—so that they cannot be merged into one or confounded without altering their true character as Church or State; or are they in reality but one body, with no more than one province and function,—dealing with things nominally but not essentially different,—and exercising the same identical jurisdiction with reference to all causes and persons, whether known as secular or known as spiritual? Assert that there is no valid or true foundation for the distinction commonly acknowledged between things secular and things sacred, or that there is no greater difference between matters belonging to the faith and worship of God, on the one hand, and matters pertaining to civil life on

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the other, than between various classes of temporal rights among themselves, and it is plain that they may all be properly dealt with in the same way and controlled by one common governing body. If questions of truth and falsehood in religious doctrine, or right and wrong in religious worship, or what is lawful or unlawful in religious order, do not require a different treatment, and are not to be decided on different principles from questions relating to person and property, and if the authority which is competent to deal with the understanding and conscience of man in spiritual things be not essentially distinct from the authority that is conversant with his outward and civil obedience, then the ruling power in the State may also be the ruling power in the Church; and it will, to a large extent, depend on the comparative importance conceded to the religious or to the civil element in society at any particular time, whether we see an approximation to the Ultramontane doctrine of the subordination of the State to the Church, or witness an example of the Erastian theory of a civil jurisdiction in spiritual things.

The notion of the identity of the spiritual and temporal powers, or at least the practical denial of their separate and essential independence, has been exemplified in various ways. In times before the introduction of Christianity, and in our own day among nations where Christianity is unknown, we very commonly see the King and the Priest to be one and the same person; and because usually he is much more of the King than the Priest, and because the civil element throughout the nation is more largely developed than the religious, the temporal power lords it over the spiritual. But a similar result may be brought about in a Christian nation by a process somewhat different. Among a professedly Christian people, where the subjects of the Commonwealth are, to a large extent, numerically identical with the members of the Church, and where the laws of the State are more or less borrowed from Christianity, there is a danger that the real difference between Church and State may be overlooked, from the idea that they are merged into each other, and that the two are become virtually one. Such substantially is the doctrine of Hooker in his "Ecclesiastical Polity," and also of Dr. Arnold in his "Fragment on the Church," although they arrive at their conclusion by different roads. With Hooker, the fixed and predominant idea was the supremacy of the civil power, which he had to defend against the Puritans, who regarded it as unlawful in the ecclesiastical province; and, accordingly, while asserting that in every professedly Christian nation the Church and the Commonwealth become "one society," * he does so by teaching that the spiritual is merged into the civil body, and becomes subject to the king as the "highest uncommanded commander" in the united society. With Arnold, in whose eye, not the State, but the Church, as the "society for putting down moral evil," was the ideal, the same result was accomplished by reversing the process; and the State, in adopting and endowing a form of Christianity, is merged into the spiritual power, and "becomes a part of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, not allied with it, which implies distinctness from it, but transformed into it."† The theory of Warburton, in his "Alliance of Church and State," proceeds in reality on the same principle of confounding to a large extent the functions of the two, and making them identical, although starting with the admission of the original distinction between the two bodies. He holds that, in return for the advantages of protection and endowment, it is competent and lawful for the church to surrender to the State her original independence, and to give up her powers of self-government and action into the hands of the civil magistrate, who subjects them to his direct control, or to the necessity of his approval.‡ All these theories proceed upon the same fundamental assumption, that it is possible, without destroying the proper idea of the Church on the one hand, or of the State on the other, more or less to identify them in their nature, in their functions, in their authority, or in their objects; as if it were competent for the State to do the work of the Church, or the Church to do the work of the State, or as if there were no impossibility arising out of the very nature of the case, for the civil magistrate, by the employment of his compulsory power, to regulate the religious belief or spiritual obedience of his subjects, or for ecclesiastical courts or functionaries, in the exercise of their office of instruction and persuasion, to arrange for the security of property and life.

Nor is the fundamental idea different when the opposite extreme is asserted, and the State is subordinated to the Church. The Romanist theory of the supremacy of the spiritual power over the temporal, whether advocated in the shape of a direct authority or an indirect, ultimately rests upon the same doctrine that they are one and not distinct powers, at least in respect of the sphere that they occupy and the juris-

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* Ecclesiastical Polity, Book viii. chap. 1.
† Fragment on the Church, p. 177.
‡ Alliance between Church and State, Book ii., chap. 3.

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diction they possess. The superiority claimed by the Church over the State is a superiority in authority employed about the same matters, and dealing with the same persons or things; it is the assertion of a right on the part of the spiritual body to control the civil magistrate in civil functions in the same way, or to the same effect, that he himself exercises control over his inferior agents in the State, and it can be logically defended on no other supposition than the pretence that the Church originally possesses, or subsequently acquires, an office and jurisdiction the same in kind as those which the State exercises in temporal concerns. To the extent then, that such supremacy is asserted by the Church, it is a claim to the possession of the same sort of power that belongs to the State, but in higher degree than the State enjoys it,—the spiritual society thus taking to itself the office of the political, and borrowing its character when converting spiritual sentences into civil penalties, or giving to excommunication the force and effect of a temporal punishment. It is not necessary, on this theory, that the Church, as supreme over all persons and causes, should employ the same agency for doing its temporal behests as for doing its religious duties; it may commission civil officers for the one description of work, and ecclesiastical officers for the other. It may have its orders of secular agents distinct from its orders of religious servants. But they are servants equally of the same master. The duties they perform are done in the name of the one authority that holds in its hand both the spiritual and the temporal supremacy; and the departments in which they labour, whether in sacred or secular offices, are not essentially separate or distinct, but are merged together under the unity of one common and ultimate jurisdiction. The doctrine of the subordination of the State to the Church, and the opposite extreme of the subordination of the Church to the State, alike proceed on the idea that their peculiar powers and functions may be accounted of the same kind, or in reality identified.

But can this theory of the essential identity or sameness of Church and State, in their nature and functions, find countenance or support in Scripture principle, or reason, or experience? Or is it not expressly and conclusively disowned by them all? Is it possible, on the one hand, without a sacrifice to that extent of the true idea of a Church, to conceive of it borrowing or usurping the compulsory powers that belong to the State, and employing them for the purpose of establishing a particular religious creed, or enforcing the order of Divine worship, or giving to its spiritual decisions command over the conscience and heart? Or is it possible, on the other hand, without the sacrifice to that extent of the true idea of a civil government, to imagine it clothing itself with the character of a Church, and using the spiritual machinery of persuasion, and instruction, and admonition, in order to punish crime and protect property, or to enforce the national arrangements for internal taxation, or for defence against foreign attack? Do the objects contemplated by a Christian Church admit of their being accomplished and secured by any power or authority similar to that which is proper to the State? Or do the ends which the State has in view suggest or allow the use of authority identical with that which the Church employs, to tell with effect on the understandings and consciences of men in their relations to spiritual things?

We are advocating no narrow theory of civil government, as if it had nothing to do with anything beyond the secular relations of life, and had no interest or office in what concerns man in a higher capacity. We believe that there can be no sound view of political government which restricts it to the care of man's body and bodily wants, and does not assign to it a wider sphere, as charged, in a certain sense, with the advancement of human well-being in its moral as well as its material interests. But still there can be no doubt that the State was instituted, in the first instance, for other purposes than that of promoting the Christian and spiritual good of its subjects; and that, however much the acts of government, if wisely shaped, may be fitted, and even intended, indirectly to advance that object, yet, in its first and essential character, it is an ordinance for civil and not for religious objects. As little would we assert that it is necessary to regard the spiritual society as strictly limited to the one object of seeking the Christian well-being of its members, and as sublimely indifferent to all that affects their temporal or social condition. There are blessings even belonging to this life which the Church can scatter in its way, even while we hold that the first and distinctive object for which it was established is to declare to men the promise of the life that is to come. In the case of the State, it may indirectly, and by the use of its proper power as a State, promote to no inconsiderable extent those moral and religious ends which it is the Church's distinctive duty to work out; but still political government is a civil institute, and not a spiritual. In the case of the Church, it may, by the indirect influence which it puts forth upon society, become the right hand of the

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civil magistrate in repressing wrong, and the best instrument for advancing the temporal prosperity of the State; but still it is a spiritual ordinance, and not a civil. It is impossible for the State to do the work of the Church; nor is this its primary object. It is equally impossible for the Church to do the work of the State; nor can this be alleged to be its design, except in a very secondary and subordinate sense.

In arguing for the original and essential distinction between Church and State in their primary character and functions, we do not feel at all embarrassed in our argument by the position, which we believe to be defensible on grounds both of reason and Scripture, that there can and ought to be a friendly connection or alliance between the two. It were beside our present purpose to enter upon the question of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of civil establishments of religion. But this much we may say, that no intelligent advocate of the lawfulness of such connection will ever seek to rest his argument on the denial of the original and essential independence of Church and State, or the possibility of a partial surrender of it on either side. On the contrary, the Scriptural alliance of the spiritual and civil powers is possible only because they are originally and unalterably different. If the Church and State could properly be identified or merged into each other, there could be no such thing as an alliance rightly so called. It is because they are different in their primary characters, in the provinces that they occupy, in the powers which they administer, in the membership that belongs to them, that they can unite without confusion, and be allied without danger to each other. To use a form of words better known in the controversies of other days than of our own, there is much which the civil magistrate may do "*circa sacra*" without involving him in the charge of interfering "*in sacris*,"—much that he may do, when in friendly alliance with the ecclesiastical society, to promote its spiritual objects, while he is in no way departing from his own sphere as the minister of the State, or assuming the character or powers that belong to the Church. But to whatever extent the State may go in thus aiding the objects and furthering the views of the Church, any alliance between them, when contracted on Scriptural terms, presupposes that the parties to it are, in the first instance, independent and distinct. It is founded on the idea, that the two societies that enter into connection are alike possessed previously of powers of separate existence and action,—each complete within itself for its own purposes and objects, and sovereign in the ordering of its affairs; and each capable of acting apart as well as in concert, and only consenting to be allied on terms that do not compromise, but rather acknowledge, their independence. The advocates of civil establishments of religion, so far from being called upon by the necessities of their argument to admit the essential identity of Church and State, can never truly or rightly state it without laying down the proposition that the two are fundamentally and unchangeably unlike. It is only two societies self-acting and self-governed with whom it is possible to enter into alliance at all; and it is only two societies having powers unlike, occupying departments unlike, and dealing with matters unlike, with whom it is possible to enter into alliance safely.

The doctrine, then, that the State is bound to promote the general well-being of man, moral as well as material, and that the Church cannot be indifferent, amid the higher interests committed to it, of his civil and social rights, does by no means involve the conclusion of the sameness in nature and function of the civil and spiritual powers. Neither does the further doctrine of the lawfulness of some kind of alliance between the two imply, that, in entering into connection, any one of them abandons its own personal or corporate identity, and becomes lost in the other.

But what is the light that Scripture casts on this sameness or diversity of Church and State? Does it afford any justification of the theory, that the Church is nothing other than the State acting in the matter of religion, or the State nothing other than the instrument of the Church ruling in civil as well as spiritual affairs? Is there any warrant from such a quarter for saying that the Church is no more than one department or organ of the State, limited to a special class of State duties and objects, or that the State is but one amid the orders of ecclesiastical servants, to do the bidding of the Church with a view to Church ends? On the contrary, we have scriptural authority for asserting that the Christian Church and the State differ in all that can make them two societies and not one, being fundamentally and unalterably distinct even in a Christian community, and in the case of a friendly alliance. They differ in their origin, in their membership, in their powers, and in the matters with which they have to deal.

They differ in their *origin*,—a truth illustrated historically, in the fact that civil government in one form or other has always existed whether the Christian Church was known or unknown, and has been acknowledged to be valid and lawful among all na-

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tions, whether Christian or not; and a truth founded on the general principle, that the one is an ordinance of nature, and the other an ordinance of grace,—the one the appointment of God as the universal Sovereign, the other the appointment of God as Mediator, or the special Ruler and Head of His own people. Whether the community be Christianized or not, civil government is a natural ordinance, not dependent for its power or validity on the religion of ruler or subject, and not more binding in a nation of Christians than in one ignorant of Christianity. And hence it is that "difference of religion does not make void the magistrate's office,—presenting in this respect a contrast to the ruling power in the Christian Church, which is only binding within the circle of those who have voluntarily submitted themselves as professing Christians to its jurisdiction.

They differ in respect of their *members*,—a fact exemplified most palpably, in the case of a State ignorant of Christianity, or hostile to it,—where the Christian Church consists of a society of individuals, perhaps small in number in comparison with the rest of the nation—persecuted by the magistrate, or, at best, only tolerated as a necessary evil—detached from the general community, and acting apart; but not less really true in the instance of a Christianized State, within whose borders all, or nearly all, conform to a profession of the national faith. Even in those cases in which the Church becomes coextensive with the commonwealth, and the two may be regarded as almost numerically one, the distinction between the citizen and the Christian, the member of the Church and the subject of the State, is never lost, and cannot be disregarded. The conditions of membership in the two societies are fundamentally unlike. A man may be an outlaw from civil society, or suffer for treason to the State, who is yet welcomed to the privileges of the Church, and reverenced not only as a member but as a martyr here; and a man excommunicated by the spiritual powers may suffer no loss in his rights as a citizen. It is not in his character as a subject of the commonwealth, but in his capacity as a professing Christian, that a man becomes a member of the spiritual association; and his rights there give him no title to political privileges, and no protection from the consequences of the legal forfeiture of the status and immunities of civil life. Two societies, constituted upon conditions of membership so dissimilar, cannot themselves be alike, but must remain essentially distinct, even when approaching most nearly to numerical identity.

They differ in respect of the *powers* they possess and employ to effect their objects. Here, too, there is a contrast between them that admits of no reconciliation. To the civil government belongs the power of the sword, or the prerogative of capital punishment, involving in it a right to employ all those lesser penalties affecting the person or property or temporal rights of men which are included under the greater, and which in their varied measure and severity are all necessary, and not more than sufficient to secure the order, and peace, and well-being of civil life. To the religious society belong, on the contrary, the weapons of a warfare not carnal, but spiritual; the armoury supplied by truth and right; the obligations of conscience, and the fear of God; the power that is found in a sense of duty to be done, and wrong to be avoided; the influence that springs from spiritual instruction, and persuasion, and censure; the force that there is in the doctrine of a world to come; the command over the understanding and hearts of men, that is given by speaking to them in the name of Heaven, even under the limitation of speaking nothing but what Heaven has revealed; the mighty authority to bind and loose the springs of life and action in the human heart, by appealing to its feelings in the word of an ambassador for Christ, even while rendering to all the liberty which the Bereans claimed of asking at his own word, Whether these things be so or not? Powers so different and so strongly contrasted cannot reside in the same governing body, without neutralizing each other. The one ends where the other begins; the same hand at the same moment cannot grasp the twofold prerogative: the Church, without the sacrifice of its character and influence as a Church, cannot arrogate the powers of the State; and the State, without foregoing to that extent its position and action as a State, cannot enter upon the functions of the Church.

They differ in regard to the *matters* with which they have to deal. Here likewise there is a separation between the body spiritual and the body political, which forbids approximation. The objects immediately and directly contemplated by the State, in the proper exercise of its coercive authority, terminate in the present life, and are bounded by that earthly range which fences the territory of the civil ruler when he deals with the administration of justice between man and man — the preservation of peace and social order—the advancement of public morals—the security of person and property and temporal right. Whatever indirectly a Christian government may feel to be within the sphere of its duty or power, when look-

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ing upward to higher interests, it is plain that its first and distinctive office is to make men good subjects, and not saints; and with that view, to employ all the civil aids and instruments that secure such an end. On the other hand, the direct and immediate object of the Church is the salvation of souls, —the making of men not so much good citizens as true Christians; and with this aim, it has to deal not with the lives and properties, but with the understanding and consciences of its members,—to administer to the inward rather than to the outward man, —to regulate the motions and springs of human action within,—and to turn and sway the heart out of which are the issues of obedience and life. The truth of God, and the conscience of man; the claims of the Divine law, and the responsibilities of human guilt; the ruin by sin, and the salvation of the sou by grace,—these are the things with which the Christian Church is primarily conversant; and not any of those questions of civil or pecuniary right, in the determination of which the magistrate of the State is competent to sit as a judge or a divider. The subject matter in the one case is spiritual, involved in man's relation to God; in the other case it is temporal, belonging to his relation as a citizen or member of the commonwealth.

Such, without doubt, are the grounds in Scripture principles for the necessity of drawing a line of distinction, broad and deep, between Church and State, and for refusing to regard them as either originally one, or as capable of being subsequently identified. The admission of such a total distinctness, when intelligently made and consistently carried out to its logical consequences, reaches much further than to a condemnation of the extreme views on either side, that would assert that the Church is no more than the religious department of the State, or the State nothing other than the civil servant holding office from the Church. There may be a very general acknowledgment of the Scripture principles, which forbid us to regard the spiritual and temporal societies as the same in themselves, or in the duties to be discharged by them; while, at the same time, the independent power in each, to regulate its own proceedings, to apply its own rules, and to govern its own members, exempt from all foreign control, may not be held as involved in the acknowledgment. And yet the separation between Church and State so strongly asserted in Scripture, can be nothing more than nominal and illusory, if it admits of the one party to any extent, however inconsiderable, occupying the province of the other, and stretching forth its hand to control its neighbour's affairs within its neighbour's borders. The distinction between them as to powers and functions must be very much a distinction without a difference, if the authority of the Church is to any civil effect a valid authority with the servants and in the proceedings of the State, or if the commands of the State can carry lawful force and obligations, in however small a degree, with the members of the Church, in the arrangement of spiritual concerns. A line of demarcation between the territory of the spiritual and the temporal is no line at all if it can be crossed at any point, by either party, for the purpose of taking possession of ground fenced off by such boundary, for the exclusive occupation of the other.

There can be no doubt that the principle so plainly laid down in Scripture, of the entire separation between the religious and political societies, as to the nature of their powers, and as to the subject matter of their administrations, legitimately and inevitably carries with it the conclusion, not only that each is complete within itself for its own work and its own objects, but also that each is independent of any control not lodged within itself, and brought to bear from any foreign quarter upon its internal arrangements. To assert that the spiritual rulers can competently exercise power in the department of the State, in the way of depriving kings of their civil estate, and absolving subjects from their civil allegiance, of visiting men by means of its sentences with civil pains or the forfeiture of civil rights, is nothing else than to allege' that the authority of the Church is of the same kind as that which belongs to the State, and that it rightly deals, not with different, but with identical matters. To assert, on the other hand, that the civil magistrate must have the right of effective interference in the affairs of the Church, in the way of keeping ecclesiastical courts and officers within the line of their duty, and reversing and controlling their proceedings is, in like manner, nothing else than to affirm that the power of the State is of the same nature with that which the Church administers, and that it belongs to it to judge in the same subject matter in which the Church is appointed to judge. An exemption on the part of the State from spiritual control in the management of its own affairs, is necessarily implied in the very proposition, that the authority which would interfere is spiritual, and that the matter interfered with is not. An exemption, in like manner, on the part of the Church from civil control in managing its own affairs and governing its own members, is necessarily involved in the

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very idea that the authority pretending to regulate the Church's duties is civil, and that these duties are not.

But the argument may be slightly varied. We have said that, admitting the primary and indelible distinction between them, it is impossible for the Church to assume authority over any department of the State, and, *vice versa*, impossible for the State to assume authority over any department of the Church; because this, in either case, would amount to an assertion that, in so far, their powers were not different, but one and the same. But with no less truth it may be argued, that if it were possible to do so,—if it were possible for the civil power to surrender more or less of its proper responsities, and for the Church to assume them, or for the Church to abandon certain classes of its obligations, and for the civil magistrate to take them up, the result would only be, that to that extent they would deny their own character, and divest themselves of the peculiar functions which make them what they are,—as the one the public ordinance of God for temporal, and the other His public ordinance for spiritual good. By the sacrifice of its proper functions, and the consignment of them into the hands of the spiritual rulers, the State would to that extent forfeit its character as a State, and assume the mongrel form of a politico-ecclesiastical corporation. And no less, by divesting itself of its distinctive responsibilities and duties, and by abandoning them to the civil magistrate, the Church would in so far renounce its claim to be accounted a Church, and be contented to take up the equivocal place and character of a semi-religious and semi-political society. It may be a question of casuistry not easily answered, at what time in the process by which its essential features are lost or obliterated through the sacrifice, one after another, of its powers of life and action, the Church and the State must cease to be regarded as such. The living man may suffer the amputation of limb after limb, and the paralysis of member after member, from the hand of the surgeon or by disease, and live on still; but however long the process may be protracted, and the result delayed, in the end it is fatal. And so it is with the body politic or spiritual. The "States of the Church," in their unhappy position of incorporation with the Roman See, would hardly come up to any true definition of the ordinance of civil government. And there are Churches secularised under the control of an Erastian supremacy, which can hardly be called the body of Christ.

We have dealt with the question as on the footing of the scriptural distinction drawn between Church and State. But this distinction rests on no positive appointment of Scripture, but on a deeper foundation, apart from Scripture altogether, and forces itself upon our notice and convictions independently of any arbitrary definition to be found in the word of God, of the ordinances of the Christian Church on the one hand, or of civil government on the other. The argument, then, for the essential difference and mutual independence of the spiritual and temporal powers may be placed on a wider basis, and bring out in a manner more equivocal still the freedom from foreign control which necessarily belongs to each when dealing with its own matters, and ministering within its proper walk of duty. The lines traced deeply and indelibly between the spiritual and the civil element in human life, and which divide into two classes, not to be confounded, what belongs to God and what belongs to Cæsar, appertain to the very constitution of things; they have been drawn as they are drawn by the hand of nature; and Christianity does no more than adopt, as it found, them,—adding the sanction of revealed authority to the light of nature, and giving clearer expression and fuller effect to a distinction known before. The independence of Church and State is no pet theory of divines, drawn from an artificial system of theology. The difference between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world — between the sacred and secular element in human affairs—is not due to Christianity at all, although it stands out in bolder relief, and having a more unmistakeable obligation in the teachings of Christianity. But the difference itself is founded in nature, and the universal and undying belief in the distinction is the instruction of natural religion, even to the most untutored heart. There are but two elements necessary to develop this thought in every mind, namely, a God and a conscience, —a belief in a supreme moral Governor over us, and in our responsibility to Him. The man who knows these two truths, even though he should know little more, knows that his relations to that mysterious Being are distinct from his relations to his fellow-men,—that his obligations to God belong to a different order, and involve a different authority from any implied in what is due to his superiors on earth, and that the civil allegience owing to the ruler of the people is not the spiritual service to be offered to the Ruler of all. Such a man may know nothing of the theory of a visible Church, and of its relations with the State—he may know nothing even of Christianity, or of any teach-

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ing beyond that of nature—he may know nothing of what revelation has declared as to the ordinances or manner of Church worship, but he knows that he cannot render to God what it is sufficient to render to Cæsar, and that things spiritual are not the same as things civil. What is this truth, except the very truth which Christianity has developed into the doctrine of a visible Church, in its faith, and worship, and government distinct from the kingdoms of men, and independent of their control? The essential elements of the distinction are recognised by every human conscience, even though unenlightened by revelation; the disregard of the distinction, and, in consequence, the subordination to man of man's relations to God, is felt to be a violation of its rights, and with nothing short of the emancipation of the spiritual element from the fetters of human control can these rights be vindicated. We must go much deeper down than Christianity, before we can understand the foundation and warrant of the distinction so universally, in one shape or other, acknowledged even by nations ignorant of the Bible. There are truths that have their root and the source of their authority in the eternal relations between the creature and the Creator. And this is one of them. Christianity teaches it; but it is older than Christianity. It is the truth that grows up unbidden and irresistible in every human heart that knows that there is a God, and knows that man's relations to Him are more than man's relations to his king.*

It is not needful, then, to turn over the pages of the polemical theology of other days, in order that we may see the meaning and be able to defend the doctrine of the two kings and the two kingdoms which the Bible would set up within every Christian commonwealth—each having subjects and jurisdiction, and each sovereign and free. The elements of such a theology are found wherever natural religion teaches that there is a God who claims to be the ruler of the human conscience, and to be the only ruler there; even although the man taught darkly and imperfectly in this school should know religion only as a personal thing between his soul and his Maker, and should never have felt its inflnence or understood its commands calling him to unite himself to others in a society gathered out of the community at large, and uniting together apart for the purpose of joint or church worship. There is a mighty interval between the complete doctrine of a visible church under Christ its Head, as taught in Scripture, and the rudimentary doctrine of natural religion, which out of the fundamental relationship of man to his Creator, educes the necessity and duty of worship; but yet there underlies both the same essential idea of the difference between what is due to the Divine Being and what is due to the civil superior. In vindicating, then, that distinction, and the consequences involved in it, we can afford to dispense with all these articles of theology, controversial or controverted, by which divines, drawing from Scripture their weapons of defence, have sought to explain and vindicate it. We can dispense with much, if not all, that Scripture has taught as to a rightly organized and fully constituted Church, standing in well-defined relationship to Christ as Head, and contrasted in bold relief with the kingdoms of the world. It is not necessary to summon to our aid the doctrine of the Headship of Christ—the key-stone of any right Scripture theory of a Christian Church. It is not necessary to recall the distinction between the Church and the civil power, as the one founded in grace and the other in nature. It is not necessary to call to our help the difference between the two societies in respect of the conditions of membership in each. All these are Scripture doctrines that directly and conclusively bear on the question of the essential distinction between Church and State, and the inalienable indedependence that is the prerogative of each. But passing these, let us seize upon the one idea that underlies them all—the revelation of nature as well as of Scripture—the dogma that all churches take for granted, and which all, whether belonging to churches or not, believe to be true,—the dogma that "God alone is Lord of the conscience," and that into that doman the king cannot enter; and we have in this single truth all that is necessary to enable us to draw the line between what belongs to God and what belongs to Cæsar, and to justify the claim for churches and for individuals of exemption in spiritual things from civil control. That doctrine can stand firm upon the foundation of natural religion and the universal beliefs of mankind, apart altogether from the authority which it justly claims as a truth of Scripture, and from any confirmation it may receive from the Scripture definition of a Christian Church. And that doctrine, rightly understood and applied, is sufficient to vindicate for Christian societies not less certainly or less largely than for Christian men, freedom in all that pertains to God from the commandments and authority of the State.

* Neque enim cum hominibus, sed cum uno Deo negotium est conscientiis nostris. Quò pertinet illud vulgare discrimen inter terrenum et conscientiæ forum.—*Calvin*, Inst. IV. 10.

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For, after all, is not the doctrine of the independence of the Church in matters spiritual but another form of the ancient doctrine of liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment? And is not the claim on behalf of the Christian society to be free as regards its creed, its worship, and its order, nothing more than a demand for toleration? Upon what grounds and within what limits do we claim liberty of conscience at the hands of the civil magistrate in the case of individuals? We claim it because there is one department of human duty and obligation in which man is primarily responsible to God, and cannot therefore, in the same sense and at the same moment, be responsible to human authority. We claim it because in these matters his obedience is forestalled, and himself the servant by prior right of another master; and seeing that he cannot serve two masters in the same walk of duty, and that he must be at liberty to obey God, he ought to be made free from foreign interference or control. Beneath the shelter of his previous responsibility to his Maker, liberty of conscience is secured to the meanest citizen of the commonwealth, not because it is a civil right due to him as a citizen, but because it is a more sacred right due to him as the moral and accountable creature of God. Within the sanctuary set apart for worship and for duty to his Creator he can stand erect before the face of earthly rulers, because the representative of earthly rule may not there intrude; another has taken the seat of authority, and a higher obligation decides the question of obedience; and because he is acknowledged to be, in the first instance, the servant of God, the ministers of State cannot bind him to their service, but rather must loose him and let him go. This is the ground on which we argue for liberty and right to every man to inquire and believe and act in spiritual matters as his own conscience and not another's shall dictate,—a claim acknowledged on all hands to be good and effectual in the case of individuals against civil authority, which by coercive power cannot, and likewise against ecclesiastical authority where by instruction and persuasion it may not, succeed in changing his conscientious convictions. And is there one word in the plea which does not apply with equal relevancy and undiminished force to the case of churches as well as individuals? Can the argument be regarded as good for each man, taken apart and by himself, in his claims to liberty of conscience, and as not equally good in the case of men joined together in a Christian society, and acting not in their private capacity as individuals, but in their public and official character as members or officers of a Church. In this latter capacity, no less than in the former, as church members no less than private men, they have to deal with God; in their conjunct or public proceedings the element of conscience is equally brought in; the Church, in all departments of its duty and actings, has especially, or rather exclusively, to do with those spiritual matters in which its rulers and members are primarily responsible to God and not to man. And if conscience is a plea which not only ennobles the exercise of private judgment in the humblest individual, but casts over it the shield of right and law to protect it against the encroachments of human power, is it not also an argument sufficient to vindicate the claims of a Christian society to be allowed to frame its own creed and administer its own worship, and regulate its own spiritual order, without in these articles being subject to State control.

Were the Christian society dealing with questions of mere expediency, in which an unlimited discretion were allowed, and in which conscience, strictly speaking, had no share, it might be otherwise. Were there no law to which ecclesiastical courts and officers were amenable beyond their own will,—were their rules and decisions to be considered right and wrong in no higher sense than the resolutions of a farmers' club, or the regulations of a society for mutual improvement in sacred music, or the prospectus and bye-laws of a copartnery for the manufacture of lucifer-matches,—were their judgments not matters of conscience, and their acts not done in the name of God, it might comparatively be a small matter of complaint that some authority foreign to the Christian society claimed right to review and reverse them. But in no aspect of them can the Church and the Church's acts be regarded as set loose from the authority of conscience, and not under law to Him who is its Lord. On the contrary, if we take the Scripture account of the matter, we shall be constrained to confess, that, in its three great departments of doctrine, worship, and discipline, the Church is brought into a nearer relationship of responsibility to God than any other society can be; and that its organs for spiritual action and duty are, in a higher sense of the words, God's *ministers*, than can possibly be affirmed of the agents or officers of any civil corporation in civil affairs, or of private individuals in the duties of private life. In doctrine, the Church can teach nothing but what God has taught, and as He has taught it; in worship, it can administer no ordinances but those He has

appointed, and as He has appointed them; in discipline, it can bind and loose only in His name and by His authority. There is no room left, then, for the interference of its own or that of others in any of its matters. Its office is simply ministerial, and nothing more, charged as it is with the duty, first of ascertaining, and then of carrying into effect, the will of another. In nothing that the Christian society does in the way of teaching truth, or administering the ordinances of worship, or exercising discipline, is there any place allowed for a capricious power; it is tied up straitly, in all the conduct of its affairs, to the necessity of following out its own conscientious belief of what is the commandment given to it to walk by in the particular matter with which it is appointed to deal. In every case, the Church is bound to carry into effect the law of its Head, and not its own; and the demand for liberty to do so, without interference or constraint from abroad, is simply a demand to be allowed to perform its duty to God as His law has declared and conscience has interpreted it, and nothing more.

But we may take a lower position than the scriptural one, in reference to the Church's duty, and yet the argument remain substantially the same. It is not necessary for us to enter upon the debateable ground of the extent to which Scripture may be regarded as furnishing a law for the proceedings of the Church in all its departments of duty: in questions, for example, of government, and worship, and discipline, as well as in questions of doctrine. We can afford to dispense with the help derived from what we may regard as the complete and accurate Bible view of a Church of Christ. We believe that there is no principle that is consistent with itself, or justified by the word of God, except the Puritan principle, that nothing is lawful within the Christian society but what, directly or indirectly, is contained in Scripture; and that Scripture, in its precepts, or principles, or precedents, furnishes a full and authoritative directory for all that the Church, in its distinctive character as a Church, is called upon or commanded to do in any one department of duty. It is easy to see how such a doctrine exhibits the courts and office-bearers of the Church in the very peculiar light of the ministers of God, commissioned and required to carry into effect His written word in all that they do in spiritual things; and that, therefore, in claiming immunity from civil control in such matters, they are only claiming freedom, in their official character, to administer His law. But it is not necessary for the argument to press this view. We can agree to waive it. We can dispense with all positions in regard to which Christian churches, or even Christian men, may be found to differ. It is enough for our purpose that we are allowed to stand on that common ground occupied by all,—namely, that the territory of the Church is a spiritual territory, and its duties spiritual duties; that the administrators of the Christian society have to deal with those thinge of God in which pre-eminently the element of conscience prevails, and that in these matters their responsibility is, in the first instance, to God, and only in a secondary and inferior sense to man. The plea of conscience is a plea competent to every church, in the same way as to every individual, when the question is one between the soul and God; and the argument is effectual against the claims of authority of all except of Him. It is not necessary for us to ask, in the case of such a church, whether, according to our standard, its doctrine is orthodox, or its worship uncorrupted, or its discipline pure, before we concede to it the benefit which the plea of conscience carries with it, any more than we require to ask whether an individual holds scriptural views, before we accord to him the right of private judgment and the advantage of toleration. Conscience may err in the case of the society as well as in the case of the individual; and yet an erring conscience is to be dealt with reverently, because it has rights as against a fellow-creature, although it may have no rights as against God. Whatever may be their standing as to scriptural purity and attainment, churches, unless they have renounced their spiritual character and become mere secular copartneries, are entitled to plead that they deal in their proceedings wiih matters of conscience; and their demand to be let alone by the civil magistrate, in their ecclesiastical duties, is like the claim of the individual for his religious life,—a demand for nothing more than spiritual freedom.

The plea of spiritual independence as regards the Church, and the plea of liberty of conscience as regards the individual, must stand or fall together. They are but two forms of one and the same principle, and they ultimately rest on the same foundation. Grant the right of private judgment to the individual, throw around his exercises of conscience, in regard to religious truth, and worship, and service, the fence of toleration, and we cannot conjecture even a plausible reason for denying to him the same privilege when, as a Church member, he forms one of a religious society constituted for the perform-

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ance of the same spiritual duties. The difference between his private and official character can make no difference, in the eye of right reason, for a difference in the treatment of him by the State. The, in one sense, accidental circumstance of his acting in concert with others in a religious association, can give the civil magistrate no right of interference or control which he did not possess before. Nay, is not union into society of a spiritual kind, similar to a Church, a *necessity* arising out of the fact of the toleration by the State of individuals holding the same religious faith, observing the same religious worship, and performing the same religious duties,—more especially when one of the articles of the faith in which they are tolerated is just the belief of the duty of joining together as a society for the social and public worship of God? It is impossible not to see that the right of toleration for the one involves in it the equal right of toleration for the other; and if a society for the worship and service of God is to exist at all, it must of necessity have all those powers and rights which are found to be necessary for the existence of every other society. It must have some principles of order for the regulation of its affairs; it must have some kind of organs to express its views, and to conduct its proceedings; it must have the power of admitting and excluding members. Laws, officers, and authority over its own members, are essential to the existence of the Christian Church, even as they are essential to the existence of any organized society; and, without them, no orderly community could be constituted, or at least continue to act.* It is not necessary to fall back on the Scripture command, which makes the joint or public confession of God a duty, and not a matter of option, to Christians. It is not necessary to have recourse to the Bible for the appointment of government, and rulers, and discipline, in the Christian society. All these things arise out of the very notion of a number of men holding the same views of religious doctrine, worship, and duty, and knit together among themselves, and separated from the rest of the nation by their common profession. And the toleration of all these things by the State is involved in the fact of toleration of religious men at all; the right to the free possession and use of them by a Church apart from civil interference, as well as the existence of a Church itself, rests on the same footing as does the liberty of conscience for the individual, and the denial of the one would lead to the denial of the other also.

The intimate, and, indeed, inseparable connection between liberty of conscience in the case of the individual and the spiritual independence of churches, can be more than established by reasoning: it can be illustrated historically. There may be a difference of opinion as to whether the idea of religious liberty, as applied to the individual in all the walks of spiritual life and activity, has preceded in point of time, and practically wrought out, the idea of the same liberty as applicable to churches and societies; or whether the reverse of the process is true, and the spiritual independence claimed by the Church has been the harbinger and origin of individual freedom. If we take counsel of theory alone, we may be ready to conclude that the urgent craving for personal rights in religious matters, dictated by conscience, may have given rise to the desire of the same privileges in ecclesiastical societies, and have step by step developed itself in all the relations in which man is found, and made itself to be felt in his public and official, no less than in his private and individual, capacity. But if we examine the history of human progress and civilisation, we shall find that the opposite view perhaps approximates more nearly to the truth, and that the separation of the spiritual from the temporal society, and the doctrine of the entire freedom and independence of each within its own sphere, have been the bulwark of the right of private judgment, and the great instrument for developing the principle and practically extending the blessings of liberty of conscience. So at least the philosophic statesman, who has written the history of European civilisation, has interpreted its lessons. Unlike to many in the present day, who can see nothing in the principle of the spiritual freedom of the Church but an approach to the Popish tenet of the subordination of the civil to the ecclesiastical powers, Guizot can recognise in it one of the prime agents in the introduction and progress of liberty and right in modern Europe. Speaking of the violence to which the Church, as well as society at large, was exposed from the barbarians after the fall of the Roman empire, he continues: "For her defence she proclaimed a principle formerly laid down under the empire, although more vaguely,—this was the separation of the spiritual from the temporal power, and their reciprocal independence. It was by the aid of this principle that the Church lived freely in connection with the barbarians. She maintained that force could not act upon the system of creeds, hopes, and religious promises,—that the spiritual and the temporal world were entirely distinct. You may at once see

* Whately's Kingdom of Christ, 4th edit., p. 92.

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the salutary consequence resulting from this principle. Independently of its temporal utility to the Church, it had this inestimable effect, of bringing about, on the foundation of right, the separation of powers, and of controlling them by means of each other. Moreover, in maintaining the independence of the intellectual world, as a general thing, in its whole extent, the Church prepared the way for the independence of the individual intellectual world, — the independence of thought. The Church said that the system of religious creeds could not fall under the yoke of force; and each individual was led to apply to his own case the language of the Church. The principle of free inquiry, of liberty of individual thought, is exactly the same as that of the independence of general spiritual authority with regard to temporal power."*

And so has it ever been found to be in practice. The two ideas have advanced or declined together. Liberty of personal thought and action claimed by the member of the commonwealth in opposition to arbitrary power in the State, and liberty of spiritual thought and life claimed by the Church as against the same, may be separated in theory, but can never be far apart in the world, not of speculation, but of fact. The right of private judgment belonging to the citizen can only be seen in its true value and sacredness when seen to rest on the same foundation of conscience which gives force and holiness to the Church's demand for freedom in all that belongs to the relations between itself and God. The plea of liberty of conscience on the part of the subject of the State can never be asserted as it ought to be, unless it be demanded as that same *liberty to serve God*, in virtue of man's prior responsibility to Him, which the Church, in its claims of spiritual independence, does nothing more than seek to vindicate for itself. Both pleas rest beneath the same shield; and the security of both is found in the primary and inalienable right of individuals and societies, of private men and public churches alike, to be exempted from the authority of the State in order that they may be free to obey God. And hence the love of civil liberty in the breasts of a people has never burned so ardently as when it has been kindled at the altar. Nations and individuals have been free from the yoke of arbitrary power, and have prized their freedom very much in proportion as religious liberty has flourished along with it; and where the sacredness of the latter has not been felt, and its claims have been practically disregarded, there the former has never extensively or for any length of time prevailed. The history of the long contendings for freedom to the Church, both in England and Scotland, pointedly illustrates this truth. Though no friend to the Puritans, and pretending to no sympathy with their religious tenets, Hallam, in his "Constitutional History," has felt constrained to acknowledge that their struggles and sacrifices in behalf of spiritual independence kept alive the flame of political freedom at a time when the cause was almost lost in England, and that the Puritan controversy has left its permanent mark on our national polity in the principles of right and liberty which it impressed. And the same thing may be said with equal, if not greater truth, of the fiercer struggle through which religious freedom was won in Scotland. The actors in that struggle were unable to separate between the two ideas of religious and civil independence: their controversy with the house of Stuart, begun and carried on in the name of spiritual liberty, in reality embraced not less the cause of political freedom; their love to each, springing from the same root of reverence for conscience, became one passion in their hearts; and while they were ready to give all for a free Church, they were prepared to sacrifice only a little less for a free State. "Take away the liberty of assemblies," said Knox, "and take away the liberty of the evangel;" but with a kindred and equal ardour, Knox was the foremost to stand up in behalf of the nation's freedom, and not to fear the face of man. And so it was with his successors in the contest. Their banner that they bore in their hands, while there was inscribed upon it, "for Christ's crown and covenant," was equally an expression of their hatred of civil misrule. While others conspired or mourned for national liberty in secret, they publicly displayed the symbol which declared that "all that is past is not forgotten, and all that is in peril is not lost;" and that sign, seen upon the mountains of Scotland from across the sea, told to William that the hour for the Revolution had come.

Nor, in advocating the doctrine of the virtually fundamental sameness of the right of private judgment in individuals, and of the right of spiritual independence in churches, and of their equal claim to civil recognition, are we giving a broader meaning or more extensive application to the principle than the common law of this country warrants. That law takes under its protection the principle of conscience as a principle available, in matters of worship and duty due to God, equally and in common to religious bodies

* Guizot—History of Civilisation, vol. i., p. 99.

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and to religious men. It acknowledges the distinction between things secular and things sacred, and the right of complete independence in the latter, both in the case of societies and in that of individuals, and in the same measure in both. Mr. Hallam has referred to the famous case of the Corporation of London against Evans, decided by Lord Mansfield in 1767, as the case which has finally settled the law of toleration for this country, and fixed its limits and application; and to the opinion delivered on the occasion by that eminent lawyer, as giving articulate and lasting expression to the principles of the British constitution on the point. In the course of his speech, Lord Mansfield lays down the position, in which all constitutional lawyers will concur, that "it cannot be shown from the principles of natural and revealed religion, that, independent of positive law, temporal punishments ought to be inflicted for mere opinions with respect to particular modes of worship;" and that, whatever may have been the number or severity of the statutes previously directed against religious views or practices differing from those of the Established Church, "the case is quite altered since the Act of Toleration," so that, "by that Act the Dissenters are freed not only from the pains and penalties of the laws therein particularly specified, but from all ecclesiastical censures, and from all penalty and punishment whatsoever, on account of their nonconformity, which is allowed and protected by this Act, and is therefore in the eye of the law no longer a crime." And not only does the Act of Toleration refuse to construe as a crime, and to interfere with as such, "mere opinions" or "modes of worship;" but it lends to them positive sanction, as known to the constitution, and known to be as lawful in the eye of the constitution as the opinions or modes of worship of the Established Church. "The Toleration Act renders that which was illegal before now legal; the Dissenters' way of worship is permitted and allowed by this Act; it is not only exempted from punishment, but rendered innocent and lawful; *it is established;* it is put under the protection and not merely the connivance of the law. In case those who are appointed by law to register Dissenting places of worship refuse on any pretence to do it, we must, upon application, send a mandamus to compel them."*

Two things are plain from this judicial opinion of Lord Mansfield—*First*, it is plain that religious bodies, or churches, stand upon precisely the same footing as individuals, with respect to toleration by the State, the law knowing no difference between the two cases. The frequent use of the expressions, "*modes of worship*," "*places of worship*," and so on, applicable only to societies, in addition to the expression "*opinions*," applicable to individuals as well, sufficiently establishes this. And, *second*, it is no less plain that toleration, in the view of Lord Mansfield, extends not only to that one department of the Church's affairs which comprehends doctrine, or, as his expression is, "*opinions*," but also to the departments of worship and order, or as he words it, the "*Dissenters' way of worship*." The latter point indeed is manifest, from the consideration that, in Lord Mansfield's day, three-fourths of the Dissenters neither asked nor needed toleration for their doctrines, which were identical with those of the Established Church, but only for their worship, government, and discipline, in which they differed. Here, then, we have a judicial recognition by this great constitutional lawyer of the justice of the claim put forth by churches of all classes and denominations, that they may be tolerated in the same way as individuals in all that belongs to faith, worship and ecclesiastical order; and that what they shall, in obedience to conscience, do in this department of duty, shall not be considered as unlawful, or interfered with in any way, or declared null and void because alleged to be so, by the civil tribunals.

But the principle on which he founds his interpretation of the Toleration Act, is fully as instructive as the interpretation itself. All positive statutes imposing penalties in respect of religious opinions or modes of worship being removed out of the way by the Act of Toleration, it is necessary, in order to interpret the right and limits of free opinion, to fall back on those original principles of right and wrong anterior to positive statute, and everywhere the same,—the universal practice and common jurisprudence of nations known as *common law*. "The eternal principles of natural religion," says Lord Mansfield, "are part of the common law: the essential principles of revealed religion are part of the common law." So far from it being true, as is sometimes alleged by the warm assertors of the prerogative of the State, that it knows no difference between things temporal and things sacred, between religious societies and civil corporations, between churches and trading copartneries, between the province that belongs to God and that which belongs to Cæsar, that, according to this eminent authority, the

* Parliamentary History of England—Speech of Lord Mansfield in the Cause between the City of London and the Dissenters. 1767.

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distinction is itself embodied in the common law of England, inasmuch as the principles of natural religion, of which the distinction forms a part, are so embodied. Nay, if we are disposed to go beyond what natural religion may teach of the distinction, and take the fundamental principles of the Bible as our key to the understanding of it, we should not travel beyond the limits of the British constitution, or place our plea beyond its ken, for the essential principles of revealed as well as of natural religion, according to the dictum of Lord Mansfield, are part of the common law. It is impossible, then, to argue, that the distinction for which we contend cannot be respected in the proceedings of the civil magistrate, because, however it may be known to theologians, it is not known to him. It is impossible to allege that in the eye of the law churches have no other character than have civil societies, and that the spiritual duties about which the former are conversant, have no other privilege than belongs to the matters of temporal interest or right with which the latter have to deal. The magistrate of this country knows all that natural religion teaches, for its principles form part and parcel of his own law. He knows much even that revelation teaches, for its essential principles are no less embodied in the constitution of the State. And when we speak of God and man's relation to God, of conscience and the things of conscience, and say that, in regard to these, individuals and societies are not under law to the State, because previously under law to the Creator, we are using no language strange to the constitution, and which is not strictly and expressly sanctioned by the common law of the land, as a plea applicable for the purposes of toleration to all religious denominations and parties. A toleration founded on such principles of natural religion as the constitution makes part of itself, embraces all bodies of men associated together for the worship of God, whether Christian or not Christian,—not being confined to those societies who claim an authority flowing from Christ as Head, and who are constituted on the model of that Church delineated in His word. And without repudiating the principles of the constitution, and running counter to common law, such societies must have freedom in all that concerns their faith, their worship, and their discipline, and to act as their own conscience dictates, apart from civil interference, unless one or other of two things can be made out,—either, *first*, that the act done by the society is not *bona fide* a spiritual act; or, *second*, that the society itself avows principles and favours practices so hostile to the order and well-being of the State, that it cannot be tolerated at all.

Either case may possibly occur. A Church favoured by its spiritual character may indulge in proceedings not spiritual. Under pretence of declaring for its own purposes what is scriptural and unscriptural in doctrine, it may gratify private feeling by branding a man as a heretic. Concealed by the cloak of a zealous discharge of the duty of Divine worship, it may hold secret meetings for civil if not treasonable purposes. Under colour of discipline, it may maliciously and wrongfully stain a man's character, and injure both his reputation and his interests in society. In such cases the Church can no longer plead its character as a spiritual body, or its right to toleration, as a bar against the interference of the civil magistrate in the way of reviewing its proceedings and granting redress, for this simple reason, that its proceedings have changed their character, and have ceased to be spiritual.

Or a body of religionists, without, in a certain sense of the words, losing their spiritual character, may hold opinions and inculcate practices hostile to public morals or the well-being of the community: their creed, like that of the Jesuits, may embody articles subversive of the distinctions of right and wrong; or their religious observances, like those of the Mormons, may be fatal to the order and happiness of social life; and, conscience, familiarized to the evil, may teach its members that they are doing God service. In such extreme cases it must become a question with the rulers of the State, whether it is possible to extend to them the benefits of toleration at all, or whether it is not rather necessary to fall back on the last resort of nations as of churches, to expel from among them the offending members. The limits of toleration is a question for rulers, which it is as difficult to solve as the parallel question for the people, of the limits of obedience. But if the right of resistance is one which the people should seldom remember, and which princes should never forget, the right of refusing toleration is also one which Churches cannot question, even although the State ought to be slow in seeking an occasion to exercise it. But short of those extreme cases of so-called religious societies, which, by their teaching or their practice, compel the State, in self-defence, to deny to them the right of toleration altogether, there can be no justification for the interference of the civil power with spiritual societies when dealing with spiritual affairs. If the freedom of any church in Divine worship and discipline ought not to be permitted apart from civil control, the only con-

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sistent alternative to assert is, that such a church ought not to be tolerated at all. The State may consistently put it beyond the pale of the Act of Toleration, if its character or practice so demand; but the State cannot consistently tolerate a church, and, at the same time, repudiate it in the exercise of its essential and distinctive functions.

Taking the law as it has been authoritatively interpreted and settled by the decision of Lord Mansfield, there are are two points to be inquired into before the civil ruler is at liberty to interfere with alleged wrongs done by a religious body in the name of a church.

He may properly ask, *Is this a church* coming within the meaning and intention of the State, when, after full consideration of what was safe for itself or right for its people, it framed the Act which defined what bodies ought and what ought not to be so accounted, and therefore to be recognised and tolerated, or the reverse? It were absurd to allege that any number of men calling themselves a church, and claiming its privileges, are entitled, without inquiry, to be held to be such. In the provisions of the Act of William and Mary, the State reserves to itself the means and the power of deciding this question as to each individual case, by enacting that every religious body or place of worship that may seek to avail itself of the benefits of toleration, shall be duly registered by parties appointed by law for the purpose; and that the doors of such place of worship shall be open to the State or its servants. Such provisions were obviously designed to furnish to the State those means of information, with respect to the character and proceedings of the body tolerated, as might enable it to decide for its own purposes whether the privilege should be continued or withdrawn. Independently indeed of positive statute, it seems to be implied in the very nature of the State, as the ordinance of God for the security and advancement of the temporal well-being of its subjects, that it has a right to make itself acquainted with the character of any society, of whatever kind, within its borders; and for that end, is entitled to be present at its meetings, and to be cognisant of its transactions. Secret societies are in their very nature dangerous and unconstitutional; and upon this ground, were there no other, a public declaration of the faith taught, and the order observed, and the rights claimed by every religious body, such as creeds and confessions of faith furnish in the case of churches, might be defended, as in fact necessary and indispensable in one shape or other for the information of the State and the protection of the community. But in whatever way or form the information may be obtained, the civil magistrate has a right to know and be satisfied that the church which claims toleration at his hands, is in truth what it imports to be,—a spiritual society in reality and not in pretence.

But there is a second question which he may ask, and it is this: Are the *proceedings* of the church brought under his notice properly to be referred to the class of spiritual things, and is the subject matter of them such as to place them beyond the cognizance of a civil tribunal? To answer this further question, it may be necessary for him to inquire not only into the character of the body whose proceedings they are, but also into the occasion, the circumstances, and the nature of the proceedings themselves, lest, through haste, or passion, or deliberate wrong intention, they should cover what is in reality not a spiritual but a civil wrong. We put aside as simply childish the argument that, because the church or its officers may unintentionally commit a wrong in proceedings which are *yet truly spiritual*, that therefore the wrong ought to be redressed by the civil courts,—as if the fact that the former are not infallible, were any reason for asking redress from other parties as little infallible as themselves. In all cases of courts or judges of last resort there must be the probability of occasional wrong, and the certainty of no attainable human redress. But when, under the colourable pretence of religious duty, the church or its officers are actuated by malice in what they do in their spiritual proceedings, or when, without any malice or wrong intention, the act done is, in its proper nature and effects, a civil injury, then the civil tribunal may be called upon and warranted to interfere upon the plain ground, that the malice in the one case, and the nature of the act in the other, properly bring it within the range of its jurisdiction. To ascertain whether it is so or not, the magistrate is entitled to demand, and the Church is bound to give, all such information as to the history and circumstances of its proceedings, as may be necessary to enable him to construe them aright; and the demand, and the obedience to it, cannot be regarded as implying supremacy in the one party, or subordination in the other, as respects spiritual jurisdiction.

These two cases in which the State may warrantably deny to professedly religious bodies freedom in their proceedings, do not form properly any exception to the doctrine of the full toleration that is to be granted in spiritual matters to societies as much as individuals, inasmuch as in both cases

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the *subject matter* with which the State has to deal has ceased to be spiritual,—either the society, by its doctrines and practices, having forfeited its character as a church, and become a conspiracy against the safety and good of the nation, or the action done, from its motives or its nature, being truly civil. And they are cases that must be of very infrequent occurrence. It must be in very rare cases in which the State shall be called upon to judge whether a professedly religious society is a church, constituted for the worship of God, and not rather a conspiracy against law and order. And the instances can hardly be more frequent in which a spiritual society, under the check both of public opinion from without and a sense of duty within—to at least as great an extent, if not to a greater, than in the case of a civil court, and in which a member continues under its jurisdiction only by his own voluntary act—can be betrayed into the wilful perpetration of a civil injury. Looking at the restraints under which they act, such trespasses into a province not their own must be still more rare than the parallel and opposite error, of the encroachment by civil courts upon matters spiritual. But however this may be, it can be no denial of spiritual freedom that a professedly religious society, that has become a mere copartnery for treason or immorality, should be dealt with as Jesuit colleges and Mormon churches have been dealt with, or that the incongruous offence of a civil injury done by spiritual authorities, should, like the excommunication by the Pope, deposing princes and absolving subjects from allegiance, be placed under the ban of the law.

Beyond these, the right to toleration for religious opinion, recognised in common law, covers the whole territory that the independence of churches requires. No plea that the religious opinions of an individual are in themselves false and unfounded, will set aside his legal right to adopt and hold them, if his conscience so teaches him; and, in like manner, no plea, that the proceedings or deliverances of a church are, in substance and upon the merits, wrong, will warrant the interference of civil authority, if the Church is acting within its own province, and *in re ecclesiastica.*

As little can the right of the civil courts to review or reverse such proceedings be argued on the ground that the Church, although acting within its own sphere of spiritual duty, has acted informally, by departing from or violating its own rules of procedure. Of course it cannot be imagined, and is not to be assumed, that a church will be brought to confess to having acted in any case contrary to its own laws; that so the fact on which the argument is founded must always be a disputed one, and would ultimately come to be a question as to whether the civil court or the Church knows its own laws better. But, independently of this, the plea of informality of procedure and of a departure from right rule, as a reason for calling in the interference of the civil courts in spiritual matters, plainly amounts to a denial of toleration altogether. Take the case of the individual, and what would be said of the consistency or the justice of the State if it professed to accord to him full freedom in regard to religious opinions, conscientiously arrived at, and yet this freedom was actually granted *only* when his inquiries were conducted according to rules and methods approved by the civil court, and his liberty of conscience was to be denied when any departure from such rules could be established against him? Would the argument be listened to for a moment which should assert that a man had violated the right forms of reasoning by reasoning wrong, or had violated the compact with the State on which the privilege of free inquiry was granted to him, by conducting his inquiries after his own erroneous fashion; and that, therefore, the privilege must be withdrawn? Is it not, on the contrary, essential to the very idea of toleration, that, arrive at his conclusions by what road or method he may—though it should be in defiance of all logic, and by a system of fallacies disowed by every logician, from Aristotle to Archbishop Whately—he is free to adopt and hold them still? And so it is with religious societies. To concede to them independence in spiritual matters, only on the condition of their deliverances being reached in accordance with their own rules, as these rules are interpreted by others; to grant them freedom in regulating their proceedings and pronouncing their sentences, only in the event of the forms by which they walk approving themselves to the minds of other parties as regular and appropriate, is practically the same thing as refusing them the privilege altogether.

Forms, no doubt, are in many instances the safeguards of justice, and in all kinds of judicial procedure have been found more or less necessary to secure its equal and convenient administration. But, in order to gain that end, they must be varied and adapted to the nature and the case of the subjects and tribunals, spiritual or civil, in connection with which they are used and applied. The same forms of process will not be equally adapted to both; but, on the contrary, what may be

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found admirably fitted to promote the ends of practical order, and justice, and truth in the one, may be wholly unsuited to the other, and, in fact, productive of results very much the reverse. If the ends of justice, then, are to be easily and effectually attained, or indeed attained at all, it must be within the power and duty of each court of independent authority and action to frame, interpret, and apply the rules that are to regulate its own procedure, as, in fact, the only party competent to vary and adapt them to the purposes contemplated; and any interference from without would only tend to defeat the object in view. But more than this. It is plain that a power to set aside or cancel spiritual decisions, on the ground of irregularity in form, amounts, in so far as regards the practical result, to a power to set them aside on the merits. It gives to the party in whom such power may be vested the command of the result. Forms of procedure, and rules for ordering the course of dealing with questions brought before judges for judgment, are so intimately and extensively intermingled with the grounds and elements of the judgment, that it is impossible to separate between them; and while this consideration is enough to show that it must, from the very nature of the case, be the right of the tribunal who has to decide upon the merits to decide also upon the forms of the cause, it no less demonstrates the impossibility of giving to any party jurisdiction over the latter, without surrendering at the same time a practical power over the former. Perhaps it were too much to assert that forms of process and rules for the order of business, even in a spiritual court, are to be held in their proper character to be spiritual. But it is not too much to assert that, in so far as they are necessary and conducive to the attainments of justice, they are essential means toward spiritual ends; and as a right to accomplish the end must always imply a right to employ the means by which it is to be accomplished, the Church's title to judge in spiritual matters without civil control, must involve a title to freely regulate, and interpret, and apply its own forms for that object.

The church whose misfortune it is to have the law of its courts or officers, to a large extent, identical with the law of civil tribunals, and to be amenable to their decision in applying it to spiritual things, must be fettered and helpless in the discharge of its proper functions, and liable to be checkmated at every step. In the exercise of its power to declare for its own purposes and members what is scriptural and unscriptural in doctrine, it may pronounce a man to be a heretic, and, acting on the apostolic rule, may, after a first and second admonition, reject him from its communion, and then be liable to the injury and humiliation of having him restored to office because of some alleged technical informality in its proceedings, which was no informality at all in its own judgment, or as affecting either the evidence or the amount of guilt, but was only fancied to be so by a civil tribunal judging by a standard applicable to civil affairs. Or, in the exercise of the powers of discipline, it may cut off some wicked person for public and gross immorality; and, because the notice of citation to the offender to answer for his offence was, in the judgment of a civil judge, twenty-four hours shorter than it ought to have been, the Church may be compelled, under the coercion of civil penalties, to receive him back again. The doctrine that informality of procedure in the conduct of spiritual matters by a spiritual body may make void its authority, when a civil court shall differ from it in opinion as to what is regular or not, is fundamentally subversive of its independence. If it be right and necessary for the State to acknowledge the freedom of religious bodies in judging of the merits of spiritual causes, it must be no less right and necessary for the State to acknowledge the same freedom in judging of the forms, just because the greater includes the less.

Nor, in asserting the incompetency of the civil courts, consistently with the principles of toleration, to declare to be illegal and to set aside spiritual decisions on the ground either of the merits or alleged irregularity of procedure, are we forgetful of the close connection that such decisions may have, or rather, perhaps, must have, with civil interests. The spiritual and the civil element are so nearly and strangely linked together in every department of human affairs, that perhaps it were not possible to name a single proceeding of any man that might not, in some of its aspects or consequences, be regarded as civil, and in others of them as spiritual. The very same fact may thus properly come under the cognizance of both the spiritual and civil courts, according to the view in which it is dealt with. But shall we, because of this close and constant connection between spiritual and civil interests, say that there is no real distinction to be recognised between them, and that both may be regulated and disposed of by one common governing authority residing in the civil ruler or his servants? Not so. The great fact made public to the universe, of the twofold ordinance of God in

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his Church and in the State—the one to rule the spiritual and the other to rule the temporal world of human life—is His answer to the question, and His standing assertion of the distinction between the things that belong to Himself and the things that belong to Cæsar. The universal belief of mankind, whether Christian or heathen, that the duties within the domain of conscience, and that pertain to the relations of the creature with the Creator, are more than the obligations of civil life, is the testimony of humanity to the same effect. And the law of toleration embodying the distinction is a decision of the same import pronounced by the common jurisprudence of nations. Civil interests may oftentimes be affected by spiritual acts, and, reversing the propositions, spiritual interests may often be affected by acts in themselves civil; but even when most closely connected, there is a fundamental and indelible distinction between the two. It cannot be said, therefore, that in the performance of spiritual duties which may, in their consequences, very nearly affect the temporal interests of men, churches are to be held as dealing with these interests and judging of patrimonial rights; or as thereby trespassing beyond their own province, and making their decisions justly amenable to civil review. There can hardly be any proceeding of a religious society, however purely spiritual the act may be, that may not in this way affect the civil interests of parties concerned. But it must not be alleged, on that account, that the proceeding is not spiritual but civil, and subject to the cognizance of civil tribunals. When the ecclesiastical authorities are pronouncing a man to be guilty of heresy, according to the standard which they and he have both consented to abide by, they are not pronouncing any sentence as to his pecuniary interests, although these, as a consequence of the proceeding, may be nearly and greatly affected by it. When the same authorities remove from an office in the ministry a man for public immorality, they are dealing with a question *in re ecclesiastica*, and not pretending to judge of his civil right to the emoluments that happen to be connected with the office, although these may be forfeited in consequence. Such indirect and consequential connection between the spiritual act and the civil interests affected by it, does not change the nature or true meaning of the Church's proceedings, nor subject them to civil supervision or control. Could the opposite be truly alleged, it would really amount to the assertion that no church can exist in freedom and exercise discipline at all.

Still there are civil results which follow from spiritual proceedings. These proceedings themselves may properly be within the competency of the parties who are responsible for them; they may not, consistently with the principles of toleration, be liable to the review of the civil courts, so as to be declared by them to be illegal; they may be beyond the reach of any authority, not lodged within the Church, to cancel or set aside. But the consequences of these may affect the pecuniary interests, or the character and worldly reputation, of the parties concerned. Is there no redress if, from any cause, these proceedings are wrong? if, from haste or misapprehension, or the involuntary infirmity that marks all human transactions, the ecclesiastical decision is erroneous, and leads by consequence, more or less near, to civil injury? In so far as regards the civil consequences, the party affected by them may obtain redress in one or other of two ways, corresponding to the character of the injury that he has sustained.

First, There may be, and, in the case of office-bearers, there commonly are, certain pecuniary interests or civil advantages connected with the possession of office or membership in a religious society, and made dependant upon such possession; and as civil courts are the proper guardians of property and other temporal interests, and spiritual courts are not, it must belong to the former, and not to the latter, to consider and judge of the conditions on which such civil privileges are held, and to award them to the party who can make good his legal claim to the possession of them. The same methods competent to any other of the subjects of the State to vindicate his right to patrimonial advantages, are also competent to the members of the Church in respect of pecuniary interests affected by spiritual decisions. In exercising, in these cases, their undoubted powers of jurisdiction, civil courts may be called upon to judge of spiritual acts and sentences in so far as these are conditions on which pecuniary interests depend, and to determine whether in this light they do or do not carry with them civil effects. They may be called upon to say whether the proceedings of Church courts are good, not as spiritual sentences, but good as legal conditions of temporal rights. To deny them such a prerogative would be to deny them their full and proper jurisdiction. But it is not necessary, in order to explicate that jurisdiction, that they should have a title to judge of spiritual acts for any other purpose or to any other effect: the power to do so—to declare them to be illegal and to set them aside as null and void—does not belong to courts of the State, and is not required in

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order to give effect to their proper decisions; the reduction or cancelling of the spiritual sentence is no part of the process, as means to an end, by which redress, in cases of injury to patrimonial interests, is to be afforded; and without taking upon them the incongruous and incompetent tasks of judging what is scriptural or unscriptural in doctrine, and what is right or wrong in discipline, the civil courts can do all that is necessary to judge and determine in regard to the civil interests that may be affected by ecclesiastical proceedings.

Or, *second*, apart from pecuniary interests, a man may be affected in his public character, and injury done both to his feelings and his worldly standing, in consequence of the erroneous proceedings of spiritual judges. And as the courts of the State are the guardians of a man's character as well as of any other of his civil rights, they must have the power, no less than in the former case, of granting redress, when character is maliciously injured. The same powers in a civil court that would secure for a man compensation for a malignant and unfounded slander, perpetrated by a private party, will no less avail for that purpose although the wrong should be inflicted by a spiritual court in the course of spiritual proceedings. The element of malice, if proved to be present in the doings of a religious body, will take the case out of the protection of the ordinary privilege granted to tolerated churches in their proper discipline; for it, strictly speaking, changes the character of the transaction, and makes it to be a civil offence instead of an act of ecclesiastical discipline. But even in this case, when granting to the party injured civil reparation, it is not necessary or competent for the civil court to deal with the ecclesiastical proceedings in their spiritual character, or to judge of their merit or demerit in that respect.

Still more is it *ultra vires* for the courts of the State to deal with these proceedings when no malice is alleged, and when all that is asserted amounts to this, that by the proper discipline of a church, acting within its line of duty, the feelings or character of the party interested have suffered. If the power of discipline is to remain with religious bodies at all—if the simple privilege, not denied to any voluntary or private society, however humble, is to be conceded to religious societies, of saying who shall and who shall not be their members and office-bearers,—it is plain that this power cannot be exercised without in many cases bearing with painful effect upon the feelings and reputation and public standing of those subjected to it. But such indirect and incidental consequences cannot properly be made a ground of action in a civil court, without subjecting the whole spiritual territory of the Church to civil control. In exercising the right of admitting and excluding members, and enforcing the terms of membership and office, the Church is strictly acting within the province of its religious duty; and although private individuals can plead no privilege of being exempted from responsibility in what they do if it affect the character of another, yet this is a privilege which must of necessity belong to churches if they are to be tolerated in the exercise of discipline at all. In the case of private and voluntary societies, indeed, the right of fixing and enforcing at their will their terms of membership is exercised to an almost unlimited extent, free from any legal responsibility for the consequences which admission or exclusion may infer. A fashionable club, admission to which is a passport to the highest society, may blackball at its pleasure any man, without the risk of an action of damages. A scientific society, whose membership confers fame, does not hold itself legally responsible for the injury to feeling and reputation inflicted by the rejection of a candidate for its honours. A banking copartnery may refuse to discount a merchant's bills and ruin his credit in the market-place, without being held accountable at law. A man may be expelled from the Stock Exchange, and in consequence become a bankrupt in means as well as reputation, and yet may have no redress in a civil court. And if freedom almost unlimited is exercised in this way every day by private societies not privileged by law, much more must a similar freedom be granted to Christian churches, which, if tolerated at all, must be tolerated in all that is necessary to their duty as churches.

The law, then, is open; and competent methods of redress are at hand for all who can plead that their civil rights or patrimonial interests have been affected by spiritual proceedings in the way of unjust loss of income or malicious injury to character. But beyond these two classes of cases, raising, as they undoubtedly do, questions civil, and rightly liable to civil review by the courts of the State, this control can properly reach no farther; and even in these cases the spiritual proceedings of the Church cannot be set aside or interfered with, even at the moment that redress for civil wrong arising out of them may be liberally and justly awarded.

The question of the spiritual independence of civil control claimed by religious societies has sometimes been represented as a case of contract between the Church on the

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one hand, and its office-bearers and members on the other, and as if the terms of the contract necessarily expressed and defined the extent and limits of the Church's freedom. Upon this view, the liberty conceded to spiritual societies is no more than a liberty for the members to unite together under engagement to each other, and to lay down their own rules for the regulation of their affairs; while the power reserved to the civil courts is a power to judge of the precise nature and conditions of the contract thus entered into in the same way as of any other, and to allow freedom to the Church in its spiritual proceedings so long as these are in accordance with the terms of the contract, and no farther and no longer than they are so. We believe that this is a defective and erroneous view of the question. It would allow of any office-bearer or member, cut off by the discipline of the Church, calling in the intervention of the civil courts in every case in which a breach of contract could be alleged; and it would justify the civil courts, upon the ground of such an allegation, in at once proceeding to review or reverse the spiritual sentences complained of. It is carefully to be noted that it is not the *form* of the obligation, whether arising out of contract or otherwise, but the *nature* of it as spiritual, which forbids the office-bearers or members of the Church from appealing against its authority to that of the tribunals of the State. And it is no less carefully to be noted, that it is not because the liberty of the Church may or may not be embodied in the shape of a contract between itself and its own office-bearers and members, but because of the subject matter in which that liberty is claimed, that the civil courts are forbidden to interfere. It is the nature of the matters as spiritual and not civil,—as requiring to be dealt with by spiritual and not civil authority,—that protects the Church in the exclusive jurisdiction claimed in regard to them, and bars the servants of the State from intervention. The accident that in some cases there may be a written, or at least formal obligation, that may be construed as a contract come under by its office-bearers on their admission to office to submit to the spiritual authority of the Church in all Church matters, is not the proper ground on which exemption from civil control for these matters may be asserted. Without such contract the authority of the Church in these things would be equally valid, and the exclusion of the State would be equally absolute. It is the spiritual nature of the proceedings, and not the contract inferred or implied, that gives the authority; it is the same reason that necessitates the exclusion. Whether the proceedings of the Church within its own peculiar province are protected by express and formal contract between itself and its members or not, they are equally removed from the rightful cognizance of the civil tribunals. The deep and everlasting distinction between the things of conscience and the things of the commonwealth, is what gives lawful authority to the Church to deal with the former and not with the latter, and to the servants of the State to deal with the latter and not with the former; and there is no contract needed either to warrant or protect the freedom of each party from the encroachments of the other. If a contract do exist in any shape that makes it to be a formal or substantial engagement between the contracting parties, it must depend upon the nature of it, as spiritual or civil, whether the tribunals of the State are at liberty to judge of its conditions and enforce its terms or not. If it is exclusively spiritual, and having nothing to do with civil matters, the civil courts can have no power to deal with it, or to redress alleged breaches of its conditions. If it be a civil contract, or one of mixed nature, partly civil and partly spiritual, and embracing matters belonging in some measure to the one class, and in some measure to the other, the courts of the State may, to the extent of its properly civil character, be called upon to judge of it.

The obligations under which the Church comes to its own office-bearers and members, and they equally to the Church, which have been called, perhaps improperly, a contract, may embrace matters exclusively spiritual, or embrace matters partly spiritual and partly civil. The authority of the civil tribunals will be different in its bearing on these two cases. The engagement between the Church and the ordinary and private members of the Church is, in common cases, wholly spiritual, embracing no pecuniary or civil right at all,—implying, as it does, the duty of the Church to minister to them in doctrine and sacrament, and their duty to be obedient to the Church in word and discipline. Than this nothing can be conceived as a more purely spiritual engagement, or, if it is to be so called, *contract;* and with obedience to the terms of it, or disobedience to them, the courts of the State can have nothing to do. The engagement between the Church on the one hand, and the office-bearers of the Church on the other, may be spiritual likewise. It may amount to nothing more than an obligation on the part of the Church to give them its commission and authority to preach the Gospel and dispense the ordinances of Christ in some particular

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congregation, leaving it to the State or to the congregation to give the pecuniary support, and an obligation on the part of the ministers so commissioned to subject themselves to the government, discipline, and authority of the Church. In such a case the "contract" is wholly a spiritual one, of the nature and conditions and fulfilment of which the Church courts, and not the civil, must be the judges. Whatever relates to the pecuniary rights of the party ordained to the office of the ministry, and discharging its duties, is a question between him and the State in the case of a church endowed by the State, or between him and the congregation in the case of many non-established churches, whose ministers derive their support from their flocks.

There may, indeed, be an engagement between the Church and its office-bearers embracing more than spiritual matters, and of a mixed nature. There may be an engagement in which the Church, in return for the spiritual services of its ministers, comes under an obligation to pay them a certain pecuniary remuneration, drawn out of a common fund under its charge, and contributed for that purpose, in addition to granting them the benefit of its spiritual authority and commission for their work. In this case, exemplified in some non-established churches, the contract is partly spiritual and partly civil, comprehending matters that plainly belong to each category. In so far as regards the spiritual matters of the contract—the spiritual commission granted by the Church on the one side, and the spiritual services to be rendered by the minister in return—these are things which, from their very nature, the civil courts have no jurisdiction in, and no power to enforce, and the Church alone has. In so far as regards the pecuniary arrangements of the contract, and the breach or fulfilment of its terms in respect of them, the civil courts alone have power to judge, and alone are competent to enforce the conditions in the case of a violation of them by either party. But although the contract in this instance may, in a certain sense, be regarded as a mixed one, giving to the contracting parties certain temporal rights, as well as laying upon them spiritual duties, yet the line of demarcation between the two is plain, and not to be overpassed from either side: the Church, as trustee of certain funds committed to its charge for the payment of its ministers, may, in that character, be a civil party, subject to civil control in the discharge of its pecuniary engagements, while the same Church, as a spiritual body, requiring certain spiritual duties from its ministers, and giving to them its ordination, is altogether free; and the State has no more the right or the ability in such a case to attempt to enforce the purely religious engagements between the parties, or to punish the violation of them, than the Church has the right or power to dispose of the temporal rights.

A sort of mixed obligation of this kind, securing certain pecuniary rights or advantages, on condition of a certain spiritual act being done, or a certain spiritual profession being maintained, is not unknown in our legislation, and serves to make plain the distinction between the two. Under the Test and Corporation Acts, now happily repealed, it was unlawful for any man to hold any municipal office who had not within a year preceding the time of his election taken the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. Intolerant as the spirit of the Act was, and unscrupulous as were the courts at the time, it was not in the contemplation of the one or the other, that, in the event of some municipal magistrate failing to comply with this condition, it was possible for the civil tribunals to enforce equally the one branch of the alternative as the other, and to compel a man to take the bread and wine of the communion-table as easily or competently as they could compel him to demit his civil office. Although the holding of office according to the statute implied that a spiritual act was to be performed, yet the illegal disregard of this obligation did not give to the civil courts the power to compel the performance of the spiritual act, but only left them the power of enforcing the civil penalty. In like manner, the holding of the office of Lord Chancellor of England, according to the Emancipation Act, is, in our own day, fettered with the condition that the holder of it make profession of the Protestant faith. If the present eminent lawyer who fills the position were to go over to the Roman Catholic Church, the law, notwithstanding the statutory connection between the office and the spiritual character, would never contemplate the possibility of enforcing by means of civil authority his return to a purer religious profession, although it might contemplate the application of its power and authority to the depriving him of his official position. Or, to take a case still more similar in its character to the one under review: a domestic chaplain, hired on the condition of ministering to a family according to the faith and rites of the Established Church, might abjure its doctrine, and yet insist on retaining his salary. In such a case the aggrieved employer would find it hard to persuade the civil courts to send the offender to prison to

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unlearn his heterodoxy, although quite easy to induce them to lend their proper authority to deprive him of his salary. The argument is not different with respect to the contract which may be alleged to exist between some non-established churches and their ministers, in which the Church gives ordination and pecuniary support, as the condition on its part of certain spiritual services being rendered on theirs. The civil courts have power to enforce the civil element in the obligation, but not the spiritual: they might, on the one hand, protect the Church in withholding the pecuniary payment, if, in their estimation, the religious duties had not been performed, but they could not compel the performance of these duties; or, on the other hand, they might authorize the minister when deposed to exact the payment, if they believed the duties to have been performed, but could not compel the Church to renew and continue the ordination.

It is the line drawn by the finger of God between things spiritual and things civil that must ever limit the power of the Church on the one side, and that of the State on the other. The landmarks between were not set up and adjusted by contract, but of old had their foundations laid deep in the nature of things. Make light of the distinction, and practically disregard it, and there is no length to which it may not lead in the way of spiritual domination on the part of the Church in the concerns of civil life, or Erastian encroachment on the part of the State in the province of religious right and duty. If a power of any kind, direct or indirect, is conceded to the Church of disposing to the smallest extent of temporal matters, there can be no limit set to its encroachments: it may pervade every department of the State with its tyranny, and subject all in turn to its control, creeping like a palsy over a nation's heart, and extinguishing all that is valuable in the civil liberty, the individual independence, and the manly energies of a people. Or if a power, however small, of rightful authority in spiritual things is acknowledged to belong to the State, it will soon come to make itself to be felt as the weightiest and least tolerable part of its sovereignty. If the liberties of religious bodies in the way of discipline or government are denied to them, and handed over to the civil magistrate, it is a concession which can plead for itself no argument not equally available for dealing in the same way with their doctrine: their conscience, when once fettered in its religious actings, can show no cause why it should be free in religious opinions; and with the independence of its courts and officers, the sound faith, and the living piety, and the active power for spiritual good of the Church must die out also. These are not the deductions of reason only, but the lessons of history as well, and lessons which the nations that have not been taught from the past are learning at the present day. Between the extreme which makes the State to be the slave of the Church, and that other extreme which makes the Church to be the slave of the State, there is no position that is safe or consistent with sound principle, except that which asserts their mutual and equal independence.

Art. VII.—*On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races, in the Struggle for Life.* By Charles Darwin, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S.,, F.L.S., Author of Journal of "Researches during H. M. S. Beagle's Voyage round the World." London: John Murray. 1860. 5th Thousand.

If notoriety be any proof of successful authorship, Mr. Darwin has had his reward. Seldom has an avowedly scientific work had public attention turned to it so speedily as Mr. Darwin's "Origin of Species." *His* Theory has already become historical. It has assumed a position in which it commands the attention of all who take an interest in the generalizations of natural science. Some leading naturalists affirm that it is incontrovertible; others, less bold, yield a qualified assent. Royal Societies discuss it, and it is talked over at the Clubs. It is received with smiles in drawing-rooms, and frowned down in churches as "a second edition of the 'Vestiges.'"* Has this widespread notice been gained by the work as one of true science? Or has the substantial food which, without doubt, it contains, been received for the sake of the spice mixed up with it? If so, is the attractive element to be chiefly found in a somewhat unreveren-

* Whether justly or not, we hope to show in the sequel. Meanwhile it is but fair to quote Professor Huxley's caveat: "Lamark's conjectures, equipped with a new hat and stick, as Sir Walter Scott was wont to say of an old story renovated, formed the foundation of the biological speculations of the 'Vestiges,' a work which has done more harm to the progress of sound thought on these matters than any that could be named; and, indeed, I mention it here, simple for the purpose of denying that it has anything in common with what essentially characterizes Mr. Darwin's work."

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tial walk in fields of investigation, into which the greatest thinkers have never entered but with bent body and head uncovered?

Mr. Darwin's well-earned reputation as an accomplished zoologist, was sure to gain for him a patient hearing from all who are working in any one of those branches of natural science, from which he profusely draws illustrations in proof of the soundness of his theory. The whole subject under discussion, is, moreover, in every respect, one of the most difficult which can engage the attention of a philosophic naturalist. But, on this very account, it is also one which will lavishly reward the student who shall be able to shed new light on it. Has Mr. Darwin done so?—is the query for which we propose to seek an answer in the work now before us.

Man is the interpreter of nature. This place has been assigned to him by the Creator, and, obeying his own instincts, he has ever been forward to occupy it. Here, however, it ought to be borne in mind, that, on the one hand, the interpreter is not infallible; and, on the other hand, that, even when in the main true, the interpretation will always be more or less marked by the intellectual, and often by the moral, characteristics of the one making it. It is all very well to talk of a perfectly unbiassed mind, complete impartiality, and the like, in the examination of questions in science which have necessary moral or theological relations. We believe that, in the circumstances, freedom from bias is impossible. But, granting all this, we are not to despair of ever attaining absolute truth even in such questions. Men will agree in admitting certain observations as in themselves reliable, who would widely differ as to the bearings of these on favourite theories. Given, we might say, the point of view of prejudice, and the amount and direction of divergence may be calculated as certainly as that of the ship's compass, when we know where the disturbing metal on board is. Some naturalists are satisfied with collecting facts; others are never satisfied till they have set these in relation to other facts, in order that they might have material for generalizations regarding laws of life. The former are apt to hold that this is the highest, and, indeed, the only legitimate work of a man of science, while the latter are convinced that facts are worthless until they are seen shedding light on the working of natural laws, or revealing to us the thoughts of the great Creator. Yet it is from those who really take the highest views of nature that truth has often most to dread, for it is here that the disturbing elements have scope. Kingsley represents his *Andromeda* as

> "Shading her face with her hands; for the eyes of the goddess were awful."

Such an effect has the first clear discovery of the thoughts of a present Creator in His works on many observers. They were faithfully questioning these, when suddenly, they found themselves on a threshold upon which the glory of a Divine One was cast from the other side; but, instead of courting a clearer view, they drew back, "shading their face with their hands." From that moment the idea of a Creator is bearable only as they see it, as Edward Irving loved to see theological dogmas, "looming in the mist;" and in all they write they seem ever distrustful of views of nature which, even remotely, tend to set them or their readers in direct relation with a personal God. Now, though we are very far from alleging that this must be a leading characteristic of the author of the theory now under review, we yet hope to show that the tendency of his book is very strongly in that direction. It would not be dealing fairly by our readers, and, especially, it would be unmindful of the apologetic value of natural theology, were we to look at this theory from any other point of view, than the twofold one of science and theology. We feel, however, that, in making such a statement as this in the outset, we are liable to be misunderstood.

If called to dissent from Mr. Darwin's views on the origin of species, we are not to be held as making light of his present work. On the contrary, we shall ever be found ready to acknowledge the great ability shown in it—the varied information contained in almost every page—the classic beauty of style in which the work is written—and, above all, its value as suggesting new lines of investigation, and as pointing out all the weak points in present generally accepted systems of classification. The two characteristics last mentioned have, at one point and another, forced upon our notice the resemblance between "The Origin of Species," and the "Zoonomia" of the elder Darwin. We could point out many passages in both which warrant this statement. In both we find a skilful exposition of the scientific *status quo*, a bold dissent from it, and the proposal of theories which are brought out, not only as craving a hearing, but as the only satisfactory basis for the explanation of all the phenomena of the past, and the only key to all progress in the future. In the least attractive pages of both works, also—pages in which strong belief hankers on the very edge of weak credulity

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—you meet with most suggestive remarks, lying like bits of gold in lumps of quartz. In other respects the likeness holds good. In the midst of the physiological and psychological romance in "Zoonomia," are many hints, such as genius only makes, in which we can now recognise the foreshadowing of generalizations which have become generally acquiesced in by men foremost in such branches of human knowledge. Thoughtful readers of "The Origin of Species" will have an instinctive feeling of the presence of such hints in Mr. Charles Darwin's work.

With this acknowledgment of the suggestive character of the work, we have a preliminary remark to make, on the general value of the facts in proof, which are scattered so freely over the volume, and which, though so numerous, we are informed, are but as one to a million, compared with what is in store, when the great work which is promised shall be given to the world. In almost every page we meet with facts which, as we shall have occasion to show, may be found as useful to an opponent as to an advocate of Mr. Darwin's views; while of many of them one cannot help standing in doubt as to their value, when considered even from the author's point of view. Facts which call up the common expression, "much may be said on both sides," lead to a state of mind as unfavourable to correctness and precision of thought, as it is damaging to theories on the spread of which their authors are earnestly set. In the case now before us, however, there is a double disadvantage. In addition to what is now stated, we are asked to take the proofs without references, and to believe that, if those thus adduced are not sufficient to establish important propositions, it is because the author could not, in a work like the present, bring out all he has in store. Now we may state at once, that while we have entire confidence in Mr. Darwin's statement, we have met with so many alleged facts, which, to say the least of them, are questionable, that we must be excused if we do not place such confidence in this *corps de reserve* as our author would like his readers to do.

"No one," says Mr. Darwin, in his Introduction, "ought to feel surprised at much remaining as yet unexplained, in regard to the origin of species and varieties, if he make due allowance for our profound ignorance in regard to the mutual relations of all the beings which live around us. Who can explain why one species ranges widely, and is very numerous, and why another allied species has a narrow range, and is rare? Yet these relations are of the highest importance; for they determine the present welfare, and, as I believe, the future success, and modification of every inhabitant of this world. Still less do we know of the mutual relations of the innumerable inhabitants of the world, during the many past geological epochs in its history. Although much remains obscure, and will long remain obscure, I can entertain no doubt, after the most deliberate study and dispassionate judgment of which I am capable, that the view which most naturalists entertain, and which I formerly entertained, namely, that each species has been independently created, is erroneous. I am fully convinced, that species are not immutable; but that those belonging to what are called the same genera are lineal descendants of some other and generally extinct species, in the same way as the acknowledged varieties of any one species are the descendants of that species. Furthermore, I am convinced that Natural Selection has been the main, but not exclusive, means of modification."—P. 6. Such, in few words, is Mr. Darwin's profession of faith. It must be acknowledged, that the numerous contradictory definitions of the term *species* now current, and the universal proneness of naturalists to multiply species, so called, by elevating well-marked varieties to this rank, are enough to provoke students, who have no desire to have their names associated with their discoveries, to take refuge in any theory that might hold out hopes of rest, as regards a satisfactory scheme of nature. Will Mr. Darwin's be to them what the ark was to the dove in the waters of the deluge? Now that so many have been turned to it in hope, the question is of grave import. In seeking the answer, our criticism must of necessity appear somewhat fault-finding; but we shall much regret, if, in our desire to reach the truth, we shall ever be led to leave out of view considerations, on the acknowledgment of which the author has a right to insist. We feel the difficulty of the task; not so much, however, as regards the certainty of our ground, as in grouping Mr. Darwin's scattered facts in proof, so as to help us to see the strength or weakness of the positions laid down.

Much of the interest of the discussions now under review will be found connected with current views of a philosophical system of classification. Mr. Darwin does little more than glance incidentally at these, until near the end of his book. For obvious reasons, we prefer to direct attention to them in the outset.

In 1798, Cuvier gave, in his "*Tableau Elementaire de l'Histoire Naturelle des Animaux*," a rough outline of those principles of classification which working naturalists

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have, since that time, found wonderfully equal to the wants of advancing science,—a circumstance which, apart from their philosophical simplicity, is a strong testimony to their truth. But, if Mr. Darwin's views have any just claim on our attention, we have been retrograding since 1798. The principles laid down in the introduction to the *Tableau* possess great value, when we associate them with the labours of Cuvier in after life, in accumulating corroborative facts. The "*Regne Animal*," and the "*Recherches sur les Ossemans Fossiles*" tell everywhere the same tale as to the soundness of the principles in chapter third of the introduction. Cuvier's review of living forms, and his survey of Egyptian monuments, which enabled him to follow the history of certain species for several thousand years, hastened to proclaim that species are immutable. And, we may add, the examination, from the palæontological point of view, of species which had been in existence during periods which are to all the years of Egyptian history as a million of years are to a moment, is ever ready to bear witness to the same fact. But we anticipate remarks to be made on the chapter in Mr. Darwin's work on the "Imperfection of the Geological Record." We have now to do with classification. The appeal to structural peculiarities, as bases for a system in harmony with the demands of science, should not, as M. Agassiz has clearly shown in his recent work on this subject, exclude every other element. Conclusions drawn therefrom may be strengthened or modified by phenomena in embryology, in physical condition, as climate, food, and the like—the former being studied with reference especially to *species*, the latter with reference to *varieties*—to which frequent allusion will be made in this paper. There is yet another element requiring to be taken into account in all generalizations on this subject. We mean, as much of Divine plan in creation as we may have attained to the knowledge of in the study of nature,—the recognition, in short, of a present Creator in all quarters of creation, and at every point in its history, from the time at which He laid the foundation of the earth to the present moment, when He invites us to the examination of those works which are "sought out of all who take pleasure therein." We state this at the risk of being misunderstood, and of appearing to drag into the discussion questions which may be held foreign to it. But the fact is, you can no more come to a just conclusion as to the relations between one department of science and another, and between different forms of life, with both of which classification must deal, without the recognition of a living, purposing mind in regulating these relations, than you can form a correct estimate of the working of any piece of mechanism without looking at the intention of its inventor. Even in the fine arts, just appreciation comes to turn upon our sympathy with the artist. But if we break up the historical picture into bits, though they may be bits of beauty, and refuse to look at all the parts from the point of view of the intention of the artist, so far as he has made that known to us, we must blunder in our estimate of the parts which we have refused to look at in this light. In the case now before us, the Creator has opened up to man much which is fitted to make us acquainted with His intention; and the more we see of this, the nearer we get to an understanding of that one true plan which systematists are seeking to bring fully out, and which will attain to reliable historical expression only in the measure in which man, the interpreter of nature, shall succeed in understanding the intentions of the Creator revealed in His works. It is to be regretted that little value is attached to this thought, and that many even studiously exclude it from their researches, as if to introduce it implied disqualification for their work. Mr. Darwin is not slow to intimate how he regards this subject. "Many naturalists think," he says, "that something more is meant by the natural system (than a scheme for arranging together those living objects which are most alike); they believe that it reveals the plan of the Creator; but, unless it is specified whether order in time or in space (why not both, and order in place likewise?), or what else is meant by plan of the Creator, it seems to me that nothing is thus added to our knowledge."—P. 413. Again, at p. 435, he remarks, in a way which, to say the least of it, does not bear witness to very enlarged views of creation: "Nothing can be more hopeless than to attempt to explain this similarity of pattern in members of the same class, by utility or by the doctrine of final causes. The hopelessness of the attempt has been expressly admitted (?) by Owen, in his most interesting work on the 'Nature of Limbs.' On the ordinary view of the independent creation of each being, we can only say that so it is; that it has so pleased the Creator to construct each animal and plant." A good deal more can be said of each animal and plant than this; but if in ten thousand instances, in which we find unquestionable evidence of final cause, are we not to conclude that, if our knowledge were complete as to one instance, in which we do not at

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once observe this, the same testimony might be expected as in the others. We are not shut up to the *sic placebat* so much in His absolute sovereignty, as in regard to our ignorance and the limited character of our powers. What is a mystery to a child in the actions of his parent, may be well understood when he comes to be a man. What would be implied if we expressed our present knowledge of the use of the serrated claw on the anterior toe of *Caprimulgus Europœus* in the phrase, "It has pleased the Creator to distinguish this bird from all the other fissirostres by supplying it with a comb-like claw, the use of which we do not see?" Not, certainly, that there is no illustration of the doctrine of final causes here, but only that we are not sufficiently acquainted with the habits of the goatsucker to be able to say what its true use is. The numerous illustrations of this same doctrine in the structural relations of animals widely differing in general form and habits, but ranged under one great type, had as true an existence from the beginning, as they have now that Owen's researches in homology have given us the key by which they can be read. But is there only one great type, and one great plan? Or do we meet with a far higher thought than Mr. Darwin is willing to acknowledge, in connection with several great types whose leading divisions are constructed on different plans? Do the radiata, for example, follow in structure the plan of the vertebrata? The whole direction of the most philosophical investigations in natural science is to accumulate proofs of four distinct plans, after one or other of which all animal life has been formed. And it is at this point that *sic placebat* may most naturally be affirmed. In the evolution of these, under the four great types—vertebrata, articulata, mollusca, and radiata—we find the basis for the doctrine of final causes which Mr. Darwin has no favour for, but apart from the recognition of which all nature would be a scene of confusion. It is not unnecessary to call attention to these things. There are many evidences that some most accomplished naturalists are drifting from moorings which ablest systematists and most profound thinkers, from the days of Bacon, have regarded as not only safe, but also most suited to the requirements of advancing science. We have heard of a learned instructor gravely asserting, that "the more deeply he examined nature, the greater confusion he found prevailing." Yet we suppose the same person could no more interest half a dozen of intelligent young men, in any one branch of natural science, without a system of classification, than Buffon, who set out from the confusion point of view, could get on with his work without looking at animals in groups, formed on the basis of general resemblance. It might be worthy a passing thought from such students, that they find material for classifying, not because nature is a chaos to be reduced to order by their great attainments, but because order and beauty existed everywhere before they condescended to devote their talents to the study of it. But it is well that men's lives are often better than their principles, and their practice often far ahead of their theories, as was the case with that sage who, though firmly and consistently confident in the denial of the existence of a God, did not dare sleep in a room by himself for fear of the devil!

Objections to the present generally accepted system of classification proceed on the assumption that a perfect scheme is possible. But it is forgotten that this implies not only a knowledge of every object in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, but acquaintance also with all the relations of distinct forms to those nearest them. It is well to strive to approach this as the *beau ideal*, just as in morals it is the duty of each man to strive after attaining to the perfect likeness of the sinless One. The standard in the former case, as in the latter, is one which no man on earth will ever be able to say he has fully reached. But the existence of well-marked divisions is not the less real on this account. All agree in making a distinction between animal life and vegetation, notwithstanding the wide field for controversy at those points where the two kingdoms seem to meet. Here, as in every department of human knowledge, mankind have come to a general agreement as to a fact; but this has not been reached through a series of definitions, equal to the demands of purely scientific observers. It has been attained through the apprehension of well-marked differences. The questions, What is an animal? what is a vegetable? would, however, land us in the heart of controversies, to settle which the life of any man is too short. We all remember how doctors recently differed, when the question was put in a court of law, "What is coal?" The conflicting answers showed that a *perfect* definition is impossible. Yet it is not on this account less true at the present moment, that coal is coal, and that we are all understood when we use the term to distinguish certain substances—we dare not say minerals, for this would lead to controversy—with which we are all more or less familiar. Looking at discussions on terms from this point of view, it can be clearly shown that,

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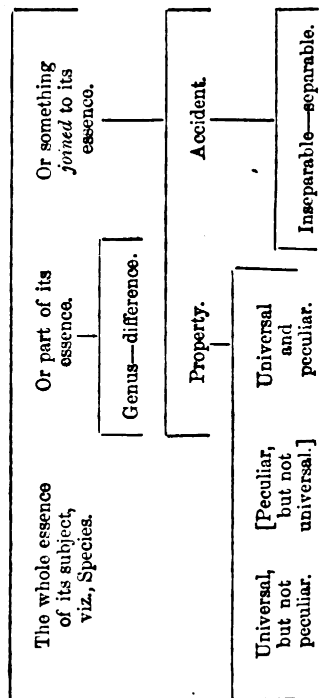
nevertheless, the forms of life generally referred to, where we use them, have a distinct existence and a well-marked place in nature. Agassiz* has pointed out how the leading groups of zoology came to be broken up into subordinate divisions, on which all competent naturalists may be held to agree, notwithstanding the multitude of doubtful questions which would be raised, were they to adduce the grounds on which each may have satisfied himself that his conclusions are warranted. Thus, in radiata, "polyps would be placed lowest, acalephs next, and echinoderms highest; a similar arrangement of molluscs would bring acephala lowest, gasterepoda next, and cephalopoda highest; articulata would appear in the following order: norms, crustacea, and insects; and vertebrata with the fishes lowest, next reptiles and birds, and mammalia highest." Our object in referring to this is to show that, whatever doubt may exist when observers come to define terms, and to assign reasons for their generalizations, the existences included under these have a sphere in the great scheme of life, which is theirs in virtue of the special arrangements of the Creator, and beyond which they cannot pass. The interpreters of nature of one generation may make mistakes which their successors in another may be found qualified to correct; but it does not augur the possession of much wisdom, for any one to find in the error a vindication of doubt as to the existence of any such plan in creation as the aggregation of unquestioned phenomena demand. Cuvier had assigned a distinct class to the barnacle under mollusca, but it is now ranked in crustacea under articulata. The removal from the former to the latter should not surely incline any observer to the conclusion, that because Cuvier made a mistake as to the place of the cirripeds, he has not discovered the plan of the Creator in connection with other divisions of the mollusca! On the contrary, these modifications in arrangement as science advances, afford us the strongest evidences, that we are rightly interpreting the Divine plan. It is, moreover, one of the most deeply interesting studies which can be followed by a thoughtful observer, to trace the history of opinion as to the true place in nature of one form of life and another, to note the great gap between their present position and that at which we first meet with them, and to mark the gradual way in which most competent observers come to concur in leaving them in a niche which had been waiting for them, or from which other forms had to be excluded, in order to make room for the pre-ordained occupant.

There is little doubt but that Mr. Darwin is much impressed with the difficulty of giving a verbal definition of species which will satisfy every one. This doubt has cast its shadow over the individual form of life itself, to which the name and rank of "distinct species" has been assigned: and he has virtually come to occupy the Lamarkian point of view, and to regard the doctrine of the immutability of species as the dead fly in the precious ointment—the error which vitiates all nineteenth century scientific generalizations. Our readers will have seen that we have no great desire to demand a definition which shall be beyond cavil. This, we believe, men with Mr. Darwin's views renders impossible, because they constantly introduce a foreign element. Not satisfied with what is essentially characteristic, they raise the question of origin; and this, as might be shown, influences all their inductions, if such a word may be used with reference to discussions strung so closely together as are those in this work.*

* Contributions to the Natural History of the United States, vol. i., p. 28.

* Such writers might study Archbishop Whately's elementary work on Logic with advantage. Many of the principles briefly stated in it are as deeply interesting to naturalists as they are to psychologists. Take the following on *Species*, *Genera*, and *Differentia*:—"Every predicable expresses either



Any naturalist can apply this formula to beast, bird, reptile, fish, or insect. He will find it helpful in giving precision to his thoughts, in tracing those

All that we care for, in speaking of species, is the presence of such a thought of distinct and unchanging individuality as every naturalist has, when, for example, in looking at the European Falanidæ, he characterizes *Falco gyrfalco* (Linn.) as one species, and *Falco tinnunculus* as another, or, when classifying the British Corvidæ, he marks *Corvus frugilegus* as originally and persistently separate from *C. monedula*, or *Garrulus melanoleuca* from *G. glandarius*. This distinction has, by Cuvier, Owen, and, indeed, by all the ablest zoologists, been associated with the creation of species. They continue distinct, because, to use the words of Professor Dana, "the specific amount or condition of concentrated force defined in the act or law of creation," has continued till now as it was at the beginning. This has set bounds to intermixture hitherto, and *all* that we know of the past warrants the conclusion, that specific identity will continue in the future. Even Mr. Darwin has not been able to adduce one fact directly in the face of this. And in so far as his theories of families now widely differing ever having been one, we will credit them when we behold his plain possibilities drawing even remotely in the direction of the threshold of that which is probable ;—when we see some tapir caught in the act of becoming a horse, and some ambitious whale sprawling up to the dignity of a polar bear,—transformations which seem quite easy to Mr. Darwin, to whom Ovid's "Ascalaphus in Bubonem" must appear tame, the "selection" being removed from the "natural" and made to turn upon the less noble "divine choice," and the powerful agencies of the unseen world:—

> "——Sparsumque caput Phlegethontide lympha
> In rostrum, et plumas, et grandia lumina vertit.
> Ille sibi ablatus fulvis amicitur ab alis,
> Neque caput crescit, longosque reflectitur ungues,
> Vixque movet natas per inertia brachia pennas :
> Fœdaque fit volucris, venturi nuntia luctus,
> Ignavus bubo, dirum mortalibus omen."

It appears scarcely probable that Mr. Darwin can seriously believe any great number of men will be found willing to accept the long list of assertions and suppositions contained in the opening chapter on "Variation under Domestication," as of any value in the argument. The assertions are, no doubt, backed by alleged facts; but almost every one of these "facts" gives occasion for a controversy, and suppositions are held to be strengthened by the discoveries and observations of others. But the worth of these may be understood when we affirm, that Mr. Horner's Nile-mud hypothesis is one of them. Besides, were the views brought out in this chapter all founded on facts which could not be questioned, they would not contribute anything to the strength of Mr. Darwin's positions as to "Natural Selection." They are all associated with the presence of man's intelligence. The plants and animals are under his care. He is ever observant of occurring exceptional features, by watching over which he may gratify his taste for variety, and add to the number of existing forms, as evidences of his power, to a certain well-defined limit, over the creatures put under him. Admit the full play of man's intelligence, and we will agree with much affirmed by Mr. Darwin as to the marked characters of varieties. But apart from this, it is not within the range of our belief, that, even though you assign a personality to "Nature," while you banish God from the scene, this, to some all-potent, *she* would be equal to these results. Of course, if Natural Selection has been at work up through the great ages which are represented by the fossiliferous rocks lying between the first layer of the lower Silurian and the last of the Pleistocene, Dame Nature must have done all; and to bring in man's influence as the same in its results as hers, is to spoil the argument. In this chapter on variation, when alluding to reversion to original types, Mr. Darwin says:— "Having alluded to the subject of reversion, I may here refer to a statement often made by naturalists, namely, that our domestic varieties, when run wild, gradually, but certainly, revert in character to their aboriginal stocks. Hence it has been argued, that no deductions can be drawn from domestic races to species in a state of nature. I have in vain endeavoured to discover on what decisive facts the above statement has so often and so boldly been made. There would be great difficulty in proving its truth; we may safely conclude that very many of the most strongly-marked domestic varieties could not possibly live in a wild state. In many cases, we do not know what the aboriginal stock was, and so could not tell whether or not nearly perfect reversion had ensued. It would be quite necessary, in order to prevent the effects of intercrossing, that only a single variety should be turned loose in its new home. Neverthe-

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inseparable marks in form and structure, which originally established the claim of certain individuals to be ranked as *species;* the differentia associated with genera will indicate the propriety of the term *genus*, as his sphere of observation widens, and the accidents will enable him to assign their true place to *varieties* in species. The remarks on "Definition" are equally worthy of attention. See Logic, Book II., chap. v., § 3 and § 6.

less, as our varieties certainly do occasionally revert, in some of their characters, to ancestral forms, it seems to me not improbable, that, if we could succeed in naturalizing, or were to cultivate, during many generations, the several races, for instance, of the cabbage, in very poor soil (in which case, however, some effect would have to be attributed to the direct action of the poor soil), that they would, to a large extent, or even wholly, revert to the wild aboriginal stock. Whether or not the experiment would succeed, is not of great importance for our line of argument; for, by the experiment itself the conditions of life are changed. If it could be shown that our domestic varieties manifested a strong tendency to reversion,—that is, to lose their acquired characters whilst kept under unchanged conditions, and whilst kept in a considerable body, so that free intercrossing might check, by blending together, any slight deviations of structure,—in such a case, I grant that we could deduce nothing from domestic varieties in regard to species. But there is not a shadow of evidence in favour of this view: to assert that we could not breed our cart and race-horses, long and short-horned cattle, and poultry of various breeds, and esculent vegetable, for an almost infinite number of generations, would be opposed to all experience."—P. 14.

It might be difficult to gratify Mr. Darwin as to the desire expressed in the last part of the extract now made; but we believe reversion to type, when domesticated animals are left to become wild, is capable of very varied and copious illustration. In the former case, nature—to use a favourite word with our author—nature is found ever ready to remind us of the original plan. We know of a case in which a peculiarly marked Spanish ram was mated with a Southdown ewe; and after several years' breeding in-and-in, a well-marked variety was obtained, which appears to have become permanent,—under one condition, however, for in the case of a cross the characteristic marks are at once lost. Yet, even while keeping the strongly-marked variety apart, ewes which drop two lambs are sometimes found to have given one to the world the perfect image of the original sire. The variety which interbreeding preserves is invariably brownish black, with constant white lines on the face. May not those cases, which periodically occur among the negroes of Africa, of fair complexion and flowing locks, be nature's reminder of original type? We do not refer to Albinos, which Livingstone and others have met in circumstances where they would have least been looked for, but to varieties much more like the Caucasian type. We give in a foot-note a suggestive fact in regard to goats.*

As to the reversion to original type, when animals now domesticated by man are suffered to run wild, Pritchard, in his valuable "Natural History of Man," gives us some interesting examples:—"The original stocks of our domesticated animals," he says, p. 27, "are rarely to be recognised, in their primitive state, among the wild animals of the earth. We know not what has become of them, unless it be supposed that they have been wholly subdued by man. There are indeed wild oxen, sheep, goats, horses; but the most of these are tribes which appear to have returned, in some degree, to their original state, after having been more or less completely domesticated. We are ignorant of the time and circumstances under which most of these races became

* "The great utilizer of alpaca wool, Mr. Titus Salt, is likewise the man who has given a greater impetus to the trade in Angora goats' hair than any other person in the United Kingdom. He has, moreover, imported the animals themselves (in 1852), and they are thriving well on his property at Bradford. But here again our far-sighted American cousins are considerably ahead of us; for in 1849, Dr. James B. Davis of Columbia carried with him, from their native habitat, seven females and two males of this breed of goat to the United States. Immediately he arrived at his home, he obtained a number of she-goats of the common breed (worth about three shilings each), and crossed them with his Angora variety, obtaining, even in the first cross, a coat of fine hair, whereas the third cross could not be distinguished from the pure breed.

"Now, it is to this most valuable and interesting experiment that I would call particular attention; for I have seen its results and can bear witness to its complete success. During a week's visit to the gentleman in Georgia (U. S.) who bought up Dr. Davis' flock, I had ample opportunities of inspecting them most minutely, and I assert, that nothing could exceed the vigour and healthfulness of these animals, both the pure and cross breed.

"Professor Bachman inspected this flock just after my visit to them; and in a report published by him on the subject, he says: 'Familiar as I have been, through a long life, with the changes produced by crosses amongst varieties of domestic animals and poultry, there is one trait in these goats which is more strongly developed than in any other variety that I have ever known. I allude to the wonderful facility with which the young of the cross between the male of the Asiatic goat and the female of the common goat assumes all the characteristics of the former. It is extremely difficult to change a breed that has become permanent in any of our domestic varieties, whether it be that of horses, cattle, sheep, or hogs, into another variety by the aid of the male of the latter, for there is a tendency to run back into their original varieties; hence the objection to mixed breeds. But in the progeny of these Asiatic and common goats, nine-tenths of them exhibit the strongest tendency to adopt the characteristics of the male, and to elevate themselves into a higher and a nobler grade.'"

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wild, and of the particular breeds from which they descended. There is, however, one great field of observation, in the tribes of animals which are known to have been transported from Europe to America, since the discovery of the western continent by the Spaniards in the fifteenth century. Many of these races have multiplied exceedingly on a soil and under a climate congenial to their nature. Several of them have run wild in the vast forests of America, and have lost all the obvious appearances of domestication. The wild tribes are found to differ physically from the domesticated breeds from which they are known to have issued; and there is good reason to regard this change as a restoration, in part, of the primitive characteristics of the wild stocks from which the tamed animals originally descended." Mr. Pritchard illustrates these remarks by facts drawn from a paper by M. Roulin, published among the "Contributions des Savans Etrangeres," in the memoirs of the French Institute. Hogs were first introduced into the Spanish settlements in 1493. They multiplied so rapidly, that man gradually left them to their own habits. In St. Domingo they overran the country, and had to be hunted down. On the continent they took to the vast forests, and resumed the mode of life which belonged to the original stock; and now "their ears have become erect, their heads larger, and the foreheads vaulted at the upper part; their colour has lost the variety found in the domestic breeds; the wild hogs of the American forests are universally black. The hog which inhabits the high mountains of Paramos bears a striking resemblance to the wild boar of France. . . . The restoration of the original character of the wild boar, in a race descended from domesticated swine, removes all room for doubt, if any had really existed, as to the identity of the stock."—P. 31. The same line of remark is continued by Mr. Pritchard with reference to oxen,* dogs, gallinaceous fowls, etc.; but we cannot afford more space for extracts.

In looking at man's power in modifying species, we are far from believing that Mr. Darwin's conclusion drawn from this are warranted. All he has made out, is a necessity for the introduction of a term into the nomenclature of science, which has been too much overlooked by working naturalists, namely, "Permanent Varieties." Not indeed that he feels the need of this term; but his facts and assertions will suggest its importance to many of his readers. The recognition of this will do good work in clearing the ground, and in exposing the danger there is in that amiable weakness, of hastening to rank as distinct species what are only varieties, in order that the finder's name might be associated with them. Thus we would say, "Species are immutable, Common Varieties are short-lived and ever changing, and Permanent Varieties, gained by man's selection, or through climatal influences, but mainly by cross or inter-breeding, or breeding in-and-in, perpetuate themselves so long as the accidental circumstances in which they originated continue. Removed from these, there will be a reversion to the original type."

Mr. Darwin's admission of a difficulty, which however we do not think called for, in regard to the dog is important, when looked at in the light of the remarks made on domesticated pigeons. It appears to us that the same grounds which lead him to demand a plurality of original types for the dog, should have weighed with him as to the

* The following supplies another hard nut to crack:—"A very remarkable fact relative to the oxen of South America, is recorded by M. Roulin, to which M. Geoffroy St. Hilaire has particularly adverted, in the report made by him on M. Roulin's memoir before the Royal Academy of Sciences. In Europe, the milking of cows is continued through the whole period, from the time when they begin to bear calves till they cease to breed. This secretion of milk has become a constant function in the animal economy of the tribe; it has been rendered such by the practice continued through a long series of generations, of continuing to draw milk long after the period when it would be wanted for the calf: the teats of the cow are larger than in proportion, and the secretion is perpetual. In Columbia, the practice of milking cows was laid aside, owing to the great extent of farms, and other circumstances. 'In a few generations,' says M. Roulin, 'the natural structure of parts, and withal the natural state of the function, has been restored. The secretion of milk in the cows of this country is only an occasional phenomenon, and contemporary with the actual presence of the calf. If the calf dies, the milk ceases to flow; and it is only by keeping him with his dam by day, that an opportunity of obtaining milk from cows by night can be found.' This testimony is important, by the proof which it affords, that the permanent production of milk in the European breeds of cows, is a modified function of the animal economy, produced by an artificial habit, continued through several generations."—Pritchard, p. 34. In a word, not only is there a constant readiness to return to the natural type in structure and in ornamentation, but in habits also. So long as man is present to guide artificial habits, they continue persistent; but, due time being allowed, they will cease when the animals are left uncared for. Man's influence over the dog has guided instinct into channels useful to himself; and the influence, again, of this artificially taught instinct on the physical frame of the dog, is well seen in the pointer. The pup will point when first taken into the field; but in a few generations its descendants, if untrained, will cease to do this.

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pigeon. He holds the rock pigeon (*Columbia livia*) to be the parent of all our domestic pigeons; but as this might have shut him up to orthodox views in regard to other animals, and especially as to man when he shall come boldly to apply his theory to man, he claims for domestic dogs several wild ancestors. M. Frederick Cuvier and many other most accomplished naturalists are at issue with Mr. Darwin on this point. Their views harmonize with his as to inherited variation, so far as he is willing to allow this: but they go much further, and hold that, as in the case of *Columbia livia* it is not unlikely we have the parent of the varieties of domestic pigeons, so our widely differing varieties of domestic dogs may have had only one parent species. If the carrier pigeon, the tumbler, the bald, the powter, the fantail, the beard, the jacobin, the runt, the dragoon, etc., are to be regarded as descended from different original wild ancestors, than we are right when we assign to them the name of species; but if they are from one, as we believe, with Mr. Darwin, they are, we must characterize them not as species, but as permanent varieties, whose wide divergence from the original type is impossible without the interference of man. So, as to domestic dogs we hold with M. Frederick Cuvier that they have descended from one pair; and that, in virtue of man's power over them in selection, in cross or interbreeding, or breeding in-and-in, the Italian greyhound, the bloodhound, the bulldog, the Blenheim spaniel, etc., have become permanent varieties. This will account for their fitness for cross-breeding. But can we, as in the case of pigeons, point out the common wild ancestor? The impression that an answer is necessary has shut up some to claim the fox, others the wolf, and others the jackal, as the wild ancestor of the domestic canidæ. But no answer is needed in order to give force to our remarks. The original type may be lost,—the species which was not selected from any type of life bearing some resemblance to it, but which came fresh from the hands of the Creator, may not exist in any one living variety, but may have its perfect antitype in peculiarities persistent in each. It is so with man. The most devoted advocate of the proximity of the Caucasian type to the pair who walked in beauty and in bliss amidst the bowers of Eden, is not so extravagant as to claim that in this race we have all the characteristics of the first man. In this case the Adamic type has been lost, and in the great diversities of families we have permanent varieties of the one species, yet all having part in the one blood relationship constituted by the Creator himself. The facts here referred to are being brought out under our own eyes. The sexual intercourse between the early Dutch settlers in South Africa and the Hottentot women has given a new variety of man to that country—the *Griquas*—whose children do not follow the likeness of either of the original parents, but of their offspring. The variety has become permanent. Such is the case also with the half-breeds in the Hudson's Bay territories. The union of native South Americans with negro women imported from Africa has resulted in a distinct tribe — the *Cafucos* — whose children are habitually born with the mixed likeness well defined. Pritchard, in his chapter on mixed races, gives many more examples. As an illustration of the influence of artificial selection and interbreeding, we may refer to the well-known otter breed of sheep of Massachusetts, which in questions of this kind has been so often referred to. "In the year 1791," says Pritchard, "one ewe on the farm of Seth Wright gave birth to a male lamb, which, without any known cause, had a longer body and shorter legs than the rest of the breed. The joints are said to have been longer, and the fore-legs crooked. The shape of this animal rendering it unable to leap over fences, it was determined to propagate its peculiarities, and the experiment proved successful; a new race of sheep was produced, which, from the form of the body, has been termed the otter-breed. It seems to be uniformly the fact, that, when both parents are of the otter-breed, the lambs that are produced inherit the peculiar form."—Pritchard, p. 46. It will be seen, however, that in such cases man's selection is necessary in order to ensure success. Had the lamb which the Massachusetts farmer made so much of, been left to his own sweet will in choosing a partner, he would have followed an instinct of whose controlling influence we have so many illustrations among those men who have not been lavishly dealt with as to size and form; he would have picked out for himself the fairest of the flock. Natural selection would thus have been all in the direction of keeping near to the original type. That this is always the result, when animals are not interfered with, we believe to be capable of varied illustration. One example we may give out of many:—For a couple of years a blackbird frequented our garden, whose motions bore evidence of deformity, and whose colour was suggestive of present disease. The skin is now before us. The feathers of the neck and hind-head are white, and the metatarsal joint

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of the right foot has become stiff, while the foot is bent up, and a stump is in the place of the foot. When examined after being taken, we found that the last joints of the cervical vertebra gave clear evidence of having been for some time in decay (caries). Had man wished to transmit the disease of the male, he would have sought for a diseased female—for one whose physical features approached in likeness to the male—but the bird, in mating, took to himself a healthy female, and the brood followed the likeness of the mother in each case except one, in which one of the tail feathers was pure white. Yet, distinctly marked as man's influence in these cases is, there are limits beyond which he cannot go, and all his efforts must be directed mainly from one point of view. He may add to distinguishing features in ornamentation, or even in some aspects of structure, but he cannot destroy or even modify any original structural peculiarities associated with the propagation of the race. The oldest experiment in this direction which is to be found in the world—an experiment repeated for thousands of years, and in millions of cases—is suggestive on this point. The Jewish male child suffered mutilation in circumcision, but this has never become hereditary.

Before leaving the "facts" in this part of Mr. Darwin's book, we may remark that it is not true that "the plantigrade or bear family do not breed freely in this country in confinement." One species, with whose history and habits we are acquainted—the *European brown bear*—breeds freely in this condition. The reference to Mr. Horner's discoveries (?) is not fortunate. Does Mr. Darwin believe that Mr. Horner has made out a claim even to attention for his speculations? If so, we can only hope to be kept from his easiness of belief. While we have accepted the statement of probability as to *Columba livia* being the stock from which our domestic pigeons have come, we are not unmindful that as good a case might be made out for other wild varieties of Columbæ. The likelihood here, as in the case of the dog, is, that we must look for the primeval type in peculiarities which have a place in individuals of all existing varieties. We accept, too, the fact of great capacity of variation in certain domestic animals and in certain plants, but we would not hence conclude that all animals and plants are equally susceptible of influence in this way. The dog is peculiarly so, the cat is not; the horse is, the donkey is not; the barn-door fowl is so, the goose is not. All that can be said in such instances is, that there are certain forms of life more susceptible of influence from man than others. But when Mr. Darwin seems about to receive such views, observe how skilfully, if not adroitly, he leaves a contrary impression in the mind of the trusting reader. "We cannot suppose," he says, "that all the breeds were suddenly produced as perfect and as useful as we now see them; indeed, in several cases, we know that this has not been their history. The key is man's power of accumulative selection: *nature gives successive variations;* man adds them up in certain directions useful to himself. In this sense he may be said to make for himself useful breeds." The *successive* variations, however, which are nature's free gift to us, are just what we wish proof of. Again, is it a fact, as Mr. Darwin alleges, that even his favourite "pigeon argument" warrants the conclusions which he has come to in conducting it? Has man's intelligence gone out in seeking variation by selection only? If the author had only given us a few facts from his treasures in reserve, which tell only one tale, we would have felt obliged. But he has not done this, and we are left to seek out the truth for ourselves. After more than twenty years' observation in regard to pigeons, we are shut up to acknowledge the influence of cross-breeding in modifying structure, and in varying ornamentation, to an extent which is destructive of the conclusions from Mr. Darwin's "facts." So is it with cattle. Cross-breeding, and breeding in-and-in, under man's watchful care and discriminating intelligence, can alone give the key to variation.

If Mr. Darwin hoped, by putting variation under domestication in the front of his romance—for the work is really such—to gild the pill of "variation under nature," which, in Chapter II., we are required to swallow, he has fallen far short of his aim. The theory here put forward is this—species are not immutable. Realized in the world somehow, they have been ever changing in the march of life, from the lowest stratum of the palæozoic rocks up to yesterday; they have, at one point and another, passed into forms widely different from those that preceded them. Organisms have gradually changed, and the mode in which the strange mutations have been brought about has been by natural selection,—*i. e.*, Nature constantly watchful for peculiarities resulting from food, climate, monstrosities, and the like, has ever been selecting the hap-hazard result, and guiding it until a form, which shall seem to be persistent through a lengthened period, is fairly ushered into the sunlight. In this theory the author meets with both the power and the weakness of Nature. His goddess

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has power to select the variety when produced, but she has no power to produce the distinguishing feature. She sees the polar bear imprisoned in the basin, up whose ice walls he cannot climb, indebted to another deity, "Chance," for his position; and looking complacently on, she says, "Here is something for me. In a neighbouring basin lives a female, which has been longer imprisoned, and in its pursuit of water-insects it has already begun to think it most convenient to try and become a whale. I will watch for the breaking up of the ice wall which separates the two. The influence of this constant swimming has already begun to tell. Well-marked peculiarities are making their appearance; the two shall breed and perpetuate the distinguishing feature; the young will have a starting-point in advance of the parents; their offspring will get yet nearer to the true cetacea, and in time—what though the ages must be reckoned by millions—I will have the satisfaction of introducing a new form, and my domains shall be honoured by the presence of whale!" That this is no caricature of the author of "The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection," will be evident from his own words, with which our readers must be amused, if indeed a sadder feeling does not fill their hearts when they remember that the writer prepared the admirable monograph for the Royal Society on Cirripedes. "In North America," says Mr. Darwin, "the black bear was seen by Hearne swimming for hours with widely open mouth, thus catching, like a whale, insects in the water. Even in so extreme a case as this, if the supply of insects were constant, and if better adapted competitors did not exist in the country, I can see no difficulty in a race of bears being rendered, by natural selection, more and more aquatic in their structure and habits, with larger and larger mouths, till a creature was produced as monstrous as a whale."—P. 184. Such credulity will find no difficulties. Could we only get up, or rather down, to the same platform, we could at once believe that the sauroid fishes were not prophetic types of reptiles, but their true ancestors, from which they have been gradually selected, and that every bird has for its common parent *Pterodactylus crassisostris!* Natural selection is, as we have seen, believed by Mr. Darwin to be equal to far more wondrous changes than these, and in his hands will easily explain the origin of Pterodactylus itself. But the author's account of the process would be only half as satisfactory as that given by the blackbird, in the old ballad, of the cause of his putting off the gayer plumage of the song-thrush:—

"Said the blackbird, as he fled,
I loved a maid, but she is dead;
Ever since my love I lack,
And this is why I mourn in black."

The chapter on natural selection contains some of the most important statements in the book. These are stated in an off-hand way, and they read so pleasantly that we don't wonder they have been found attractive and unanswerable by amateur naturalists. Our remarks on species have already met some of these statements. Referring to variations, Mr. Darwin says, "They affect what naturalists consider unimportant parts; but I could show, by a long catalogue of facts, that parts which must be called important, whether viewed under a physiological or classificatory point of view, sometimes vary in the individuals of the same species." Instead of treating us to one out of the "long catalogue," he refers to Mr. Lubbock's examinations of the cochineal insects, and says he has found in their main nerves a "degree of variability, which may almost be compared to the irregular branching of the stem of a tree." Without looking at Mr. Lubbock's researches, or passing an opinion on them, though they are variously estimated, we must ask for some of the facts referred to in the long catalogue, and then we can estimate their value in connection with the variations noticed in the main nerves of coccus. Meanwhile we accept the important admission contained in the following sentence: "Authors sometimes argue in a circle when they state that important organs never vary, for those same authors practically rank that character as important which does not vary; and under this point of view, no instance of an important part varying will ever be found."—P. 46. If our readers will free Chapter II. from the garb of science, under which "Natural Selection" is introduced to the consideration of good society, they will find much to call up a smile at its absurdity, and a good deal to call forth their regret that one with Mr. Darwin's talents should have lent himself to spread views of creation whose tendency is to bring the presence and superintending power of the Creator into contempt.

Much has already been written on the "Struggle for Existence," described by Mr. Darwin in Chapter III. It has been characterized as "a most remarkable chapter," even by such a clear-headed and accomplished writer as Professor Huxley. It is most remarkable indeed, but neither from its depths, nor its discrimination, nor its just views of the great scheme of life. In the opening page the author asks, "How have all those exquisite adaptations of one part of the organization to another part, and to the condi-

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tions of life, and of one distinct organic being to another being, been perfected?" The answer hitherto rendered by all but charlatans in science has been, 'by the Creator, whose work is perfect.' Mr. Darwin finds the answer in another quarter. He introduces another of his deities thus—"All these results follow inevitably from the Struggle for Life."—P. 61. With equal force it might be alleged that Mr. Darwin's book is the cause of the zoological arrangement in the British Museum.

The whole of this chapter, in which one hears only an

> "Universal groan,
> As if the whole inhabitation perished!
> Blood, death, and deathful deeds . . . .
> Ruin, destruction at the utmost point,"*

has been written from the point of view of unbelief in the governing Creator. It proceeds, moreover, on an entire misapprehension of the economy of nature, and, to use an expressive remark of Coleridge, its seeming depth is only darkness. The shadow cast over life comes from Mr. Darwin's figure as he moves along, seeing only death everywhere. Let us look a little deeper, and we will find this so-called struggle for existence richly suggestive of the goodness of God. One animal preys upon another, but the effort is not to destroy utterly, but rather to fulfil a law of their nature, which results in maintaining the balance of life. The death is in order to life. The strigidæ glide forth from ruined wall, decayed tree, and ivied tower, when twilight comes, and with glancing eye and soft wing they sweep over the fields, across the moss-covered openings in our woods, and prey upon mouse, and shrew, and vole). In a pellet of strix flammea we found, the other day, no fewer than six heads of arvicola agrestis (our common field vole. The destruction is constant, and on a large scale. But this gloomy "Struggle" need not be hauled in on the shoulders of hypothesis to account for it. Owls must be fed, nature supplies the food. But field mice also require sustenance. Their food, however, is closely connected with that of man, and they need to be kept in their proper place. Hence the owl's province. The line of thought might be followed into a hundred different relations, and in each one of them we would be led to acknowledge wisdom, perfect wisdom, and goodness, perfect goodness, as characteristic of the arrangements by which the balance of life is maintained. Does the elm in the well-kept park hasten to produce its millions of seeds only that it might choke the evergreens planted beyond its shadow, but whose rootlets are beginning to interlace with its own? Is there a struggle between the elm and the bay. That flock of green linnets tells the tale of the large supply of seeds; the bold dash of the sparrow-hawk into the midst of them, and his rising upwards with a linnet in his claw, lets light in upon yet another feature of "the struggle." But species perish; forms of animal life and of vegetation are lost; localities in which certain creatures were once abundant are, in the course of time, deprived of them: in the district where we write, the glead (Milvus Regalis) is known to have at one time been common, but the last seen in it, and it even was accounted a great stranger, occurred more than twenty years ago. This bird, once common in Scotland, is now very rarely to be met with. Now, without being shut up to Mr. Darwin's grand discovery of "the struggle for existence," we think we have perfectly satisfactory ground to rest on, when we say that such and such forms now extinct had served their day. They had played their part in the great Creator's plan, and He permits agencies to come into action by which their destruction is gradually realized. The outstanding thought, nevertheless, is not struggle for existence, but both existence and death in order to the highest ends in maintaining life. This dreary discourse of our author, so full of morbid views of creation, suggested to us again and again, Richter's expression in his grand dream—it looks as if Mr. Darwin believed, or, like the German, dreamed "that God was dead."

A word as to the facts in this "most remarkable chapter." If two seedling mistletoe plants spring up on the same branch of an apple tree, we are told there will be a struggle for existence. Of course, because the design of the Creator is, that the mistletoe seedling should grow to maturity as a healthy plant, and He carries out His design. The seed which had the start in springing, will *ceteris paribus*, ultimately destroy the other. Certainly not in order to death, but to life—"more life and fuller"—in a word, in order to the propagation of the species. Of two rats shut up in a cage, one will destroy the other, because it seeks to live in order to fulfil the law of propagation, under which every form of life was put when the word "multiply" was given. So with a piece of ground: scatter a number of different kinds of seeds, and there will be a struggle. Those which find the chemical character of the soil most suitable to their nature, will destroy the others, and ulti-

* Samson Agonistes.

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mately the weaker members of their own family, that room may be left for their fulfilling the law of their creation, in bearing seed after their kind. The victory does not necessarily turn in favour of the stronger. The character of the soil has much to do with it. We have seen the furze (*Ulex Europœus*) yield to a vigorous crop of oats in land newly broken up. The balance of life testifies at every point to the presence of an Almighty Preserver. How different the results when man interferes! Let a sportsman wall in his fields, and preserve his game from every intruder, and he will find that the exclusion of nature's mode of keeping all things right will lead to wholesale death. Should a gardener take it into his head to shoot every bird as a nuisance, he will soon discover, to his cost, that his fruits may have worse enemies than the birds. Mr. Darwin wishes everything to go on in the most orderly way, in connection with this struggle. He has a great dread of sudden and violent action. Thousands of years of slowest process are his delight, and he has a special pity for the "profound ignorance and high presumption" (p. 73) of naturalists who, because they know no better, "invoke cataclysms to desolate the world, or invent laws on the duration of animal life." We suppose, however, that a cataclysm, like the Lisbon earthquake, might be within the range of belief, as at least possible in the region of the Dodo, and if so, a flock *might* have perished in it.* If Mr. Darwin knew a little more geology, he might still hold Sir Charles Lyell's views of general physical action, and yet leave more room in his creed for the much suspected cataclysms. His devotion to the imperfection of the geologic record, might also incline him to acknowledge the possibility in after ages of remains of, say *Myrtus communis*, being found in only one or two spots. The geologic record supplies many analogies, but the inference that their geographical range had been limited to these would not be a very sound one. Where will half the gods, up into whom the after ages are to find men "selected," find the leaves and stalks of *Myrtus communis?* Nature has begun its work of preserving them. Its cabinet is the tuff of volcanos now active, and whether or no there have been cataclysms associated with its deposition, the accounts of the action of Vesuvius and Etna within the historical period will testify.*

As Mr. Darwin proceeds in developing his theory, his imagination comes more and more out as the foundation on which it rests. Here is a picture curiously interesting both to the naturalist and to the poet. A throne is set somewhere, above Olympus, and the goddess of the author's devotion is seated on it. How employed? "It may be said," answers the author, "that Natural Selection is daily and hourly scrutinising, throughout the world, every variation, even the slightest; rejecting that which is bad, preserving and adding up all that is good; silently and insensibly working, whenever and wherever opportunity offers, at the improvement of each organic being in relation to its organic and inorganic conditions of life. We see nothing of these slow changes in progress, until the hand of time has marked the long lapse of ages, and then so imperfect is our view into long past geological ages, that we only see that the forms of life are now different from what they formerly were."—P. 84. Does Mr. Darwin believe that there is any other basis for this—we were about to say, *induction*, but it would be dishonouring the word—assertion than that which his imagination supplies? If a man presumes to form grand generalizations in natural science, and repudiates the use of the only legitimate mode of reaching them, he is sure to demand from others the recognition of his opinions, as if they were lawful inductions, and of his wayward and baseless imaginings, as if they were all facts. In the above extract, it will be seen the author is

* Some of the "facts" in this chapter are characteristic. "No bee but the humble bee visits viola tricolor?" "In some parts of Scotland the increase of the messel-thrush has caused the decrease of the song-thrush?" Hive-bees cannot get at the nectar in the corolla tubes of trifoleum pratense. "because of the shortness of their proboscis." Did it not cause astonishment, when Mr. Darwin recollected that the bee-hive has been side by side with the red clover for thousands of years, and yet its attempts to get at the nectar have not resulted in giving greater length to its proboscis? Is not this as unpliant on the part of said proboscis to witness to the truth of Mr. Darwin's theories on the influence of habit, as it is on the part of the neck of the Teal? The constant habit of searching for food in the mud, it is alleged, has given the length of neck to goose and swan. How boschas crecca has missed a long neck, must be accounted for by the presence of a certain persistent obduracy in its cervical vertebræ. But the Teal may be on the way to a neck proportionally as long as that of the Swan. We need to give the species a million or two of years more, and the form of man to be alive at that time, will see another proof of the wisdom of his ancestors. Ere then, our water rats shall have been selected into ducks, our ducks to geese, our geese to gorrillas, and the "dreadful gorrilla" will, no doubt, be found acting the part of our Indian Sepoys in the empire of Central Africa, to be held by the giant form of the super-human coming man.

* Lists of fossil plants and shells, in the volcanic tuff of Etna, belonging to living species, will be found in Sir Ch. Lyell's paper "On the Lavas of Etna." Philosophical Transactions, Part ii. 1858.

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forced to confess that, in the action of natural selection on all existing forms of life, "we see nothing of these slow changes in progress." Did it not occur to him, that in claiming for his theory the support of the Lyellian theory of physical action in the formation of the fossiliferous rocks, this acknowledgment takes away all warrant? The strong point in Sir Charles Lyell's theory is, that we have evidences of the slow changes in progress, which warrant the inference that the process of nature has been precisely the same in past ages as we see it to be now. We have said that the extract is not without interest to the poet. The "Chance" of heathenism has developed into a higher form. It has not only a purpose, but a consciousness of purpose, and may become the subject for a new epic, as "Natural Selection." She has a fair prospect of a crowd of worshippers among those who, being really what Paul* describes them to be, ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κοσμῳ, are glad of any extravagance in their weariness. Lamark's Man from Oysters, M. Maillet's Parrots from Perch, Brory de Saint Vincent's fifteen original species of Man, Virey's true Brotherhood between the Baboon and Hottentot, Oken's "God is rotatory motion," have all had believers, and "Natural Selection" has already now disciples willing to give a qualified assent. We willingly leave the honour to the select few, and rejoice to stand among the crowd who still worship at a higher altar, and even in a more *rational* way, who see the presence of a personal God in creation, "who is good to all, and whose tender mercies are over all His works."†

* Ephes. ii. 12.

† We can do no more than glance at the "facts" in this part of Mr. Darwin's work. In the propagation of species, he holds that sexual selection (p. 88) will depend on the vigour of the males, or on their possession of special weapons. In gallinaceous fowls, the cock with the longest and sharpest spurs will, in the latter case, be most successful. But, to use Mr. Darwin's expression, we could give "a long catalogue of facts," which show that, as among men, so it is with the lower animals,—the whim, the taste, the fancy of the female is to be taken into account. Among birds, we have seen a vigorous female choose a poor, emaciated, more-dead-than-alive male, when she might have taken to her a healthy one. Again, in a time of scarcity of food for wolves, we are told (p. 90) that it is clear the fleetest and healthiest is sure to be selected to resist the effects of the famine. It might be the most cunning, yet the weakest, and the selection would thus be of the bad. "All insects," says the author, "pair for each birth" (p. 96); of several families which do not, we refer to the *aphides*, or plant lice. It is not capable of proof, that *ornithorhynchus* and *lepedosiren* (p. 107) have survived from geological eras, because exposed to less severe competition in the struggle for existence than other forms which have perished.

. . . . . "Since His word all things produced,
Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,
But to show forth His goodness, and impart
His good communicable to every soul
Freely; of whom what could He less expect
Than glory and benediction, that is, thanks,
The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense."*

In a diagram (p. 117) Mr. Darwin illustrates his principles of Natural Selection and of Divergence from remote types. The time required for the amount of divergence to constitute a new species is immense. Tens of thousands of generations are held to be little in the reckoning. The author is not able to point to one example, among existing forms of life, of progress towards change. We may, then, fairly apply the diagram to the geologic ages, whose records are held by him to be very imperfect, and passing from a [14] to a [10], at which an original species A is supposed to have produced three new forms after 800,000 years (!), we come to A itself. Now it is at this point we ask what lies beyond A, and how does Mr. Darwin account for its existence? Until we have an answer to this, it will not do to denounce the principles implied in the "Vestiges," as Professor Huxley has done, as being wholly different from any that may fairly be drawn from this work. We believe there is good reason for affirming that everything which is false, as to the scheme of life in the worthless development theory, is contained in the "Origin of Species," and a great deal in addition which is more mischievous and profane than anything to be met with in the "Vestiges." Were it possible that the terrible alternative could ever be, "receive either the 'Vestiges' or the 'Origin of Species' as containing a scheme of life with which we *must* be satisfied," we would without hesitation choose the former. Both are burlesques on true science; but the "Vestiges" contains views less dishonouring to the Creator, and less antagonistic to common sense, than those met with in the "Origin of Species," and this is affirming much. However low the views of God in the former, there is more respect shown for those great laws of life, which are manifestations of His will, and whose constant regularity we would no sooner question than we would our own existence; but in the latter there is nothing of this. The mode in which illustrative facts are used indicates on the part of the author a bias which, to say the least of it, is very far from becoming in a lover of science. Our references to these must again for want of space be thrown into a foot-note.† For the same reason we only

* Paradise Regained, Book iii.

† The author holds that the Selection will ever

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mention Mr. Darwin's statement of the difficulties in the way of his theory. They are profounder and more numerous than he imagines, as at one point and another we have already shown. Those met with, in looking at the question from the geological point of view, are not touched by pleading the imperfect character of the geologic record. Why, it is asked, do we not find in the earth's crust any traces of transitional forms? The lame answer is, that "extinction and natural selection go hand in hand." In other words, traces of the higher forms exist, but the transitional ones, having served their end, are lost! You might as well say that, when in after ages the site of a battle between the Caffres and British shall be disturbed, there will be found only the traces of the superior, conquering race. But it will not do to plead imperfection of the geological record. If any data may be relied on in this question, those supplied to us by the palæontologist may be so. Take, for example, the suit of fossils presented to us at any point in which estuary limestone meets that which had been found in deep sea, and what is the result? You find not only a series of well-marked species, continuing without a trace of transitional tendency from the bottom of the deposit up through fifty or sixty feet; but you also notice that at the point where the fresh water species meet the deep sea ones, they retain their respective characteristics, as well marked as any that may be found where the Forth of the Clyde meets the waters of the sea. We may be permitted to say that the geological attainments of Mr. Darwin, if they are fairly exhibited in this work, seem to be limited to a not very extensive knowledge of the literature of geology, read entirely from the point of view of those who hold that there have been no great breaks in the building up of the world, since the Creator first laid its foundations on the floods.

Mr. Darwin's remarks on other difficulties, and on transitional varieties, are as little to the purpose as his apology for want of proofs in consequence of the imperfection of the geological record. "Look," he says, "at Mustela vison of North America, which has webbed feet, and which resembles an otter in its fur, short legs, and form of its tail; during summer this animal dives for and preys on fish, but during the long winter it leaves the frozen waters and preys like other polecats on mice and land animals."—P. 179. Our author need not have gone to North America for an illustration. There is one nearer hand. The common otter (*Lutra vulgaris*), the link between which and the true Mustelidæ is to be found in Mustela vison, has its usual habitat in fresh water, but Fleming found that in Zetland it frequently took to the sea. In times of scarcity of food it is known to take to the land. "When fish are scarce, it will assume the habits of the Stoats and Weasels, resorting far inland to the neighbourhood of the farmyard, and attacking lambs, sucking-pigs, and poultry." Gilbert White's expression*—"quadrupeds that prey on fish are amphibious"—might have suggested that there is really nothing transitional in Mustela vison. We are no more entitled to conclude that in it we have a weasel about, in course of time, to give up rats and mice for fish only, and to forsake the land for ever, than we are to suppose that *Larus argentatus* is gradually getting a dislike for herring, and may be soon expected to become a true land bird, because it spends weeks in spring among arable lands, often many miles from the nearest shore. The webbed foot of Mustela vison is shown by its habits not to have been designed to unfit it, in order to the preservation of the species, for spending a few months on land, for which its make otherwise well adapts it. Everything about the domestic cat indicates the correspondence between structure and general habits. We possesst one, however, which was wont to walk into an aquarium up to its belly in water, and stand in it while it devoured the golden carp; but we would have been as little warranted to believe from this that

tend to elevate the subjects of it. Not only is there no proof of this, but much suggestive of the opposite. Take the diagram, and suppose A to indicate a point in the geologic scale when the triassic rocks were being formed. Selection had brought a form of life up to *Brontozoum giganteum,* whose footprints Hitchcock has described in his "Researches among the Sandstones of the Connecticut Valley." Its foot was 18 inches long, embracing an area of 18 inches square within its outlines; its stride was from 30 to 60 feet; it must have been 12 feet high, and weighed from 400 to 800 lbs. The Selecting process continued from the time of the trias up to the present epoch, and Brontozoum ended as an Ostrich at a[14], as a Cassowary at q[14], as Darwin's Rhea at p[14], and as Apterix at some other [14]; the result in each case being a less elevated form. All nature might be looked at in the same way, if you admit size and vigour as elements.

Are the birds of islands less bright in plumage than those on continents? (p. 133). We refer to Tennent's "Ceylon" for the answer in the negative.

The theory as to the original type of the horse (p. 164) would meet a ready refutation by attempts at cross-breeding with the zebra, and then breeding in-and-in.

The reference to the species of woodpecker p. 184 is peculiarly unfortunate. The bird referred to is not a true woodpecker, but a species of an allied genus, and one whose structure is in harmony with its habits.

* Natural History of Selborne.

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here we had a trace of the original habits of the cat, or of those of the form of ancestral life from which Mr. Darwin's deity had selected it, as we would have been to hold, that the intense pleasure which most young people have in sea-bathing is a remnant of an old form of life, up out of which man had been selected,—that, in a word, the creature now called man was in bygone ages a whale or a dolphin! The references to the squirrels and the flying lemur are equally valuable! We could have helped the author to something more interesting on this point. Might not Dante's "Vision" have been a reality, and the wondrous form of life which he saw in hell only the true type of Pterodactylus crassirostris? Having been selected down to a bat, did it once more get an ambitious thought that resulted in a modification, which ever watchful "Natural Selection" caught at, and set about to make use of in order to gratify "vaulting ambition," and we do now find it as Galeopithecus, "whose extremely wide flank-membrane, stretching from the corners of the jaws to the tail" (p. 181), is waiting to be selected up once more to the true membrane which it lost, when the last layer of the lias was being laid down?

> . . . "O what a sight!
> How passing strange it seemed. . . .
> Two mighty wings, enormous as became
> A (beast) so vast. Sails never such I saw
> Outstretched on the wide sea. No plumes had they.
> But were in texture like a bat; and these
> He flapp'd i' th' air."

It is true that Dante's being had three heads, but, with Mr. Darwin's natural selection, these could readily be merged in one. Besides, there is corroborative evidence that such must have been the original form, to be found in those imaginations of "gorgons and hydras and chimæras dire," which hanker about the spiritual nature of us all. It is to be hoped, that if Galeopithecus is on his way up to this again, that he will have a modification as regards food, as Dante's dragon, whose tastes, by the way, are perpetuated in the cannibals of the isles of the Pacific, had very loveable appetites.

> "At every mouth his teeth a sinner champ'd,
> Bruised as with ponderous engine."

The notice of the Dipper (*Cinclus Europœus*), as a transitional variety, is as little valuable to Mr. Darwin's theories as *Mustela vison* or *Galeopithecus*. Its existence, alongside of the true thrushes (*Turdinæ*), and its relation to the ant-thrushes (*Formicarinæ*), with modifications of form which separate it from both, its tail shorter, its bill stronger, its legs thicker, its feathers denser, with an under-coat of down, as in true divers, than those of thrushes, — all suggest distinct specific differences, and not a transitional variety. There are no bristles at the base of the bill, as in turdinæ and formicarinæ; its mode of nesting and its eggs differ widely from both. It is just one of those links which will suggest to most another illustration of how closely one form of life may approach to another, while the Creator keeps them as persistently distinct, as he does those furthest removed from each other—the falconidæ, for example, from the sylviadæ. "He who believes," says Mr. Darwin, "in separate and innumerable acts of creation, will say, that in these cases it has pleased the Creator to cause a being of one type to take the place of another type; but this seems to me only restating the fact in dignified language" (!).—P. 186. Suppose we were not to say this, as indeed we would not, but to say that the structure or instincts of certain members of great types had been so modified by the Creator, as to fit them for habits unlike the general family?—would this not be as true in science as it is in our acknowledgment of the direct and special arrangement of the Creator?

Want of space prevents us doing little more than naming the chapters on Instinct and Hybridism.

Mr. Darwin is not satisfied with current views of instinct. He holds that "a little dose of judgment or reason often comes into play, even in animals very low in the scale of nature" (p. 208). In the aphis and the ant, the reason, we suppose, is the same in kind as in man; the dose being only very small! The influence of structure on instinct, and the power of organic conditions over it, open a wide field for the discrimination of natural selection. "In our Department," wrote the author of the "*Traité du Physique et du Moral de l' Homme*," in 1802, "when sitting hens are scarce, there is a peculiar custom. A young cock is taken, the plumage is plucked from his breast and belly, rubbed with nettles and vinegar; and while thus irritated, the capon is placed on eggs. He remains on them at first to soothe the irritation. Soon agreeable impressions are begotten, which attach him to the eggs until they are hatched; a species of fictitious mother-love is the result, and this, as in the hens, continues so long as the chickens require his care." Looking at this from Mr. Darwin's point of view, one wonders whether there is now, in the neighbourhood of Cognac, descendants of the capons referred to by Cabanis, which, in the

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male branch, bear about with them traces that the original cocks are being, under the influence of this controlling instinct, selected into hens!

As to Hybridism, we accept the admission made at page 252, "I doubt whether any case of a perfectly fertile hybrid animal can be considered as thoroughly well authenticated." The early recognition of this by the author would have taken more than thirty pages from his book. The sterility of true hybrids affords another evidence of the jealousy with which the Creator regards all attempts to introduce confusion into His perfect plan.

It will be seen what value we attach to the zoological aspects of Mr. Darwin's work. But if the zoology be so very far from satisfactory, when he come to the purely geological portion we are made to feel that it is far worse. It is the most feeble part of the volume; and no apology which Mr. Darwin may make for it, even in his most insinuating style and greatest smoothness of speech, will ever be reckoned a substitute for the fact, that in that one department of nature in which we have a right to ask the author to show us the proofs, or even the remote corroboration of his theory, not one is to be found. Tracing the fossiliferous deposits, from the uppermost of the tertiary series down to the bottom of the silurian, we are called everywhere to notice the presence of the highest types of the varied forms characteristic of great periods, existing from the introduction of such periods, and keeping their true typical character, until the period closes, and a new scene, with new distinctive forms of plants and animals, is ushered in. It were needless to go into details, though any working geologist of moderate attainments is equal to the task. The truth is, that if the author has wholly and signally failed to produce even one unquestioned corroborative proof of true transitional variety among present forms of life, he cannot discover material in the geological record for a chapter on transitional varieties in palæontology. But while we shall not ask our readers to survey the fossiliferous deposits, there are two subjects we wish to refer to ere we close. These are the question of breaks in the introduction of life, and the question of miraculous action.

The author exults over the adherence of Sir Charles Lyell to his views. Those who remember the way in which Sir Charles turned the Lamarkian scheme into ridicule, and especially who have read his anniversary address (Geological Society, 1851), may wonder at the change. But Mr. Darwin's theory must have been hailed by Sir Charles, the moment its bearings on his cherished views of physical action were seen. Palæontologically, these views were always liable to objection. In the formation of the crust of the earth, all was held to go on quietly, under the gentle influences of constantly acting natural laws. Yet at the commencement of every great period, you find new species thrust into the scene of being. These were great breaks in the forms of life, evidences of remarkable climatal changes, judging of these by the living things under them, while there were no corresponding phenomena in regard to organic forms. This was not likely. The highly gifted author of the "Principles of Geology" must have felt it to be so. Here, however, is a scheme which, in every point of view, harmonizes the gradual action of physical laws in the formation of the crust of the earth, with the undeniable changes in the living things which peopled it at different eras. Our purpose here is not to review the non-break, continuous theory of Sir Charles Lyell, though we are persuaded that Mr. Darwin's work will lead many to reconsider whether they have done well in accepting it, under the weight and authority of Sir Charles' deservedly great name. The question of the presence of miracle, at various points in the history of the earth, is one which has been, with a strange want of logic, almost universally regarded by eminent men with suspicion. Why? We suppose very few, if any, not even excepting Mr. Darwin, would be willing to deny that there has been the exercise, at some period of the earth's history of creative power,—in a word, miracle. But if you acknowledge its presence at any one point, why be suspicious of it, or deny its probability, at any after-point in the history? If in every respect you find, that what demanded a miracle at A, is again found existing at E, after having ceased to be before it again made its appearance, first at B, second at C, and third at D, is there anything to forbid the conclusion, that at every one of these stages there was miraculous action? One says, it is not God's usual way of working. But we would have needed to have witnessed the change from one well-marked epoch to another, to entitle any one to make such an answer. It would be a waste of power, adds another. But, if intelligence is not to be suffocated in the blackhole of rank atheism, there must have been ten thousand instances of such waste of power in the introduction of new species. This form of answer is even less satisfactory than the other; for it ignores the fact, that with an Omnipotent One there can be no waste of power. But, reply others, you find in the

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species of successive fauna, very many, with only the slightest differences to distinguish them, and others you find continue through more faunas than one. The answer to both these statements, we believe, is contained in the remarks made in reply to the second objection. We conclude, then, that all geology testifies that species are permanent; that they have continued so under all varieties of influence; and that, in every case, they have been introduced by the miraculous power of a personal God, who is the Almighty and Omniscient One revealed to man in the Bible.

Mr. Darwin's work is in direct antagonism to all the findings of a natural theology, formed on legitimate inductions in the study of the works of God; and it does open violence to everything which the Creator Himself has told us in the Scriptures of truth, of the method and results of His working. While in the foregoing remarks we have been careful to deal with the scientific claims of Mr. Darwin's book, we have not scrupled to show that we have looked at it also from the point of view of revelation. In both aspects its publication is a mistake. Its author would have done well to science, and to his own fame, had he, being determined to write it, put it away among his papers, marked, "A Contribution to Scientific Speculation in 1720." It would have thus preceded Linnæus and Cuvier, with whom the dawn began to break into the brightness of noon, and might have been found interesting in 1860, as a prophecy of coming Vireys, Brory de St. Vincents, and Lamarks. But thrust upon us at this time of day, when science has walked in calm majesty out from the mists of prejudice, and been accepted as a sister by a sound theology, it has reminded us of a word in the oldest and best of books, which we commend to Mr. Darwin and his followers: "Shadows as the night in the midst of the noon-day."

ART. VIII.—1. *A Narrative of the Building, and a Description of the Construction of the Eddystone Lighthouse with Stone.* By JOHN SMEATON, Civil Engineer, F.R.S. With 18 Plates. Imp. Folio. London, 1791. Pp. 198.

2. *Account of the Bell Rock Lighthouse.* By ROBERT STEVENSON, Civil Engineer. With 21 Plates. 4to. Edin., 1824. Pp. 533.
3. *A Rudimentary Treatise on the History, Construction, and Illumination of Lighthouses.* By ALAN STEVENSON, etc., etc. 12mo. London, 1850. Pp. 204.
4. *Treatise on Burning Instruments, in which Lenses are built up of Separate Zones and Segments of Zones.* By DAVID BREWSTER, LL.D., F.R.S. "Edinburgh Encyclopædia," Vol. V., p. 140–143. Edin., 1812.
5. *Memoire sur un Nouveau - Systeme D'Eclairage des Phares.* Par M. A. FRESNEL. Paris, 1822.
6. *On the Construction of Polyzonal Lenses for Lighthouses*, etc. "Edin. Phil. Journal." By DAVID BREWSTER, LL.D., F.R.S. Vol. VIII., p. 160. Edin., 1823.
7. *Account of a New System of Illumination for Lighthouses.* By DAVID BREWSTER, LL.D., F.R.S. "Edin. Trans." Vol. XI., p. 33. Edin., 1827.
8. *Report and Evidence from the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, August, 1834.
9. *Papers on the Comparative Merits of the Catoptric and Dioptric Lights for Lighthouses.* Issued by the Board of Trade. London, 1857.
10. *Account of the Holophotal System of Illuminating Lighthouses.* By THOMAS STEVENSON, F.R.S.E. Edin., 1851.
11. *Lighthouse Illumination.* By the same. Edin., 1859.

IN the beginning of 1833, when the writer of this article called the attention of the public to the condition of the British Lighthouse System, he thus indicated the national importance of the subject:—

"Great Britain has, by universal consent, been placed at the head of the maritime nations of the world. To this noble pre-eminence she is justly entitled, whether we regard her in her naval power or in her commercial greatness. Though occupying nearly the site of the *Ultima Thule* of the Roman world, and withdrawn almost to the icy verge of the Arctic Zone, she is nevertheless the focus of civilization and of trade, and foreign nations, however remote, and states, however barbarous, derive the light and heat of their industry from her direct or reflected radiations. By her manufacturing skill, she has long been the workshop of Europe; by her commercial enterprise, she embraces in her grasp the wide circuit of the globe; and by her colonies in every quarter of the world, she has become the emporium of an universal commerce.

"Though Great Britain is indebted for many of those aduantages to her insular position, as well as to the bracing temperature of her high latitude, yet these auspicious peculiarities have been less favourable to the

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development of her commercial resources. Beset, on one hand, by shifting sandbanks, and on another by rapid currents—bounded here by lofty and rugged rocks, and indented there with irregular firths and inlets —exposed on all sides to the severities of a rigorous climate, and the dangers of a tempestuous sea, she presents no inviting exterior to the less skilful or adventurous navigator, and is more likely to scare than to allure the 'timorous sail' of less boisterous regions.

"Thus entrenched amid her wild shelves and bold headlands, and enthroned in the fogs and tempests of her variable climate, we might have expected that Great Britain would have put forth all the resources of her genius, and all the liberality of her wealth, to welcome the seafaring stranger to her shores, to guide him through the mazes of her navigation, and to light him homeward through the thick darkness of her Cimmerian winter.

"Wherever individual humanity has had free scope in the discharge of such duties, a generous sympathy has been exhibited. Lights, and beacons, and buoys everywhere offer a safe entrance to our harbours. Lifeboats, and seamen reckless of danger, are everywhere stationed, for the rescue of the perishing mariner; and Humane Societies are everywhere organized to make the latest struggle for the unhappy sufferer. But individual sympathy, however deep and wide be its current, can flow only in a limited channel. The great safeguard of human life on our coasts is the lighting up of our reefs and headlands, and this can be accomplished only by public boards, composed of qualified individuals, and possessing ample resources and extensive jurisdiction."

In the year 1834, a numerous and select committee of the House of Commons, to whom these views were addressed, ratified them with their highest approbation, by appealing to Parliament and the country in briefer but equally impressive terms. As they proceeded in their inquiries, the subject grew in importance, and "they were throughout strongly impressed with *the paramount necessity of having the best lighthouses and floating light establishments for this great naval and commercial country which the state of science can afford*, and that every necessary expense should be incurred for their maintenance. The importance of the department, they add, is to be considered both as it respects the safety of the immense property of merchandise which is brought to and taken from the shores of the United Kingdom, and also carried outwards from port to port; and as it regards the personal safety of his Majesty's subjects who navigate the commercial shipping, and man his Majesty's fleets."

The duty of providing *the best lighthouses which the state of science can afford* was entrusted, in Great Britain, to three independent boards—in England, to the Corporation of the Trinity House, founded in the time of Henry VIII.; in Scotland, to the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses, established in 1786 by Act of Parliament; and in Ireland, in 1763, to "the Ballast Board, or Corporation for preserving and improving the Port of Dublin."

The Trinity House, which had been recognised by Queen Elizabeth, received charters of confirmation from James I. and Charles I., and was incorporated by James II., by a charter still in force, which vests the power of the board in a master, deputy-master, four wardens, eight assistants, and *seventeen* elder brethren, *eleven* of whom are either noblemen, heads of departments in the Government, or celebrated admirals, and *twenty* are retired commanders from the merchant service.

Although the power of erecting lighthouses was virtually given to this board, yet such was the prevailing system of corruption, that this privilege, and that of taxing the ships that passed them, was frequently conferred on high officers of State, *as a remuneration for services*; and, without the pretence of service upon the relatives or the parasites of the reigning monarch. Private individuals thus became the proprietors of lighthouses, levying the tolls with unfeeling severity, and leaving the ships which they robbed in "visible" but perilous darkness. The lessees of the Trinity House, in their economy of light, refused to avail themselves of the improvements introduced by the corporation itself; and such was the amount of this system of mismanagement and corruption, that Captain Cotton, who had been fourteen years deputy-master of the Trinity House, assures us *that it occasioned the loss of many ships, many lives, and much property*; and he adds, that *the details of those losses would excite the most sensible commiseration and regard.*

The lighthouses in England, in which individuals levied tolls on the shipping of the country, for their private benefit, were *fourteen* in number,—*seven* being held under leases from the Crown, *three* under leases from the Trinity House, and *four* under patents and Acts of Parliament. The annual revenue of these lighthouses was L.79,677, and the net surplus, after paying all expenses, L.61,022. The fortunate individuals who, as lessees of the Crown, drew

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one-third of this enormous sum from the commerce of the country, were General Rebow, Mr. Coke of Norfolk, Lord Braybrooke, and Mr. Lane, who, in an application to the Treasury, pleaded that one of his ancestors had, two centuries ago, received the grant as a *reward for faithful services rendered to an exiled monarch*. The *three* lighthouses leased by the Trinity House were held by Mr. Smith, Mr. Buchanan, and Mr. Clark, who cleared L.17,196 annually; and the *four* lighthouses held by patent were possessed by Mr. Angell, Mr. Thomson, Mr. Villiers, and Mr. Morgan Jones, who, after paying all expenses, pocketed annually L.24,176 !

With the exception of the Isle of May Lighthouse, which the Scottish Commissioners purchased in 1814 for L.60,000, from the Duke of Rutland, there never have been any lighthouses in Scotland or Ireland held by private individuals for their own profit.

The public general lights in England in 1834, including the *fourteen* private and leased lighthouses already mentioned, together with a light at Heligoland, and a floating light at Bembridge Ledge, established by the Admiralty during the war, are *seventy-one* in number,—the lights under the management of the Trinity House being *fifty five*, of which *forty-two* were lighthouses, and *thirteen* only floating lights.

The following list of them will be interesting to all who are connected with the shipping interest, as well as to the general reader :—

LIGHTHOUSES.

Air	1	Lizard	2
Bardsey	1	Lowestoff	3
Beachy Head	1	Lundy	1
Bideford	2	Milford	2
Burnham	1	Nash	2
Caldy	1	Needles and Hurst Castle	3
Caskets	3	Portland	2
Eddystone	1	Scilly	1
Fern	3	South Stack	1
Flamborough	1	St. Bees	1
Flatholm	1	Usk	1
Foreland, N. & S.	3		
Foulness	1	Total,	42
Halsborough	2		

FLOATING LIGHTS.

Spurn.	Stanford	Gall.
Lynn Well.	Sunk.	South Sand Head.
Dudgeon.	Galloper.	Owers.
North Haisborough.	Nore.	
Newark.	Goodwin.	Total, 18

In 1834, the lighthouses under the management of the Commissioners of the Scottish Board, consisting of the sheriffs of maritime counties, of the provost and magistrates of certain boroughs, and of the Lord Advocate and Solicitor-General for Scotland, were *twenty-five* in number.

SCOTTISH LIGHTHOUSES.

Time of Erection.	Name.	Counties.
1787,	Kinnaird Head,	Aberdeen.
1787,	Mull of Kintyre,	Argyle.
1789,	Island of Glass,	Harris Isles, Inverness.
1789,	Pladda,	Bute.
1791,	Pladda, Distinguishing Light,	Do
1794,	Pentland Skerries, Island,	Orkney, 2 Lights,
1803,	Inchkeith,	Fife.
1806,	Start Point of Sandy,	Orkney.
1811,	Bell Rock,	Forfar.
1816,	Isle of May,	Fife.
1816,	Corsewall Point,	Wigton.
1818,	Point of Ayre,	Isle of Man.
1818,	Calf of Man,	Do., 2 lights.
1821,	Sumburghhead,	Shetland.
1825,	Rhinns of Islay, Oversay,	Argyll.
1827,	Buchanness or Boddam Point,	Aberdeen.
1828,	Cape Wrath,	Sutherland.
1829,	Tarbetness,	Cromarty.
1830,	Mull of Galloway,	Wigton.
1831,	Dunnet Head,	Caithness.
1833,	Girdleness,	Kincardine.
1833,	Lismore, Mousdale,	Inverness.
1833,	Barra Head, Bernera Island,	Do.

The Irish lighthouses have been managed at different times by a variety of commissioners.

In 1764 they were placed under certain commissioners, and in 1767 they were transferred to the Barrack Board. In 1796 they were confided to the Commissioners of Customs, and in 1810 they were placed under the Ballast Board. In 1708 an Act of Parliament was passed for cleansing the Port of Dublin, and erecting a ballast office; and in 1767 additional powers were vested in the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, etc., of Dublin; but in 1786 both these Acts were repealed, and a new Board erected, called "*The Corporation for Preserving and Improving the Port of Dublin*, the *Ballast Board*," consisting of twenty-three members, viz., the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being, three of the aldermen, elected by the Board of Aldermen, and seventeen members appointed in the first instance by the Act of Incorporation, and who are all, on future vacancies, empowered to elect new members, but leaving the city members as members of the Board."* The greater number of this self-elected Board "are merchants, bankers, and others of the Corporation of the City of Dublin, who remain members for life, whatever their attendance at the Board may be. It happens," continues the Report, "that Admiral Oliver is now a member, having been elected in 1833, but solely as being a member of the City Corporation; *there is no other seaman a member of the Ballast Board*."† After a minute account of the composition of the Irish Lighthouse Board, and of the duties and salaries of its various officers, comptrollers, ballast masters, secretaries, clerks, etc., etc., the committee make the following statement :—

"Your committee have been thus particular in the detail of the manner in which the duties of that large department of the lighthouses in Ireland are performed by the officers of the Corpora-

* Report of Committee of House of Commons, 1834, p. 70. † *Ib.*, p. 71.

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tion; and if attention is paid to the class of gentlemen forming the Commissioners of the Corporation, it must be evident, where such a variety of business is gone through, *how little of that care and attention so essential to the due performance of the important duties of the Lighthouses can be given.*"

This just censure of the appointment of a Board so composed, is equally applicable to the Scottish Lighthouse Board, in which there is neither a single seaman, nor a single engineer or man of science; yet it is difficult to understand why the same opinion of the Scotch Board was not expressed by the committee.

In 1834, the Irish lighthouses under the management of the Ballast Board were *twenty-six* in number.

IRISH LIGHTHOUSES.

Name.	Place.	Nature of Light.
Kish,	North of Kish Bank,	Floating.
Wicklow Upper,	Wicklow Head,	Fixed.
Wicklow Lower,	Wicklow Head,	Fixed.
Arklow,	S. of Arklow Bank,	Floating.
Tusker,	Tusker Rock,	Revolving.
Coningbeg,	Off Coningbeg Rock,	Floating.
Hook Tower,	Hook Head.	Fixed.
Cork,	Roche's Point,	Fixed.
Kinsale,	Old Head of Kinsale,	Fixed.
Cape Clear,	Island,	Revolving.
Skelligs, Upper,	Skellig Rock,	Fixed.
Skelligs, Lower,	Skellig Rock,	Fixed.
Loophead,	Loophead,	Fixed.
Arran Island,	Summit of S. Island,	Revolving.
Clare Island,	North Point of Island,	Fixed.
Tory Island,	North Point of Island,	Fixed.
Loughswilly,	Fannet Point,	Fixed.
Inish'rahol,	Island,	Revolving.
Maidens, N.	Maiden Rock,	Fixed.
Maidens, S.	Maiden Rock,	Fixed.
Copeland Island,	Island,	Fixed.
South Rock,	South Rock,	Revolving.
Ardglass,	Pier,	Fixed.
Carlingford,	Haulbowling,	Fixed.
Balbriggan,	Pier.	Fixed.
Howth Bailly,	Howth Bailly	Fixed.

As the British lighthouses have been placed under commissioners of every variety of incapacity, it is natural to expect a similar variety of legislation. "The committee of the House of Commons learned with some surprise that the lighthouse establishments have been conducted under entirely different systems,—different as regards the constitution of the Board of Management, different as regards the rates or amount of the light dues, and different in the principles on which they are levied." As an example of this variety of legislation, and of that inequality of taxation which has called forth loud complaints, the committee make the following statement :—

"A vessel of 142 tons, on a voyage from Leith, to London, is charged by the *Northern Commissioners* L.1, 9s. 7d. for the voyage, or 2½d. per ton, being *a charge for the whole twenty-three lights round the coast of Scotland, although she may only pass two of them,* and for her return the same amount, or L.2, 19s. 2d. for the whole voyage. But from Berwick to London there is a charge of L.4, 17s. 3d. being 8½d. per ton for the passage, from the nineteen *English lights* the vessel must pass. Another case, on a ship of 439 tons going by the North and South Channels, to and from the Clyde to Bombay, if by the South Channel, she would be charged L.42, 10s. 7d., or at the rate of 1s. 11¼d. per ton; and if by the North Channel, L.13, 14s. 4½d., or 7½d. per ton."

Under ordinary circumstances, a vessel sailing from Limerick to Plymouth would have to pay for all the lights south of that port; but if driven by stress of weather into a port in the north of Ireland or the Bristol Channel, it is the practice, though not the law, not to charge for the lights thus passed; "but in England, a vessel sailing from Yarmouth to London, and driven by stress of weather to the north, to Aberdeen, or the Frith of Forth, would have *to pay the whole of the northern lights*, and *all the lights on the coast of England on her way back!*"

With regard to fishing vessels, the Scotch Commissioners have been cruel in their taxation. On the coasts of *Ireland* "*fishing vessels*, smacks, and boats, are exempted by Act of Parliament from all light dues; and in *England*, the practice amounts to an exemption for all vessels actually employed in catching fish; whilst in *Scotland the light dues are charged*, and become a heavy burthen to the herring and other fishing-vessels."

"In proof of this charge (against the Scotch Commissioners), says the committee, an account has been laid before us, of the light dues paid on *five* fishing vessels of the burden of from 32 to 48 tons each, belonging to the port of Montrose, for which the sum of L.26, 7s. 6d. was levied; with four vessels, whose whole cargoes produced only 3268 barrels of fish—a heavy charge. The same rates are charged on all the fishing vessels in Scotland."

It is a ludicrously singular contrast to this illiberal taxation, that all vessels in the Greenland or other northern whale fishery, in going to Archangel, in Russia, or returning from thence before the 15th September, were exempted in 1786 from the northern light dues, an example of which the committee justly recommends an abolition.

Notwithstanding this variety of financial law in the Lighthouse Boards, there are several points in which their exactions were painfully uniform. Double rates were levied from all foreign vessels. When the foreign trader brought into our ports the numerous luxuries which are almost necessary to our existence, or when he carried off and replaced with gold our superabundant produce, he was taxed with merciless severity. He was equally taxed when, on his way to distant kingdoms, he was driven by the tempest into the shelter of our bays and headlands, and forced to pay a heavy penalty in the attempt to save his property, and the lives

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of his seamen and his passengers. British vessels, as we have seen, were subject to the same cruel exaction; "and there can be no doubt that ships and lives were frequently lost in their attempt to shun the *Scylla* of the lighthouses, while they were escaping from the *Charybdis* of the elements."*

As Great Britain derives singular benefits from its steam navigation, and as steam vessels necessarily derive far less benefit from lighthouses than coasters and ordinary sailing vessels, an entire exemption from lighthouse dues, or at least a great reduction of them, might have been reasonable expected. The committee have wisely and forcibly pressed this exemption upon Parliament; and in support of it they have stated the important fact, that no less than L.3261, 3s. 6d. was in 1833 charged as lighthouse dues upon fifteen steam vessel plying between the River Clyde and the ports of Liverpool, Dublin, Belfast and Londonderry.

From this severity of taxation there is one exemption which has not called forth the censure of the committee.† The Royal Navy of England pays no lighthouse dues! It is lighted into every harbour, and firth, and river, along every channel and to every shore, *at the expense of the commercial interest.* While the national treasury made no advances, either in aiding or maintaining our national lighthouses, there could be no just ground for exempting the Royal Navy from the general obligation to support them. The Crown, on the contrary, as a party that leased *seven* lighthouses, shared, like the private or other lessees, in the lighthouse plunder to the amount of L.20,000, and had therefore no "claim to saddle its navy as an establishment of paupers upon the generosity of the shipping interest."

The reader will now desire to know how much money has been collected in Great Britain under this system of taxation, and to what purpose it has been applied.

The committee has enabled us to gratify this desire by giving the following account of the number of general lighthouses maintained in the United Kingdom, by whom they are held, the amount of light dues received, the expense of collection, the expense of maintaining the lighthouses, and the net surplus in 1832:—

No. of Lights.	By whom Held.	Gross Collections.		Expense of Maintenance.	Net Surplus.
55.	By Trinity House Directors,	L.88,041	L.6,670	L.85,904	L.40,467
14.	By Private Individuals,	79,676	10,244	9,199	60,322
25.	By the Scottish Commissioners,	35,526	3,261	11,814	20,051
40*	By the Irish Commissioners,	42,061	1,960	18,505	21,596
134	Total,	L.240,304	L.22,135	L.74,922	L.142,436

"Thus it appears," adds the committee, "that a sum amounting nearly to *one quarter of a million sterling*, is annually collected as lighthouse dues from the shipping of the country; although the expense of maintenance of these 134 lights does not amount to more then L.74,832, exclusive of L.22,135, the charge of collection, which sum alone exceeds twice the amount of the expense of maintaining the whole of the French lights."*

This enormous sum of a quarter of a million, wrung from the shipping interest of Great Britain, was placed at the disposal of irresponsible boards, or used for the benefit of private individuals. A large portion of it was, of course, employed in the maintenance of existing lighthouses, and in the erection of new ones; but it is hardly to be credited, that the multifarious and difficult duties involved in the expenditure of so enormous a sum should have been entrusted to unpaid and unscientific commissioners, and that these commissioners should have employed, as their agents, individuals who were neither bred as engineers nor architects, and who were totally ignorant of those branches of optical science which were absolutely necessary to the proper discharge of their duties.

Such is a general view of the state of the British lighthouse system in 1834, when a great revolution commenced both in the administration of the lighthouses, and in the scientific character of their lights. The history of that revolution we shall now proceed to narrate; but though the necessary details must often have a personal character in reference to the individual reformers by whom the revolution was effected, and to the individuals by whom it was resisted, yet we trust that the reader will view the subject in its national and commercial aspect, and as

* "Many foreign vessels and many lives were anually lost by their keeping the sea in bad weather, rather than incur the heavy expense of *double* light dues, and harbour dues, which they pay on entering our harbours, as the masters received the strictest orders to avoid the English harbours on that account, and often endangered ship and crew."—*Report*, p. xxii.

† The committee, however, plainly indicate their opinion, "that as the consuls and the lights are both intended to aid and to protect the commerce of the country," the one might on the same principle as the other be defrayed from the public treasury. The lights being equally of use to Her Majesty's ships of war as to the merchant service, the public might be called upon to contribute a proportion of the expence for maintaining them."—*Report*, p. xxii.

* This includes *nine* harbour lights paid for by the Commissioners, and *five* supported by other Boards.

† The expense of lighting the coasts of France amounted, in 1834, to L.8328, exclusive of official charges, and Fresnel informs us that it will amount only to L.16,656 when the lights are completed and improved, in conformity with the orders given by the administration.

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involving the highest interests of humanity and civilisation.

As the reform of our lighthouses had its origin in Scotland, from which it passed to England, Ireland, and our colonies, we must direct the attention of our readers to the history of our Scottish Lighthouses, in so far as it has not been given in a previous article on "The Life Boat, the Lightning Conductor, and the Lighthouse."*

Before the year 1822 every lighthouse in Europe and America of any importance was fitted up with hammered parabolic reflectors of plated copper, or with little squares of silvered glass, combined so as to form the segment of a sphere or a paraboloid. When a lamp was placed in the focus of these reflectors, its light was thrown into a widely divergent beam, so attenuated by its divergence, and by the imperfection of the surface which reflected it, that it ceased to be visible at great distances, and was incapable of penetrating the fogs so prevalent at sea.

When the Scottish Lighthouse Board was established in 1786, the Commissioners appointed, as their engineer, Mr. Thomas Smith, who was not bred an engineer, but who is described by his relative and partner, Mr. Robert Stevenson, as "a tinsmith and contractor for lighting the lamps and repairing everything of that kind."† In 1806, Mr. R. Stevenson succeeded Mr. Smith as engineer to the Board; but though he no longer shared in the profits of "making reflectors and supplying wicks and oil," his relatives, the heirs of Mr. Smith, shared, and continue to this day to share, in the same lucrative trade. Mr. Stevenson had, therefore, a motive, and one by which our frail humanity is too readily influenced, for resisting, as he did, the introduction of any improvement which might supersede reflectors and oil lamps.

Every person who has the least elementary knowledge of optics knows that reflectors and lenses are the only means by which solar and artificial light, which follow the same laws, can be collected in a focus, or thrown from a luminous focus into a parallel beam. On account of the difficulty of making lenses of any size and without colour, or striæ, or other imperfections arising from the badness or imperfect fusion of the glass, reflectors were preferred to lenses. But, in the event of any *decided improvement* being made in lenses, it was obviously the duty of Lighthouse Engineers, and even Lighthouse Commissioners, to inquire into their new properties, and ascertain whether or not they might be substituted for reflectors.

In 1812, Sir David Brewster was the first person to *introduce into* England the knowledge of *three new forms* of lenses, all of which have since been made of a large size. The first of these was Buffon's lens in one piece, in which all the glass was ground away which was not necessary either for converging rays to a focus, or, throwing them from a focus into a parallel beam. This was an obvious improvement, which ought to have commanded the attention of lighthouse engineers, though, owing to its being formed out of one piece of glass, it was not of easy execution, and when executed, was not likely to be free of striæ and other imperfections. The *second* form of lens was that of Buffon, composed of several pieces or circles, which could be ground or polished separately, and afterwards joined by a strong cement. This was an obvious improvement upon Buffon's lens, as it was easier to procure a zone of good glass than a whole lens equally good. This division of the lens into circles had been suggested by Condorcet. The *third* form of lens was to construct each zone of separate segments, which obviously enabled the artist to make a much better lens than one of zones, as it was easier to obtain several small pieces of glass without striæ, than one complete zone of equal goodness. This was the *built-up lens* of Sir David Brewster, invented in 1811, and subsequently invented by Fresnel in 1821.

Now, all these forms of the lens are admitted to be great and obvious improvements upon the common lens. They have all been executed in English glassworks, and those of Condorcet and Sir David Brewster actually used in various lighthouses, and found superior to reflectors. The description of these lenses was published in Edinburgh in a popular work. Mr. Stevenson, the Scottish Lighthouse Engineer, was acquainted with them; and it was his duty, as the paid scientific officer of the Board, to have compared them with reflectors, and to have introduced them, if he saw their superiority, into all the lighthouses under his charge. The built-up lens was immediately applied by the inventor of it to the concentration of the solar rays, for the purpose of combustion, and to objects in which he felt a peculiar interest; and it might have been expected that others would have applied it to other purposes, in the promotion of which they were professionally employed.

In order to give additional value and increased power to the built-up lens, or even to the common lens, the inventor, in 1811,

* See this Journal for November 1859, vol. xxxii., p. 492.

† *Report of Committee,* Quest. 1835, 1836.

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connected it with an entirely new *lenticular* apparatus, consisting of *small lenses and concave and plane reflectors for concentrating in one point or focus the light of the sun, or for throwing into one parallel beam all the rays of light that diverged from that focus, as represented by a lamp.* This apparatus, without the concave mirror, was afterwards, in 1821, proposed by M. Fresnel, and immediately applied in the improvement of the French lighthouses. This apparatus, though it was also well known to Mr. Stevenson, he never once thought of applying to the improvement of the lighthouses under his charge. There can be no doubt that any improvement upon reflectors with which he was made acquainted, even if the object of the improvement had been to condense the light of the sun, would have been instantly adopted by him; and that any additional apparatus that could have widened and strengthened the beam given by the reflectors, would have been eagerly introduced into the lighthouses which he superintended. Why he refused to avail himself, for the public safety, of the resources of science presented to him by the improved lenses, and their auxiliary apparatus, will be learned, if it is of any consequence to learn it, from the subsequent annals of lighthouse reform.

Having failed in his attempt to get a built-up lens of great magnitude constructed for the purposes of science, the inventor, so early as 1816, four years after his invention was published, and repeatedly afterwards, pressed its application to the Scottish lighthouses upon Mr. Stevenson;* but all his efforts were in vain. He could not be persuaded that the lens and its apparatus had any value; and in the article on Lighthouses which he contributed to the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, he did not even condescend to notice the suggestion that had been made to him. A new responsibility had now attached to him. He might have pleaded ignorance of the fact that three new forms of the lens had been described in 1812; but they were now urged upon his notice by the inventor of the best of them, and it was ignorance of a different kind for which he was now responsible.

Passing over the history of Sir David Brewster's exertions to introduce the Dioptric System, which has been already given in a previous article, already referred to, we shall now consider what have been the consequences of Mr. Stevenson's refusal, and of the refusal also of the Commissioners to adopt the most obvious improvements upon our lighthouses, till the year 1835, nearly twenty years after they were acquainted with the lenticular apparatus, nearly ten years after they were pressed upon their notice, and nearly seven years after they had been appreciated by the most distinguished engineers and naval and scientific authorities in France, and actually introduced into the French lighthouses!

These consequences are of a very grave character; and we bring them prominently before the public, not for the purpose of enhancing the merits of those who invented and introduced the dioptric lights, or of reprobating the obstinacy and ignorance of those who opposed their introduction, but to impress upon engineers and architects, upon the Commissioners and Directors of great public works, the high responsibility of their functions, and the necessity of availing themselves of all the aid which science can afford them. To the public it is comparatively of little importance who invented the built-up lens and its relative apparatus, or who spurned its introduction; but that public will ever watch with a jealous eye those high interests which humanity has rendered sacred, whether they pertain to the protection of life and property from disasters at sea, from railway catastrophes, or from the professional errors of uneducated and incompetent individuals.

In the year 1812, when the built-up lens, etc., was at the service of the Lighthouse Board, there were only *ten* lighthouses in Scotland; and from that time to 1834, no fewer than *fourteen* lighthouses were erected, with the hammered reflectors. From 1816, when the built-up lens was pressed upon Mr. Stevenson, *twelve* lighthouses were erected with the old lights, and after 1821, when the engineer knew from Major Colby that the dioptric lights were successfully introduced in France, and when he knew from very high authority that the lens light was *sixteen* times brighter than the reflector light of Dungeness, *nine* lighthouses were erected, and lighted up with the old reflectors!

Without referring to the large sums of money which have been lost, by using perishable reflectors in place of lenses that last for ever, or to the still larger sums which must be expended before those *twelve* or *fourteen* lighthouses are made perfect by the dioptric apparatus, we implore the attention of the philanthropist, or even of the least instructed of our realm, to the loss of life and property which *must* have been the consequence of the erection of *fourteen* imperfect lighthouses on the Scottish coast. We have already mentioned the declaration

* See this Journal, vol. xxxii., p. 523, 525.

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of Captain Cotton, himself a Lighthouse Commissioner, "that many ships, many lives, and much property was lost," and "excited the most sensible commiseration and regret," in consequence of the lessees of the *three* Trinity House Lighthouses not having adopted the obvious improvements (very small ones, we believe) introduced by the corporation itself. What, then, must have been the losses of ships, lives, and property occasioned by the managers of *fourteen* lighthouses having refused to introduce the most obvious improvements which science and experience had combined to sanction? If we are not entitled to infer the loss of ships, life and property, from the existence of imperfect lighthouses, we are not entitled to infer the safety of life and property from perfect lighthouses; and, therefore, the enormous sums now expended on the conversion of catoptric into dioptric lighthouses, and on the erection of new dioptric ones, must be spent in vain.

If these views are correct, is it cruel, or is it unjust, to assert, that the engineers, or the commissioners, who have maintained for *fourteen* years, or even for *one* year, a system of imperfect lights, when they knew how to perfect them,—is it cruel or unjust to assert, that they are answerable to God and man for the loss of life and property which their ignorance or their obstinacy has occasioned? If the sailor could rise from his watery grave, and tell the tale of his shipwreck—if he could satisfy an English jury that he was driven upon the fatal reef by the false or feeble lights for which he had often paid, the engineer or the commissioners would doubtless learn, that even human laws would summarily award damages for the offence, if it did not punish the offender. The lawyer who commits a technical error in the conveyance of property, is held liable for the consequences of his mistake. The surgeon who performs an operation, in contravention of the rules of his art; the physician who neglects to prescribe what the science of the day regards as an infallible remedy; the railway company who fail to carry their passengers by machinery of the best construction; and the railway functionaries whose negligence has occasioned those sad disasters which we have so often to deplore, —are all summoned before the tribunal of justice, and righteously punished for their inhumanity or their ignorance. Why, then, should the engineers of our lighthouses, the paid officers of the state, escape from the responsibility imposed upon all other professions?

In continuing our history of lighthouse reform, there is one branch of it which possesses a peculiar interest,—namely, that which relates to lights which are distinguished from one another, either by difference of colour or other means. We have already treated this subject in a previous article; but it is one of such *vital importance*, that we must put our readers in full possession of the optical principles by which alone certain classes of these lights can be made truly distinctive, and safe guides to the benighted seaman.

A correct history of the distinguishing lights on the Bell Rock, while it will justify the strictures which have been made on the Engineer and the Commissioners of the Scottish Board, will enable us to illustrate and explain the true principles of this important class of lights.

Sea lights may be distinguished from each other in various ways. The following are a few of the methods which have been used, or which may be put to the test of experiment:—

1. By being *fixed* or *revolving*.
2. By being single, double, triple, etc., the line joining them when double being vertical, horizontal, or inclined 30°, 45°, or 60° to the horizon, when they can be approached chiefly in one direction.
3. By revolving, and being eclipsed at intervals of various magnitudes.
4. By flashing once every 5, 10, 15, or more seconds.
5. By revolving, groups of flashes succeeding each other after certain intervals of darkness, as proposed and exhibited by Mr. Babbage.
6. By differences of colour when single and fixed, or when double.
7. By a numerical character obtained from the spectrum of lights coloured by absorbing media.
8. By a numerical character obtained from the spectrum of lights coloured by thin plates.
9. By using polarized light, coloured or uncoloured, from which many distinctive characters may be obtained.
10. By analysing polarized light after passing through crystalline plates.
11. By a numerical character obtained from the spectrum of polarized light modified by crystalline plates.
12. By a revolving light, in which there is an alternation of *red* and *white* beams.

The last of these modes of distinction is that which is employed at the Bell Rock, Cape Wrath, Corsewall, Point of Ayre, and Bressay Sound, in Scotland; at Flamborough Head, and at the Rock at the entrance of the Mersey in England; and at Tuskar,

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Kingston harbour, and Slyne Head in Ireland.

In the first four of the Scotch lighthouses, the red and white lights alternate every *two* minutes, and in the last *every minute.* In the English lighthouse at Flamborough Head there are *two* flashes of *white* and *one* of *red;* at the Rock the *white* light appears *twice* and the *red once* every third minute. In Ireland the Tuskar light is described as "*two* sides *white* and one *red*, the *red* light being visible every *sixth* minute;" the Kingston light as "*white* and *red* alternately;" and the revolving light at Slyne Head as having "*one* red and *two* white *faces*, and making a complete revolution in from *four* to *six* minutes."

All the revolving coloured lights we have mentioned are *catoptric*, or made with reflectors, excepting the Scotch one at Bressy Sound, which is a dioptric one of the second order. What is the number of reflectors which furnish the *white* beam, and what the number which furnish the *red* beam, we have no means of knowing, excepting in the case of the *Bell Rock* Lighthouse, in which an alternation of *red* and *white* light was employed, *one* flash of the one succeeding *one* flash of the other.

The reason for adopting this mode of distinction is thus described by Mr. R. Stevenson:—

"A question of much importance, however, still remained in some measure undetermined, regarding the characteristic description of the light most suitable for the Bell Rock, so as to render it easily distinguishable from all others upon the coast. There being stationary lights already in the Frith of Forth, this mode could not be adopted for the Bell Rock. Revolving lights had also lately been erected upon the Fearn Islands, the most contiguous lighthouse-station to the southward, as will be seen from the general chart of the coast in Plate III. Considering, therefore, the liability of the mariner to mistake the appearance of lights in stormy weather, or from an error in his course in returning from a distant voyage, it was of the last importance that the Bell Rock Lighthouse should be easily distinguishable.

"The most suitable means for accomplishing this seemed to be by the exhibition of *different colours* from the same light-room. The only colour which had not yet been found to answer, was produced by interposing shades of red glass before the reflectors. But this was the colour used for distinguishing the light of Flamborough Head, on the Yorkshire coast, and, though about 160 miles to the southward, it would still have been desirable to have avoided the same colour. A train of experiments was therefore made from Inchkeith Lighthouse, with plates of glass coloured red, green, yellow, blue, and purple, procured from Birmingham and London. These were fitted to the reflectors at Inchkeith, within view of the writer's windows in Edinburgh. The 'Tender' was likewise appointed to cruise, that more distant observations might be made for ascertaining the effect of these coloured shades. But after the most full and satisfactory trials, the red colour was found to be the only one applicable to this purpose. In tolerably clear weather, the light of one reflector, tinged red, alternating with a light of the natural appearance, with intervals of darkness, was easily distinguishable at the distance of eight or nine miles; while the other colours rendered the light opaque, being hardly distinguishable to the naked eye at more than two or three miles. After various trials and observations made in this manner, both on land and at sea, the writer at length resolved on recommending the use of red, as the only colour suitable for this purpose; and in order to vary the light as much as possible from that of Flamborough Head, a square reflector-frame was adopted at the Bell Rock, with two of its faces or sides having red coloured shades, and the other two exhibiting lights of the natural appearance. At Flamborough Head the reflector-frame is triangular, and on one side it is furnished with red coloured shades, while the other two sides exhibit lights of the natural appearance. The design at the Bell Rock, on the contrary, was to exhibit a light tinged red, alternating with one of the natural appearance; and, upon this principle, the apparatus was put in a state of preparation."

"Parturiunt Montes—nascitur ridiculus Mus."

This marvellous apparatus, as we stated in a previous article, consisted of a rectangular frame with *seven* white lights on each of its two longest sides, and *five* red lights in each of its two shortest sides, so that a *white* flash from *seven* burners succeeded a *red* flash from *five* burners!

When our attention was first called to this extraordinary apparatus in which *the red glass was placed opposite* the FIVE *reflectors, in place* of opposite the SEVEN, we could not discover any mode of explaining how a person of the most ordinary acquirements could have committed such a blunder, which is founded upon the strange assumption that the FIVE *red* lights would be seen at as great a distance as the SEVEN *white* ones, or that *red* light could be seen at a greater distance than *white* light. Now it is quite true, and had doubtless been known to every student of optics, *that red light of a given intensity would be seen at a greater distance through the lower strata of the atmosphere than white light of the same intensity*, because the blue and green and yellow rays which formed part of the white beam were more readily absorbed than the red rays; and hence it appeared probable that the engineer, misled by this fact, supposed that each red burner was more intense than each white one, in place of having only one-third or one-fourth of its intensity.

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But however this may be, the *red* light was not seen at distances at which the *white* lights were *visible*, and, as we formerly stated, *the Bell Rock ceased* in clear weather to exhibit a distinguishing light throughout that vast extent of ocean between the short range of the FIVE *red* lights, and the long range of the SEVEN white ones. Within that space the hapless seaman believed that he was not approaching the Bell Rock Lighthouse, but some other on which a white light was eclipsed every *four* minutes!

But if this was the result in clear weather, what must have been the condition of the lights in tempestuous nights during fogs, or rain, or snow, when the poor mariner was not far from the fatal reef; and if he saw anything at all, saw only the white light performing its lazy round, and giving him no information of the dangers which he was approaching. Who can tell how many ships thus lighted through the German Ocean never reached their haven, or how many victims of ignorance and incapacity perished on our shores?

For nearty *thirteen* years, from February 1, 1811, to November 16, 1823, these dangerous lights gleamed from the lofty summit of the Bell Rock; but from some cause, which we think we have discovered, the engineer found that his *red* lights were too *feeble* and his *white* lights too *powerful*. Early in 1822, Sir David Brewster was occupied with experiments on the absorption of light by coloured glasses, and some of his specimens were from the red glass shades of the Bell Rock. This paper was read, on the 15th April 1822, to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and contained experiments and diagrams, showing the quantity of light absorbed or lost in passing through red glass. On the 18th November 1822, a similar paper by Sir John Herschel was read to the same Society and showing what may be called *the darkness of red glasses*. Mr. Stevenson, a member of the Society, may have been present at the reading of these papers; and if he was not, he had them in his possession, when published early in 1829, and certainly knew the results which they contained.

Thus informed, he could not but see that an unshaded white light would penetrate three, or even four times as far as the same light *shaded or darkened with red glass*; and, still more, that SEVEN unshaded white lights would be seen at an immensely greater distance than FIVE of the same lights shaded or darkened with five plates of red glass. He accordingly resolved to correct the Bell Rock blunder; and without consulting any of his scientific friends, or giving any notice to the public or to the shipping interest,* he secretly ordered four of the *white* lights to be extinguished, two on each of the long sides of the rectangular frame. This mutilation of the distinguishing light was executed on the 16*th November* 1823, *twenty-four* reflectors having been used on the 15th, and only *twenty* on the 16th November; and FIVE lights darkened with *red* glass were left to balance, or to be seen at the same distance as, FIVE unshaded *white* lights!

In the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1833, the writer of this article had pointed out the original blunder in the Bell Rock lights; and Mr. Hume and other members of the Lighthouse Committee of 1834 were made aquainted with its nature and importance. They accordingly spared the author of the blunder, and thus examined his son, the Clerk of Works, Mr. Alan Stevenson:—

"2471. The Bell Rock Lighthouse is a revolving light?—It is.

"2472. Of what colour?—White and red.

"2473. What are the number of burners in the white frame?—Five.

"2474. The number in the red?—Five also.

"2475. Are you not aware that the light of the white lights from five reflectors will pierce much farther than the red light from five reflectors?—It will, but not very much farther.

"2476. Have you never had a complaint that, in hazy weather, the Bell Rock Lighthouse is seen as a single and not as a revolving light?—I have never heard that complaint; but I am aware that white lights appear redder in fog; at the same time the white light, though tinged red by the fog, when contrasted with the red light seen through the same medium, can always be distinguished from it.

"2477. Should you not think it would have been a greater advantage if the red and white light had been made to penetrate equal distances?—I think that it would.

"2478. Would not the addition of perhaps from three or four burners with red glasses have carried that into effect?—I think an addition might; I cannot say how many would be required.

"2479. If, as you state, the white light is seen at a greater distance in a particular state of the atmosphere, why is the red light continued?—In order to distinguish one lighthouse from another.

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* This fact is stated in the *Edinburgh Review*, July 1835, p. 530; and, in so far as we know, was never contradicted.

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"2480. Is it not the intention that the red and white lights should be equally seen in all states of the atmosphere?—It is.

"2481. Did you make any experiments to ascertain, as according to the present construction one is not seen at times, by what addition both could be equally visible?—No, we made no late experiments upon that subject; it was tried at the first introduction of the red light.

"2482. Are there any means of making the red light equally visible?—Perhaps the addition of a greater number of reflectors might be tried."

This instructive examination we reprinted in the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1835, and accompanied it with the following observations, which were made when we were utterly ignorant, like every other person, of the change in the lights made in 1823:—

"The only remark which the preceding piece of evidence requires regards the strange assertion, that in the Bell Rock Lighthouse there are *five white* lights and *five red ones*; whereas our animadversions (in the *Edinburgh Review* of April 1833), though equally just in this case, were particularly directed against the absurdity of *reddening the weak beams of light produced by* FIVE *reflectors*, in place of *the strong beams produced by* SEVEN reflectors. In Mr. Stevenson's folio engraving of the reflector frame, published in 1824, *fourteen* years after the completion of the lighthouse, the reflectors are, as we stated, SEVEN *on one side* and FIVE on the other and *the red glasses are placed in front of the* FIVE! It is, therefore an unpardonable attempt in the Clerk of Works (Mr. Alan Stevenson) to diminish the force of our reproof, and the magnitude of the engineer's blunder, by making the committee believe that there were *five reflectors on each side of the frame.*"

This last passage raised to such a degree the ire of Mr. Alan Stevenson, that in an epistle which Mr. Napier, the Editor of the *Review*, calls "rabid," he threatened him with a challenge if he did not insert a reply to what he called the *false* and *calumnious* charge of the *Reviewer*. The reply to the charge was this:—"*On the night of the* 16*th November* 1823 *the* SEVEN *reflectors on the two white sides were reduced in number by the extinction of* TWO *on each face; so that during a period of nearly eleven years before* I (Mr. A. Stevenson) gave *the evidence thus quoted, there was, as I have stated to the committee,* FIVE *reflectors on each side, white as well as red.*"

While Mr. Alan Stevenson was writing this defence, and calling the reviewer's statement false and calumnious, he himself knew that the reviewer had written *in good faith*, and with perfect honesty and truth; and he knew also that he had made Mr. Hume and the committee believe that the reviewer's statement was *false*, while it was perfectly correct and he knew it to be so.

"The reviewer, as he himself had said,* spoke, and *could speak only* of the original construction of the apparatus which had existed for nearly fourteen years, and *which exists at this moment*, although, from causes and motives still unknown, four of the reflectors are said to have been extinguished. A gun has equally two barrels, though only one of them may have been used; and a chandelier or a reflector frame has equally *seven* burners, though one or all of them may have been extinguished."

If a lamplighter, employed to light two drawing-rooms equally with lights of different brightness, should place a lamp of *seven* burners, with a bright flame, in the *small* drawing-room, and a lamp of *five* burners with a *fainter* flame in the *large* drawing-room; and if, when called upon to answer for the professional blunder, he should say that *there were only* FIVE burners in the *small* drawing-room lamps, because in the fourteenth year of his age he had ordered *two* of its *seven* burners to be extinguished, we do not think that his professional character would be improved by such a statement. Had he stated the fact, that he had extinguished *two* of the *seven*, his testimony, however absurd, would have been honest; but if he kept that fact to himself, his evidence was as false as it was absurd.

That the evidence of Mr. A. Stevenson deceived the committee and the public cannot be doubted; that it deceived the reviewer, is more certain still. When our reproof was written, we had not, and could not have had, the least idea that any change had been made in the Bell Rock lights;† and so carefully does this change seem to have been concealed, that it was not known in the spring of 1833 to one of the most intelligent members of the Bell Rock Committee.

The reply of the reviewer, of which this passage is but a fragment, was never answered by Mr. Alan Stevenson. The subject of coloured distinguishing lights haunts him as a family apparition which it is impossible to allay. Neither he nor any of his kindred venture to allude to the subject, and in a single line, when he is obliged to refer to the darkness of red glass, he furnishes, as we shall see, the most convincing proof of

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* *Edinburgh Review*, July 1835, p. 529.

† This is proved by the fact, that in a letter to one of the Commissioners, printed in the House of Commons' Report, App., p. 134, Mr. Harrower states that the Bell Rock was a revolving light of 24 reflectors.

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the *existing* as well as of the *original* blunder in the Bell Rock lights.

That distinguishing lights, discreditable to science and dangerous to life, should exist in our Scottish, and, perchance, other lighthouses, is a fact of serious import, which merits the attention of every friend of humanity. That they are dangerous, and could be easily remedied, may be proved from the evidence of Mr. Alan Stevenson, under whose management, as the Engineer of the Board, they have been allowed to exist.

1. He is aware that the *five white lights* will penetrate much *farther* than the *five red lights*, but not *very* much farther.

2. He thinks that it would have been *a greater advantage*, that is, that the Bell Rock lights would be improved, if the *red* and *white* light penetrated to equal distances.

3. He states that it was the intention of the engineer that the red and white lights should be equally seen in *all states* of the atmosphere.

4. He states, that *it was tried* at the first introduction of the light, by what additions (additional red lights of course) both the red and white lights could be made equally visible, and he directly contradicts this evidence when he states,

5. That *it might be tried* if an additional number of reflectors would make the red and white lights equally visible.

Notwithstanding this extraordinary evidence, *five* white and *five* red lights still form the Bell Rock lights! What the number of red lights ought to be, we may infer from facts published by Mr. Alan Stevenson himself. He tells us* that red glass absorbs from 4-7ths to 5-6ths of the incident light, that which absorbs 4-7ths being less fit for lighthouses than the more absorbing kinds. It is obvious, therefore, that with that glass which absorbs 5-6ths or 80 per cent. of the incident light, it would require *thirty-three* red lights to furnish the same quantity of light as the *five* white lights, and that in an atmosphere equally transparent for rays of all colours, 5 white lights would be seen at as great a distance as a large number of red ones! With the least absorbing glass, 5 white lights would give as much light as far as 11 red ones.

Next in importance to good distinguishing lights, which shall be distinctive at all distances to which they reach, is the exhibition of powerful lights in foggy weather. It is a fact which cannot be contradicted, that *when the* PRESENT *feeble lights are absorbed by fog, or haze, or rain, or snow, so as to become invisible at short distances, the navigation of our firths and shores is exactly as dangerous as it was previous to the erection of lighthouses.* In order to guide the mariner in such a state of the atmosphere, the writer of this article proposed, in 1826, the occasional use of the Drummond light, or of the electric light, as first suggested by Sir W. Herschel, and, in 1833, he proposed to increase the intensity of oil or gas flames by means of oxygen gas. That such a light would operate injuriously to navigation, only one man could believe, and that one man was Mr. Alan Stevenson.

"Are you aware," he was asked, "of any propositions on the part of Sir David Brewster, that have not met with attention, on the Northern Lights?

"No; no propositions of Sir David Brewster have been overlooked. He suggested the introduction of gas, and an inquiry was set on foot. .... *He made a proposition with regard to lenses, which are at present in course of being adopted at Inchkeith.* He also suggested the *occasional* exhibition of certain lights at particular times, or in certain states of the weather. It is quite obvious, however, that *this recommendation deserves no attention*, and it could not come from any one acquainted with seamanship!"

Thus dogmatises the Clerk of Works—the son; but the more sagacious engineer, the father, thus testifies:—

"*Important advantages* might, doubtless, be obtained by using this light (the Drummond light) during hazy weather, and the reporter is resolved to spare no pains on his part to bring about its introduction into lighthouses!"

In order to carry out his views of exhibiting a brilliant light, *when the characteristic appearance of every light is entirely lost*, Sir David Brewster invented the *holophote* or *whole light* principle, which consists *in throwing back on the flame, and through the lens into the main lenticular beam, as large an angular portion of the light that diverges from the flame as that which the lens receives.* This may be done by any reflector that will throw back an incident ray to the point from which it diverged.*

The invention and application of this principle is due solely to Sir David Brewster, Fresnel and no other writer having thought of it; and yet the lighthouse historian, Mr.

* Rudimentary Treatise, etc., p. 108.

* Sir David Brewster did this by a spherical mirror or speculum, whose centre was the burner. Mr. T. Stevenson has since preferred to use totally reflecting prisms of flint glass; but we are persuaded that, owing to each ray having to pass through a very great thickness of glass, more or less striated, glass specula, coated externally with pure silver, will produce a much better effect.

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A. Stevenson, has, in his early works, entirely ignored its existence, except when describing his brother's application of it, which he does as if it were his invention. In his latest work, however, published in 1850,* he has the assurance to claim the invention to himself, though Sir David Brewster published it in 1812, for the sun's rays, and in 1827 for lighthouses, in papers which he had perused! The following description of the very figure described is taken from the Edinburgh Transactions:†—

"In the arc, says Mr. A. Stevenson, next the land, in fixed lights, a great loss of light ensues from the escape of the rays uselessly in that direction. So far back as 1834, I suggested the placing the segment of a spherical mirror, with its centre of curvature coincident with the focus of the system, so that the luminous pyramid, of which the mirror forms the base, might be thrown back through the focal point, and finally refracted into such a direction as to contribute to the effect of the lens in the seaward and opposite arc. . . . . In the best glass-silvered mirror, this accession of light would amount to nearly half of the light incident on them."

But this method of sending back the landward cone of rays into the seaward beam, has a most valuable application to the occasional introduction of a brilliant light in hazy weather, and this, too, without in any way altering the character of the lighthouse. This is shown in a drawing in the Memoir on Polyzonal Lenses‡ already referred to, and is done by lenses or elliptical mirrors, which throw into the seaward beams one or more cones of rays, produced by a lens from the Drummond or electrical light. This addition to the holophote principle has been entirely ignored by all the Stevensons, although two of them, Messrs. D. and T. Stevenson, have given Sir David Brewster the credit of having invented the holophote apparatus.

In his work, entitled the *Holophotal System* of Lighthouses, published in 1851, Mr. Thomas Stevenson makes the following reference:—

"See Sir David Brewster's article in the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia* (published in 1812) for the best method formerly proposed of sending forward diverged rays *by means of a combination of numerous small lenses and plane mirrors.*"

In 1857, Messrs. D. and T. Stevenson, in their report "On the Comparative Merits of the Catoptric and Dioptric Lights," presented to the Board of Trade, made the following statement:—

"A far more complete optical arrangement is that which was proposed so far back as 1812, by Sir David Brewster, and afterwards introduced by A. Fresnel in his revolving lights. By Sir David's plan the whole sphere of rays was usefully employed, and the excessive amount of divergence to which we have just referred was avoided."

Such was the belief of the Stevensons, the historians of lighthouse invention, up to 1859. In that year Mr. T. Stevenson published his principal work, called *Lighthouse Illumination*, in which he gives Sir David Brewster the whole credit of being the inventor of the Dioptric system.

"So far back," he says, "as 1812, Sir David Brewster suggested most important improvements in the illumination of lighthouses, and, among others, that which is represented in fig. 17."

Here follows a woodcut of the Holophote, from the Edinburgh Encyclopædia referred to, and after describing it he says—

"Before leaving this instrument, we may just notice, in a word, what will be hereafter more particularly referred to, that the same arrangement was adopted in 1822, as a part of his system of revolving lights by Fresnel, who was unaware that Sir David Brewster had conceived the same idea before."

The following passage is equally important:—

"The last invention to be noticed is that by Sir David Brewster, plate 1, fig. 1, and afterwards adopted by A. Fresnel, as an accessory part in all Dioptric revolving lights prior to 1851."

The figure here referred to is an original and correct drawing of Sir David Brewster's system of lenses and mirrors, or holophote apparatus, and has the date of 1812 affixed to it.

After the perusal of the preceding pages, together with our article in a preceding number, and the Report of the Parliamentary Committee, with the relative documents, the reader will have no difficulty in discovering who was the first inventor of the dioptric lights, and who had the honour of introducing them into Scotland, England, and Ireland. But when he has made this discovery he will be surprised to find that Mr. Alan Stevenson has, in all his writings, wilfully omitted all mention of Sir David Brewster's inventions, and of his persevering labours for many years in overcoming the opposition which the two Engineers of the Scottish Board so obstinately made to the dioptric lights.

This pertinacious suppression of truth has, we believe, no example in the history of science, and will appear the less mysterious when we know, that the only lighthouse in-

* Rudimental Treatise, Part II., p. 102, fig. 86. The same claim for Mr. Alan Stevenson is made by his brother in his *Lighthouse Illumination*, p. 46.

† Vol. xi., p. 33, Edinburgh, 1827.

‡ Rudimental Treatise, plate iii., fig. 1.

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vention which Mr. Alan Stevenson has claimed, or we believe can claim, is taken, without acknowledgment, from Sir David Brewster's published communications to the Lighthouse Board, of which he was the Engineer;—when we reperuse his declaration to the Parliamentary Committee, already referred to,*—and read the following documents and letters addressed to Sir David by two of the most intelligent Commissioners of the Northern Lights. After the successful experiments which had been made on the 12th, 13th, and 14th February, had proved to everybody but the engineer the superiority of the lens, Sir David addressed to Mr. Macconochie, the convener of the "Lens Committee," a long and elaborate letter in favour of a dioptric system, dated the 16th February.† This letter was laid before the Lens Committee at their meeting on the 23d February, when they came to the following resolution:—

"The meeting being of opinion that the information contained in the above communication is of the greatest importance, in the view of introducing the apparatus into the lighthouses in progress, direct the report of the engineer on the experiments already made, and the above communication, to be immediately reported to the Bell Rock Committee, to ascertain whether it could not be done."

When Sir David Brewster's letter was read at the meeting of the Bell Rock Committee, which took place the same day, the Lord Provost insisted, in the most urgent manner, upon having "an estimate of the comparative expense of a light-room at Inchkeith," fitted up for the exhibition of lights from the reflectors, or from an equivalent number of lenses; and when this was agreed to, he wrote to Sir David Brewster, as follows, on the 27th February 1833.

The Lighthouse Board have resolved to light Inchkeith *permanently on your plan*, at least they have ordered Stevenson to give in an estimate of what it will cost to do so, with the view of making it a sort of model. My wish was, and is, that you should be directed to procure the whole apparatus, and to fit it up, cost what it may, as, without being very uncharitable, we may suppose *that one so adverse to the experiment as Stevenson is, is not the fittest person to be employed*. Depend upon my zeal and anxiety to redeem the abominable atrocity of my coadjutors."

At the meeting of the Bell Rock Committee on the 25th March, Mr. R. Stevenson's estimate was produced, making the expense of *seven* reflectors L.569, 11s. 7d., and the expense of *seven* lenses, L.815, 2s. In this strange estimate, *seven* reflectors are made equal to *seven* lenses, whereas it requires nearly *nineteen* reflectors to be equal to *seven* lenses.

"On the motion of Lord Provost, the committee resolved to recommend to a general meeting, to be called on Monday next, to have the light at Inchkeith immediately adapted to the lens apparatus."

This resolution was intimated to Sir David Brewster, in the following letter from Mr. Macconochie, dated March 26, 1833:—

"We had a meeting of the *Business Committee* yesterday, when it was unanimously resolved to call a meeting of the whole Board, and *recommend the immediate conversion of Inchkeith into a lens light*. This meeting takes place on Monday, when I trust all will be finally settled. Mr. Stevenson gives us an estimate of the expense, which is *somewhat* startling; but cost what it may, the thing *ought*, and must be done. I got a copy of it made, which I send you; *and if any remarks occur on it, I beg you may write me before Monday*."

In obedience to the request contained in this letter, Sir David Brewster wrote his last and longest appeal to the Board; and having previously procured from M. Fresnel a genuine estimate, in which it appeared that a *nine*-lens lighthouse, such as that at Corduana, would cost L.1083, while, according to Mr. Stevenson, a lighthouse with twenty-four reflectors (equivalent to *nine* lenses) would cost L.1387, he addressed an elaborate letter to Mr. Macconochie,* dated 29th March 1833, in which he placed the question between lenses and reflectors in such a light as to induce the Board to agree to the erection of a lens light upon Inchkeith.

Although Sir David Brewster had thus so far gained the object for which he had struggled for *seventeen* long years, he dreaded that the obstinacy of their engineer might yet overbear the tardy and unwilling proceedings of the Board, and that the experiment at Inchkeith might be the end as well as the beginning of the new system. He submitted the whole case to the public, in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1833, and urged Mr. Joseph Hume to obtain a select committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the lighthouse system of Great Britain and Ireland. Lieutenant Drummond and Mr. James Jardine bore the highest testimony to the dioptric lights. The Royal Society of Edinburgh declared that they had a *prodigious* superiority over the old ones. The Scottish

* See p. 274 of this article.

† This letter is printed in the Appendix to the *Parlimentary Report* of August 1834, No. 130, p. 130.

* This letter, of upwards of two closely printed pages, is given in the Appendix to the *Parliamentary Report*, No. 120, p. 133, 136.

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Commissioners rejoiced in the lens lighthouse in the Isle of May as "the most perfect ever exhibited in any country;" and the obstructive Clerk of Works, Mr. Alan Stevenson, who had declared, in 1833, that the old "British and Irish lights were the best in Europe," now confessed that they were less intense, and more expensive than the new ones!

After the dioptric system had been thus fairly introduced into Great Britain, Mr. Macconochie addressed to Sir David Brewster the following letter, dated 7th February 1837:—

"Of the vast importance of introducing the dioptric system into the lighthouses, I have never entertained a doubt; and I have every reason to believe that even those of the Commissioners who were least willing to make the change, are now satisfied of the great superiority of the new system.

"I am satisfied that the Scottish Board will never again build a lighthouse on the reflecting system, and I *only hope that you may be able to persuade a much more powerful and important Board to adopt a similar resolution.*"

When the Report and Evidence of the committee of the House of Commons was laid before Parliament, and analysed by the writer of this article in the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1835, public opinion was directed to the subject, and a severe judgment pronounced upon the conduct of the Scottish Commissioners, and the engineer who had misled them. Parliament itself took up the subject, and, under the guidance of that truly honest patriot, Mr. Joseph Hume, began a system of reform which has been gradually bringing to perfection the administration of our lighthouses.

Under different Acts of Parliament, good and fundamental changes have been effected. By an Act of Parliament passed in August 1836,* the lighthouses held by the Crown, by private individuals, and the leases of those leased by the Trinity House, to whose improper lights Captain Cotton ascribed so much loss of property and life, were all purchased and placed under the management of the Trinity House. By the same Act, all the lighthouses in the empire were placed under the same Board, in order to obtain an uniform system of management, and a reduction and equalization of the tolls. No alteration was to be made without the written authority of the three former Boards;—no lighthouses were to be erected in Scotland or Ireland, or removed, or their lights altered, without the authority of the Trinity House; and the tax, when reduced and equalized, was to be a *halfpenny* per ton on all British vessels not navigated wholly in ballast, and *one penny* per ton for passing the Bell Rock, the tax being double on all foreign vessels not privileged by treaties or Acts of Parliament.

Under this important Act the lighthouses of the empire were administered, till the "Merchant Shipping Act" was passed in 1854. The object of this Act was "to amend and consolidate the Acts relating to Merchant Shipping." It occupies no fewer than 264 pages, and is divided into *eleven* parts, the *sixth part* relating to lighthouses. It places under the Board of Trade the general superintendence of all matters relating to merchant ships and seamen, and, consequently, all lighthouse buoys or beacons. Every proposal to erect new lighthouses, or to change old ones, must be submitted to the Trinity House, and receive the sanction of the Board of Trade. It establishes a *Mercantile Marine Fund*, into which all light dues or tolls are to be paid, and out of which all the expenses of lighthouses are to be defrayed, the Treasury being authorized to lend out of the Consolidated Fund a sum not exceeding L.200,000, for erecting and repairing lighthouses. It provides also, that all lighthouse authorities shall account to the Board of Trade, and that the account of the Mercantile Marine Fund shall be annually submitted to both Houses of Parliament.

While these great advances have been made in the administration of British lighthouses, comparatively little has been done in the improvement of lighthouse apparatus, as an optical instrument requiring as much as a microscope or a telescope, or as the finest Equatorials or Mural circles in our observatories, all the resources of optical knowledge.

It appears from the Admiralty list of lighthouses, as taken in August 1859, that there are

In England, . .	209	lights, including floating and harbour lights.
In Scotland, . .	114	
In Ireland, . . .	78	
	401	

The character of these lights, as given in the same list, is as follows:—

"1. *Fixed* or steady.
2. *Flashing*, showing five or more flashes or eclipses, alternately, in a minute, as North Ronalshay, Buchanness, etc.
3. *Fixed* light, with a *white* or *red* flash in addition (preceded and followed by a short eclipse), at intervals of two, three, or four minutes, as Alpreck Point, Isle Vierge, etc.
4. *Revolving* light, gradually increasing to

* William IV., 6 and 7, cap. 79.

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full effect, or gradually decreasing to eclipse, at equal intervals of two, three, or four minutes, but occasionally as often as *three times* in a minute, as Casquets, Corduan, etc.

5. *Intermittent*, suddenly appearing in view, remaining visible for a certain time, and then as suddenly eclipsed for a shorter time, as at Burnham, in the Bristol Channel, Mull of Gallaway, Barra Head, Tarbet Ness, etc."
6. *Alternating, red* and *white* light appearing alternately at equal intervals, without any intervening eclipse, as Pontaillac, in the Gironde, etc."

The optical apparatus used in producing these various distinctive characters, consists either of hammered metallic reflectors, or of built-up lenses, and a reflecting apparatus of spherical and plain mirrors and totally reflecting prisms. Lighthouses are therefore divided into DIOPTRIC, or those with *lenses*, and CATOPTRIC, or those with *reflectors*.

The following is the number of *dioptric* lighouses in Great Britain of different orders, from No. 1, the largest, to No. 6, the smallest:—

	1st Order.	2d Order.	3d Order.	4th Order.	5th Order.	6th. Order.
England,	23	6	0	2	4	1
Scotland,	16	6	1	4	2	0
Ireland,	9	1	4	3	1	0
Total,	48	13	5	9	7	1

making, in all, *eighty-three* dioptric or D lighthouses.

It is impossible to obtain from the Admiralty list a correct number of the different orders of *catoptric* lights. In the English list, no fewer than 82 are simply marked *catoptric*, or C, without mentioning the order. In Scotland, 19 are simply marked *catoptric*; while in Ireland only three are so marked, and the different orders recorded. We may, therefore, provisionally place those marked C by themselves. The list will then stand as follows:—

	1st Order.	2d Order.	3d Order.	4th Order.	5th Order.	6th Order.	C.
England, .	2	0	0	0	1	2	82
Scotland, .	2	1	1	0	0	0	19
Ireland, .	17	10	15	2	0	0	3
Total,	21	11	16	2	1	2	104

making, in all, 157 catoptric lights. Four lights are marked C and D,—one being catoptric, and the others dioptric: three in Scotland are called *condensing*, without any description; and the nature of many of the lights in the Admiralty list is not mentioned.

It is obvious from the preceding lists that much remains to be done, especially in Ireland, in converting the catoptric into dioptric lights. When the superiority of the latter is now so universally admitted, there can be no reason but want of funds for maintaining the old reflectors; and we have no hesitation in asserting that *lighthouse reform* will not be final till every hammered reflector in our leading sea lights is reduced to its silver and copper ingredients, or made to perform some humbler function, as pier or harbour lights. To maintain a *feeble* light when a *brighter* one can be obtained from a lens, is to peril life and property at sea; and we can hardly believe that any Government could be so parsimonious as to refuse the obvious means of making our lighthouses what the Committee of Parliament declares they should be, "*the best that the state of science can afford.*"

This desire of improving our lighthouses was strongly expressed by the House of Commons in 1858–9 in an address to the Crown, and a Royal Commission was in consequence of this appointed, "for inquiring into the condition and management of lights, buoys, and beacons." The Commissioners named for this duty by the Crown were Admiral Baillie Hamilton, Captain Alfred Phillips Ryde, Dr. John H. Gladstone, and Messrs. Duncan, Dunbar, and Samuel Robert Graves, gentlemen highly qualified for so important an undertaking. This is the first time that a man of science was appointed to report on the subject of lighthouses, and we anticipate great advantages from the high scientific acquirements of Dr. Gladstone. The appointment of two naval officers such as Admiral Hamilton and Captain Ryde, cannot fail to be gratifying to the public, while Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Graves are excellent representatives of the merchant shipping interest. With Mr. J. F. Campbell as their secretary, we look forward with much interest to the important reforms which they cannot fail to effect.

The powers given to the Commission are precise and ample. They are "to inquire into the number, quality, and position of the lighthouses of the United Kingdom, both absolutely and relatively, as compared with the lighthouses of any foreign countries;" into the sufficiency of the said lighthouses for lighting our coasts; into the expense of constructing and maintaining them, compared with the expense in any foreign countries; and into the present system of management and control under which the lighthouses are constructed and maintained.

The Commissioners have already visited the British and French lighthouses, and they have recently issued a circular, in which they request from scientific men an answer to *sixteen* questions, *eleven* of which are of

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an optical nature, and well calculated to elicit most important information. We understand that they have already received very valuable suggestions from some eminent scientific individuals, and we have no doubt that they will be able to introduce into their report facts and views which will contribute greatly to the improvement of our lighthouses.

This is not the place to make any suggestions of a technical nature for the consideration of the Board, but there are some points of a general nature which may be worthy of their notice.

1. To every light made distinctive by the alternations of coloured and colourless flashes, it is essentially necessary that the coloured light be seen at as great a distance as the colourless light, whether the lights are weakened by distance or by the state of the atmosphere.
2. Methods of distinguishing lighthouses, which would be useful *only at short distances*, should be introduced.
3. The system of double lights, placed so that the line which joins them may be inclined at different angles to the horizon, though more expensive, may be made to form most distinctive lights.
4. Means should be adopted for introducing into the main beam, in dangerous weather, brilliant lights, so as not to alter the general character of the light.
5. Gas should be introduced into every lighthouse.
6. A distinctive character, to be seen in daylight, should be given to every lighthouse.
7. All the lenses in these lighthouses should be made of flint glass.
8. The commander of every merchant ship should be furnished with a good telescope, with an object glass of large aperture.
9. In every Lighthouse Board there should be men of science, engineers, and naval officers, who should receive liberal salaries from the Mercantile Marine Fund.

The necessity of putting the right man in the right place, has been so strikingly displayed in the recent annals of England, that public opinion will hardly tolerate an exception in the administration of our lighthouses, the most important of all our civil establishments. Even if they answered no other purpose than to facilitate the navigation of our shores and estuaries, by shortening voyages and reducing the expenses of transit, they would still be objects of national as well as of individual interest; but when we view them in the light of humane institutions for the protection of life and property, the man of the world, as well as the philanthropist, will regard them with a deeper and more affectionate interest. If the astronomer appeals successfully to the State for expensive instruments and effective establishments for studying the planets and the stars; and if the State selects individuals of the highest science to superintend these watch-towers of the heavens, it is bound by every motive of feeling and of justice to choose the wisest functionaries for our lighthouses, and to open wide the national purse for the preservation of valuable life.*

It would be better surely to double the lighthouse dues, than to leave our lighthouses beneath "the state of science in England," glimmering and misleading lights, superintended by unpaid and irresponsible commissioners, and ignorant engineers; but even the greatness of the object to be thus gained would not reconcile us to such an act of confiscation. The merchant shipping of England, the grandest commercial establishment in the world, cannot be regarded as an institution in which individual enterprise selfishly speculates and avariciously accumulates wealth. It is physically the grand commissariat which supplies us with our meat and our drink, our medicines and our luxuries,—with the nectar and ambrosia of climes genial and remote. It hoards for our use the materials of our arts and manufactures; and if a day of danger should ever visit England, its navy will be the safeguard of our shores, and its seamen a living bulwark in their defence.

But it is in its moral aspect also that we must view our commercial marine. It is an electrical chain floating on the surface of the oceanic world — the super-marine cable, which unites into one empire our mother country and her colonies—which connects us by the ties of brotherhood with all other nations, barbarous and civilised, and enables us to send the messages of revelation and of knowledge to the darkest regions of the earth.

To impose, therefore, an additional tax on the merchant shipping, would be to add to

* "The use of light," says Mr. Faraday, "to guide the mariner as he approaches land, or passes through intricate channels, has, with the advance of society and its ever-increasing interests, caused *such a necessity* for means more and more perfect, *as to tax to the utmost the powers both of the philosopher and the practical man*, in the development of the principles concerned, and their practical application."—*Lectures at the Royal Institution, March* 9, 1860.

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the injustice under which they now labour, of paying the lighthouse dues for every ship of the Royal Navy and for foreign vessels exempted by special treaties and conventions. Rather ought the lighthouse dues to be entirely remitted to every British vessel, and the Consolidated Fund charged with the maintenance of every lighthouse establishment.

Nothing has surprised us more, during the discussion of lighthouse questions, whether in Parliament, by the press, or in the saloon, than the apathy of public men, and even of private individuals. The responsibility which the law, as well as the affections, attaches to all other professions is supposed by some to be inapplicable to a lighthouse commissioner and a lighthouse engineer,—to the one who has an office imposed upon him, of whose duties he is entirely ignorant, and to the other, a self-named engineer, who has less knowledge of his art than the manufacturer or the retailer of a pair of spectacles; and those who, as public censors, have for public interests exposed the ignorance of the one and the incapacity of the other, have been charged with undue severity in the exercise of their functions. The parties thus mysteriously sensitive must be self-deceived in their judgment. They look with indifference, if not with satisfaction, upon the hopeless author, male or female, when cut to pieces by the same tomahawk, or impaled upon the same spear; while they affect a dubious charity when a lighthouse commissioner or a lighthouse engineer—the ministers of life or death to the seaman—are reminded of their duties, or reproved for neglecting them.

With such guardians of public interests we can have no sympathy. As authorized censors we have spoken freely, and, we are sure, justly, of the deep responsibility of lighthouse administrators. We have addressed them personally as well as publicly on the magnitude of their office, and some of them have not only appreciated our motives, but aided us in carrying out the great reforms which we advocated. Acts of parliament, and the force of public opinion, have since that time effected many of these reforms; and it is but a repetition of the fate of public benefactors when their services are depreciated and their characters maligned.

It will be seen from the preceding pages that humanity has yet higher claims upon science. In advocating these claims, when the jury are not philosophers but men, the rigorous axioms of science, unless accepted by faith, make but a feeble impression. We must appeal to human sympathies if we desire to produce an effect upon hearts of stone, and personal feelings must rest in abeyance when we plead at the bar of public interests. When, in 1833, we implored the House of Commons to treat the great question of lighthouse reform as one of public economy and national honour, we begged them also not to forget that the subject with which they had to deal was that of *human life*—of the lives of the industrious mariner whom they had severely taxed, and of the helpless seafaring stranger whom they had taxed without mercy; and we reminded them that if they failed in this sacred duty, they would be answerable to a tribunal more solemn than that of their constituency,—a tribunal where benevolence would be their judge, science their accusers, and widows and orphans their jury.

In the same spirit we told the Scotch Commissioners and their engineers, that whatever losses in shipping or in human life *were owing to their delay in applying an invention within their reach*, to the improvement of our lighthouses, these losses were attributable to them alone. We now repeat the charge with another aggravation, that after *their refusal for nineteen years to adopt the new apparatus for lighthouse illumination when pressed upon their notice*, every life lost at sea, *from the continuance of their old and imperfect system of lights*, was a life taken by them.

We now repeat the charge with additional aggravations, that after Major Colby had, in 1821, from personal observation, assured Mr. R. Stevenson that the lens light, at equal distances, was *sixteen times* brighter than the light at Dungeness; that after the philosophers, and engineers, and naval officers in France had, in 1822, adopted the lens and its mirrors; that after Professor Barlow had, in 1827, shown to a deputation from the Trinity House the superiority of lenses to reflectors; that after the experiments at Gulane in 1833 had proved to the Commissioners themselves the superiority of the built-up lens; that after he had been ordered by the Board to convert the Inchkeith Lighthouse into a lens light; that after all these facts and warnings had been presented to the conscience, the sympathy, and the reason of a responsible being,—every merchant that had lost his all upon the wild shelves of our coast, every parent that lost his son, every wife that was made a widow, and every child that was made an orphan, *owing to the imperfect lights that he kept up upon our shores*, every one of these victims of obstinacy and ignorance was entitled to point the finger of scorn to the man that refused to light the poor mariner to his home.

We repeat the charge with a more bitter

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aggravation still; that if any of those heart-rending disasters which have occurred at sea—those floods of tears that have bedewed the sailors' hearth—those pangs of conscience which embitter the last moments of every life lost in shipwreck, of the mariner, the passenger, or the returning emigrant that perished on our shores, *were owing to the imperfect lighting of our coast, or to the dangerous and misleading lights on the Bell Rock*, they must rest on the consciences of those who, from ignorance or the sordid interests of themselves or their relatives, refused or delayed to introduce a better system of illumination.

Art. IX.—*The State of Europe.*

The public opinion of Europe is at this moment oscillating between the grandest hopes and the sternest apprehensions. The spring of 1860 has brought us into a period which, with a striking ambiguity, seems equally to promise a commercial progress never before known, and to threaten a career of military warfare without example since the wars concluded in 1815. On the one hand, France has broken through the frontiers which she had covenanted with nearly all the powers of Europe to maintain; she has concluded with Sardinia, for this purpose, a secret treaty, marked by every artifice of dissimulation; and she has spoken in vague, but distrustful language, of a re-acquisition of the natural boundary of the Rhine, which would compromise Holland, Belgium, Luxenburg, and Prussia. On the other, we have just seen in Italy an immense growth in the power of freedom and nationality; one-half of a great people created into a great State, by the exhibition of a popular grandeur perhaps without a parallel since the great struggles of Athenian independence; the civilizing dominion of Great Britain in the East reassured by a wise legislation, hardly less fruitful than the heroism of her troops; and the relations of European countries, through the adoption of a principle of commercial alliances in place of a principle of commercial rivalry, apparently moulding themselves on the solid basis of interchange and peace.

This chequered spectacle is the Europe of May 1860. And the result of such a position of affairs, most nearly affecting ourselves, must be either the increased friendship of the British and French nations or an increased disseverance of their respective Governments. But while we thus stand midway in a path so uncertain in its issues, it may be well to look back to the events from which the present complication has arisen, and to the results of our alliance with France, which has been the first aim of our diplomacy for thirty years.

In such a retrospect, we see much to rejoice at in the course which, either as a nation or as a Government, we have pursued; and little to diminish our estimate of the future importance of the French alliance, if its preservation shall be yet possible. It must be remembered, that the Italian question of 1859, and the Swiss question of 1860, however artificially confounded by a secret stipulation, are essentially distinct; and that no reprobation of the policy of the French Government in Savoy can affect the consistency of a concurrence, such as we have before expressed, in the deliverance of Italy from the armies of Austria.

Unless we greatly deceive ourselves, the instrumentality of this country has done much for the growth of freedom in Europe, since the peace of 1815. The three great peninsulas of southern Europe have been more or less completely restored to the position of sovereign nationalities: the Turkish dominion in Greece, the Ultramontane dominion in Spain, and the Austrian dominion in Italy, have been more or less completely terminated. And the recognition of the independence of Belgium may be added to the benefits which arose from the overthrow of these three worst classes of foreign subjugation in Europe. We cannot too highly appreciate a policy which has resulted in raising thirty millions of civilised and Christian people—a number in which we compute the Italians already emancipated at no more than six millions—to a greater or less degree of civil and intellectual freedom, however much we may criticise the character of their respective Governments. In all these instances, we have co-operated actually or morally, with France; and even in Italy, where our support was least considerable, it was probably essential to the formal fusion of the four emancipated states with Sardinia. From the moment that our recognition of their independence was announced in January last, Austria formally sheathed her sword, and her threat of reaction vanished in a protest.

We here trace a marked progress towards that ultimate settlement of Europe, which we believe that the growth of knowledge, and the social development of race and class, must sooner or later bring into conformity with the rights of nationalities. Central Italy has now in great measure vindicated the right of each people to choose its own rulers, and to form itself into a

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State more or less distinctly in the capacity of a nation. Neither can we acknowledge the change which has just been brought about in the Italian peninsula, as consisting merely in the enfranchisement of six million Italians under a government of their own choice, while thirteen million Italians remain under the triumvirate of Austria, Naples, and Rome. The general voice, both of nations and Governments, has pronounced the right of foreign intervention to be terminated, although a French force yet lingers at Rome. There is, then, ground to assume, that the one national government of Italy may extend itself, and that the three foreign governments of Italy may decline. The extension of Sardinia from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, has also intercepted the territorial communication between the Hapsburgs ruling at Venetia, the Bourbons ruling at Naples, and ecclesiastics (confessedly of no country) ruling at Rome. We may be told, indeed, that the new dominion of Sardinia is merely an experiment; but the same description was applied to the liberal constitution created by Sardinia ten years ago; and we now find Sardinia, chiefly through the influence of that constitution more than doubling her dominion. A State, moreover, of eleven million inhabitants, is incomparably more able to defend its rights than a State of only five millions; and the army of Sardinia available in the field, is now probably more than equal to any force which Austria could make available for an attack on her independence.

There is, however, one measure yet wanting to consolidate the advantages which northern Italy has obtained. We allude to the neutralization either of Sardinia singly, or of the whole of Italy, exclusive of Venetia, to which we called attention in November last. It is true that the conduct of the French Government in regard to Chablais and Faucigny may be held to depreciate the value of any general guarantee of neutrality; but to neutralize a population of eleven millions, at the least, would be a measure necessarily more effectual than to neutralize a small community; and we have yet to learn that the recent policy of France has destroyed the value of such a guarantee in Belgium, in the Dardanelles, or in the Euxine. If such a measure be opposed to the apparent ambition of France—and it is scarcely more so than the neutrality of Belgium—her assertion that she has demanded the slopes of the Alps, not in aggression, but in self defence, precludes her from contesting it. If it be opposed to the apparent ambition of Austria, it would nevertheless ensure her rights in Venetia against an Italian crusade. It would also close the most frequent battle-ground of the two adjoining empires.

In this view of the increasing force of the principle of national government, we do not forget indeed that Hungary, a country beyound the reach of our maritime influence, presents an opposite example. But neither do we despair of a revival of her rights with a more equitable application to the claims of each component nationality; and we trust, meanwhile, that that amalgamation of the dominant with the servile race, which proceeded in England from the common possession of political rights, may be effected in Hungary by their common extinction.

These results, nevertheless, form, in our judgment, an ample fruit of thirty years of alliance, maintained between Great Britain and France, for the general peace and development of mankind, as well as for the direct interests of either country. If, therefore, it should now prove needful to seek the alliance of other States, no conviction of that necessity will impeach the policy of our past co-operation with the successive Governments of France. The alliance first concerted between France and England, in 1830, arose from no arbitrary change in our foreign policy. The successive withdrawal of every other alliance, during the Tory administrations in this country, had then left us in total isolation. The Legitimate Powers of the Continent abandoned Great Britain: Great Britain did not abandon the Legitimate Powers. Fourteen years after we had restored the Bourbons, the Bourbons were scheming for the acquisition of the Rhine. Fourteen years after Prussian troops had fought by our side at Waterloo, the Prussian Government was attempting the seizure of the crown of Hanover from George IV.; and the Russians, in defiance of our mediation, were advancing on Constantinople. These are facts which we would now cheerfully forget; but they are essential to a just view of our national policy. The choice, then, before us, on the occurrence of the French Revolution of 1830, was between a French alliance and no alliance at all. But the relations thus established of necessity between France and ourselves were not incompatible with a formation of other alliances by this country, whenever the exigency arose. Thus, by the quadruple treaty of the 15th of July 1840, this country, after ten years of alliance with France, successively allied itself with Russia, Austria, and Prussia, for a settlement of the Turkish question, on which France and this country were then at issue.

We conclude therefore that Great Britain,

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on the one hand, can have no indissoluble political alliances, while, on the other, she can have no permanent political enmities. If Napoleon III. shall violate the territorial demarcations of France in 1860, as the Bourbons desired their violation in 1830, he will render the French alliance with this country inconsistent with the ends for which it was originally formed, and will compel us to seek again the support of our policy from other Governments. That is a consideration to guide the future—not to incriminate, but rather to vindicate the past.

Thus far we have glanced at the leading events which have brought Europe into the crisis of the present hour. But as this juncture is marked with extraordinary significance, it may be worth while to attempt to take a general view of the indications which the condition of the Continent now presents.

In an age in which nearly all Europe is in arms, the force of a singular moderation alone can render the period on which we are entering generally pacific. We observe that one Court has armed, because it is apprehensive of the ambition of another Court; that a third Court has armed, because it has so misgoverned that it is afraid of its own subjects, on whose support it ought, beyond that of all others, to depend; and that a fourth Court has armed, because it has but imperfectly trampled down alien nationalities that would recoil from its usurpation. Assuming, then, that violence in some shape will mark the passage of the next few years, there are three forms which it will be liable to assume. It may take the shape of a conflict between the traditions of empire and the treaties of 1815; or of popular insurrection contending against the abuse of monarchical power, as in Austria and Naples; or of fresh nationalities rising into government, as in Hungry and Poland.

The policy of the French Court, touching both Italy and Savoy—in which the first of these problems is in some degree involved—has been too often criticised by the daily press to leave much novelty of remark to a quarterly journal. But there may be a few points illustrative of this question, that have not yet been fully dwelt on; and we shall endeavour, therefore, to sketch certain incidents in the policy of the French and Sardinian Governments, on the subjects of dispute, from the beginning of 1859.

The personal conduct of the Emperor of the French, since the month of January 1859, has combined the most engaging frankness with profound dissimulation. His duality of character was marked before hostilities began, by an exoteric policy of peace and conciliation for the public and for official personages; and by an esoteric policy of war, into which we believe that a few private and unofficial friends, both in France and England, were initiated. The truth was, that he was resolved to bring about hostilities with Austria, and that he knew that either Administration of this country would, if possible, obtain a compromise of the questions in dispute. We believe that, just as he had sent Lord Cowley to Vienna, in the flattering position of a mediator between two Emperors, he privately detailed, in an unofficial quarter, the whole scheme by which he at once designed to bring about war with Austria, and to throw on Austria the odium of the initiative, which he contrived soon afterwards to accomplish. We believe also that the French Government had so completely succeeded—with the double view of professing peace, and of enticing Austria first into the field against Sardinia—in veiling the extent of its military preparations, that the British Embassy in Paris reported to Lord Malmesbury, only a week before the war began, that the deficiency of the army in *matériel* would disable it from commencing hostilities until the autumn. Neither can we fail to question whether the Emperor ever seriously designed to carry out his famous declaration, that the Austrian arms should be wholly expelled from Italy. Improbable as it may appear, that he would deliberately commit himself to a programme which he foresaw that it would afterwards be necessary to curtail, he may nevertheless have found it necessary in this manner to rouse Italy to his standard. It is true, indeed, that the immediate cause of the French negotiation at Villafranca, was an intense and unusual heat, which threatened to destroy an army that had previously been in motion, but was then about to be encamped between the marshes of the Mincio and the charnel of Solferino. This apprehension was even more grave, because more definite, than the threat of a Prussian irruption on the Rhine. But, unless we are misinformed, the Emperor more than once expressed a conviction, before the war began, that two victories in the field, which would still leave the quadrilateral untouched, would restore peace; and instructions were privately issued by him, immediately after the battle of Magenta, for preparations for a triumphal entry into Paris not later than the 1st of August.

In these circumstances, of which time will publicly verify our assertion, there is a uniform design to be deduced, of making war to make glory, which must hereafter

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render this country watchful over the policy of the French Government. But amid this striking inconsistency of reticence and indiscretion—which those best acquainted with the character of the Emperor Napoleon will not describe as alien to his antecedents—there was one secret profoundly kept. The convention for the transfer of Savoy and Nice to France, in exchange for the intended aggrandisement of Sardinia in Italy, was, we believe, confided by the Emperor exclusively to the King of Sardinia, Count Cavour, M. Piètri, and General Niel. It is supposed to date from January 1859. Whether the extent of territory which should be held to constitute the equivalent of Sardinia were then accurately defined, we are not aware; but at any rate it was presumed to be inconsistent with the boundary of the Mincio on the one hand, and with the reservation of the rights of the Dukes on the other. There was thus the essence of a bargain behind a chivalrous 'idea,' behind a dispute with Austria, at least ostensibly legitimate, and even behind a war waged for glory. This is certainly somewhat disenchanting in 'the poetry of politics.' But it is necessary to bear this circumstance in mind as a key to events, which have hardly yet received their full explanation.

The complicity of M. de Cavour in the arrangement in question having thus taken place, the war and the armistice successively followed. The inconsistent treaty of Villafranca was then drawn up between the two Emperors; and we believe that we are strictly accurate in stating that the King of Sardinia was called upon by his imperial ally to subscribe his signature beneath the signatures of Napoleon and Francis Joseph. Victor Emmanuel, we learn, hesitated, and expressed a desire for reference to his Ministers. The reluctance was somewhat arbitrarily overruled by the absolute master of 150,000 victorious troops. Indeed, the emergency may have required the decision. The treaty was accordingly signed by the three sovereigns in person; but we believe that it has been chiefly in deference to the personal wish of the King of Sardinia, that the text of the treaty, which would have divulged his participation in its provisions, has been withheld from the public. All this is perhaps the answer to Lord Derby's inquiry, at the close of the last session, whether any peace had been concluded between Austria and Sardinia, who were the principals in the war, while France was the accessary.

The retirement of M. de Cavour was now inevitable. His royal master had suddenly committed the Sardinian Government to a peace, not only upon terms inconsistent with the language which M. de Cavour had, we believe, with honour and patriotism, held in the Sardinian Parliament touching the emancipation of Central Italy: Victor Emmanuel had done so upon terms equally inconsistent with the express or implied conditions of the prospective transfer of Savoy. Count Cavour accordingly resigned; but that retirement which, when it occurred, was described as his fall, was, in reality, one of the most fortunate incidents of his career. Had not his prompt resignation exempted him from responsibility to Sardinia for the treaty of Villafranca, his restoration to office at this moment would have been impossible. He gained the advantage of retiring untrammelled by the stipulation reserving the rights of the Italian Dukes, which brought so much perplexity to Napoleon in settling with Austria, and to Victor Emmanuel in receiving the deputations offering him the ducal crowns. It was avowedly impossible for France to demand Savoy, without some further annexation to Sardinia than the Lombard territory between the Ticino and the Mincio. Had the Austrians been expelled from Venetia, the Sardinian Ministry which existed at the close of 1859 might have carried out the required cession; or, indeed, more probably, M. de Cavour might never have resigned. But the great statesman of Sardinia was now master of the situation: he returned to office in order to promote an acceptance of the annexation of the Duchies, which harmonized with the policy of his previous administration, as a counterpart to the bargain for Savoy and Nice.

The manner in which these stipulations were long withheld from the knowledge of the British Government, was either singularly accidental or singularly ingenious. Within a month after the return of Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell to office, Count Walewski was formally interrogated by Lord Cowley on the question of a cession of Savoy; and the French Minister as formally denied that any such measure was in contemplation of his Government. But we have seen that M. Walewski was no party to the original convention; and we are bound to assume that, either from chance or design, he was then in ignorance that such a bargain had been struck. This conclusion may fairly exonerate M. Walewski individually; but it certainly fails to exonerate the Government of France. When that Government urges, in self-vindication, that the Minister knew nothing of the compacts of his Sovereign in the department over which he presided, it is

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obvious that there is at once an end of ministerial responsibility in France. The Minister of the Crown is degraded to the position of a servant of the Crown, and he ceases to represent his master. It is now, therefore, acknowledged by the French Government itself, that its Minister of Foreign Affairs is no longer to be held as the presumptive exponent of its foreign policy. But this division of responsibility between the Sovereign and his Minister, however it may serve one single end, appears likely to work a very inconvenient result to the French Government. Every ambassador has a right to demand that the assurances which he receives from the Government to which he is accredited, shall be binding on that Government. Since the Minister in France cannot impart such assurances, the Ambassador will be justified henceforth in demanding the sign-manual of the Sovereign.

This circumstance is the more to be noted, that it bears a certain similarity to a diplomatic artifice of the first French Empire, which, so far as we are aware, has never hitherto been revived. It was a habit of the Great Napoleon to play off his Minister against himself, and often one Minister against another. Thus, during the Congress of Prague in 1813, he entered into one negotiation through his Ambassador, M. de Caulaincourt, and into another through his Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. de Bassano; while he left open the alternative, which of the two representatives he should disavow. The final result of such a mode of negotiation is to be found in the resolution of the Congress of Chatillon, that it would treat no more with Napoleon I.

Having thus glanced at the history of a question which has threatened to estrange this country from France, it remains to touch upon its legal positions. It is well known that the French and Sardinian Governments have broken the guarantees of neutrality, as well as the treaties of demarcation, which they had entered into, both with Switzerland and with the other Powers of Europe. France has failed in the promise which she made to defer to the judgment of the Great Powers on the whole question of annexation; and in spite of her undertaking that she would not constrain the Savoyard population, she has attempted to annex them by aid of the jugglery of a ballot which ought to have been placed in the charge of an international jury. Here are a breach of treaty and a breach of faith.

Without affecting to pursue a subject that has already been almost exhausted, we may refer to the 92d Article of the Act of the Congress of Vienna, which provides that the provinces of Chablais and Faucigny shall form part of the neutral Helvetic Confederation, and that on the occurrence of war in surrounding States, the troops of Sardinia shall withdraw, and shall be replaced by a Swiss Municipal Guard. The same stipulation, providing for the alternate exercise of power between Switzerland and Sardinia, and between those two States only, is contained in four other and special treaties of the same period, and of which France and Sardinia are each parties to two. It is contained in the treaty between Sardinia and Geneva of 1815, and in the treaty between Sardinia and Switzerland of 1816. It is contained also in the treaty between France and Switzerland of nearly the same date, and in the treaty between France and Great Britain of the 20th of November 1815. France, therefore, has agreed not only with the other parties to the Act of Congress, but specially with Switzerland and Great Britain, to these terms. Indeed, the treaty of the 20th of November 1815 is apparently a provision against the very events which have now come to pass. It fixes the French frontier on the south-east; assigns Savoy and Nice to Sardinia; confirms the neutrality of Chablais and Faucigny according to the Act of Congress; makes stringent provisions regarding the dismantling of certain fortresses, with a view to the security of Geneva; and declares that the former relations of France with Monaco *cesseront à perpétuité*. Such is the the covenant of France with England, distinctly broken by France in each of its particulars.

It is simply ridiculous to suppose that the wishes of the Savoyards, if fairly ascertained, could be expressed in favour of an abandonment of the double freedom of Switzerland and Sardinia, which are at once their natural and traditionary Governments, for a French despotism, opposed to their nationality, and contrary to their antecedents: . . . . .

> Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
> Perditus, ut dubitet Senecam præferre Neroni?

We quit this consideration with the remark, that an appeal to universal suffrage, without some guarantee for the freedom of its exercise, and for the justice and independence in which votes by ballot shall be received, and their result proclaimed, is an insult to public understanding.

The strategic importance of this new frontier to France, is a question to which we shall not revert further than by saying, that the argument on which the policy of France has been sustained is its own most decisive condemnation. If it be necessary

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for France, with thirty-six million inhabitants, to possess the keys of the Alps, how much more necessary for Sardinia, with only eleven million inhabitants, to possess them? If it be necessary for France to push its frontiers to the Lake of Geneva, against a Swiss population of less than two millions and a half, how much more necessary for Switzerland to protect that lake against France? If an attack by Sardinia is to be contemplated on her 'magnanimous ally,' is not this tantamount to a confession, that France entertains belligerent designs in another quarter, which all Europe may hold it needful to repress, and which dictate the possession of the Alps for the security of Lyons?

Here, then, we pass from the Savoy question. Its characteristics are not reassuring to the peace of Europe; and they bear an omnious similarity to the annexations effected by the Consulate after the peace of Luneville. We would gladly assign them another construction if we could. We would cheerfully adopt the hypothesis, if possible, that military glory was sought merely to give domestic security to the Government of France; and that the territorial annexation in dispute was demanded simply to present to the French nation a material reward for the sacrifices of war.

It is true that indications exist which may lend a certain plausibility to that conclusion. Since the imperial dynasty has been strengthened by victory abroad, certain domestic measures have been passed, in the interest of civil freedom and of peace, which could hardly have been achieved by the power that the dynasty before possessed. The Ultramontane influence in the Church, and the Protectionist influence in trade, had proved too strong to be overruled by the power of an ordinary Government. The suppression of *L'Univers*, the Ultramontane organ in the press, had not before been hazarded; and when the French Government, in 1856, presented their *projet de loi* for the reduction of duties to 'the dumb Legislature of Napoleon the Third,' it was actually rejected by a considerable majority. But now we certainly see the Ultramontanists put down with an authority which the Government had long desired to exhibit, and trade relieved from restrictions which the Government were before unable to subvert. This is an argument for a pacific future, by which, perhaps, individuals may be convinced; but it is one on which Governments cannot afford to act.

There is no doubt that a policy of commerce, and an occasional pursuit of war, are not necessarily antithetical. A nation may maintain trade with one State, while it draws its sword against another. But the practical problem to be solved, is the degree in which France may pursue war by land, without involving herself in war by sea also. We certainly think it extremely improbable that the French Government, in any such period as we now live in, would desire to break up their relations with this country. They would then not only sacrifice the commercial objects for which they have just been negotiating, in so much secrecy and dissimulation towards their own subjects; they would also encounter the hatred of a powerful producing oligarchy, without gaining any counterbalancing support from the friendship of the consuming multitude. In fact, they would dislocate the existing system of industry, without providing an alternative. Such a desire would be the furthest stretch of commercial impolicy.

But assuming that the French Government may, nevertheless, for the future, be in spirit unfriendly to ourselves, there is a distant danger, to be worked out by more subtle expedients, against which it must be our duty to provide. We must impose limits on a policy which shall pursue territorial war, while it maintains maritime peace. We cannot suffer France to disarm, one by one, our contingent allies, while she shall be gaining strength from interchange with us, even though we shall reciprocally gain strength by interchange with her. If the views of the French Government shall develop themselves in further aggression, then the cardinal aim of our foreign policy must be, to render an attack upon one State equivalent to an attack upon all. This would, in that event, be our only guarantee for general peace and safety.

Such a principle, however, could have had no place in the late war between France and Austria. That war was not in itself marked by aggression on the part of the former power; and the policy of the latter power in Italy was indefensible and barbarous. Neither has the campaign of 1859 largely added to the strength of France.

With these views of the future, the existing securities for the peace of the Continent form the next subject of discussion. But, in order to estimate them, it is needful, in the first place, to glance at the present strength and resources of the French Empire.

It can have escaped no one that France is possessed of geographical and political advantages, both in peace and war, peculiar to its own configuration and government. Its boundaries are nearly equally demarked by

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sea and land. In this respect it holds a mean between Germany, with the exception of its Prussian coast, almost entirely inland, and Great Britain, entirely insular. Open to three seas for some twelve hundred miles, and yet touching on four chief nationalities for another twelve hundred miles, it is not wholly dependent either on the ocean or the continent. It has therefore a great trade at command, and the means of political alliance both by sea and land. These natural elements of superiority have been steadily developed in the interest at once of war and commerce. France is building up a colossal despotism; and a despotism, though less in area, resting on foundations more solid, than that of the first Napoleon. If we compare the France of 1850 with the France of 1860, we shall find a marked change both in the wealth of the people, and in the power and confidence of the Government. We say this, without desiring to provoke the faintest jealousy for the national growth, so far as it is the legitimate result of individual energy, although we regard its naval and military organization as preposterous for the defensive state which France has asserted herself to be. The increasing wealth of the French people can rouse but a generous emulation, and it will widen the scope of our own interchange under the commercial treaty, which in turn will react upon France.

The public character of the Emperor Napoleon III. is partly original and partly imitative. His policy, as perhaps the policy of most men in authority, has been ruled by precedent, by accident, and by conviction, in turn. Resembling Cromwell rather than his uncle, in the prominence assumed by commerce in his administration, he has hitherto shrunk as much from the hostile and active rivalry of the one, as from the violent and misguided restrictions of the other. Here is his chief originality; although, indeed, the freedom of the seas was one of the last maxims adopted by the great Napoleon at St. Helena. But he has acted without exception on the principle that whether his dynasty is to be secured by public prosperity or by military glory, trade and progress can be its only solid basis. He knows that national wealth is as necessary to the final success of war as to public content.

It may be commonly difficult to ascertain how far a despotic Government is to receive credit for the progress of a speculative and energetic people; though, in the exceptional instance of the commercial treaty, the truth lies openly before us. Assuming, therefore, simply that Government and nation have advanced hand in hand in most of the improvements of recent years, we would glance at their extent, and at the manner in which they have reacted on the power of the former. The political centralization of France during the first Empire, and the greater part of the intervening period, was defective only through a want of rapid communication. The network of railways and telegraphs, which chiefly coincide with the reign of the present Emperor, have now perfected that centralization; and they have probably done more to strengthen the French Government, both in war and civil administration, than railways and telegraphs have strengthened government in any other country. There are now, we believe, nearly 8000 kilomètres, or, in round numbers, 5000 miles of French railway in existence. During a considerable part of the present reign, the construction has advanced at an average rate of 700 kilomètres a-year; and the whole represents an expenditure of three milliards and a half of francs, or L.140,000,000 sterling. Both the national wealth and the public credit were shown in a striking and conclusive manner, in the overflow of subscription to the loan of L.20,000,000 contracted in 1859. A revenue of L.68,000,000, drawn apparently without serious pressure, for the ordinary establishments of France, also indicates general prosperity. It has been common, however, to point to the fact that France discharges all her extraordinary liabilities in loans, as an instance that further pressure is impracticable. But the truth probably is, that the standing military force, which is paid from the revenue, is so great that the Government as nearly divides the expenses of the force actually employed in war between the present generation and posterity, as we ourselves did in the Crimean campaign.

We are aware that, of all kinds of "political infidelity"—to borrow a phrase from Mr. Disraeli, and of which Mr. Disraeli is himself the most striking champion and illustration—a disbelief in statistics is at once one of the most common and one of the best grounded. The *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, for instance, a reputed authority in French questions, often makes statistical statements of which the absurdity is obvious; and Mr. Newmarch, in his contributions to the *Journal of the Statistical Society*, not seldom evinces a profound disdain of the simplest conditions of arithmetic. Such instances as these shake the faith of the public, as well as our own, in theories to be drawn from figures; but we have collected a mass of authorities in either country, and shall presume the few following facts. The total commerce of France now appears, in real

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value, to represent nearly five milliards and a half of francs; whereas five years ago, and during the Russian war, it represented less than four milliards and a half. We take, therefore, one milliard francs, or L.40,000,000, to represent the yearly increase, at a distance of five years; and L.12,000,000 as the increase of 1859 over 1858; while the increase under the new treaty is not at present to be computed. French foreign and colonial navigation, which is increasing in a similar ratio, represents a tonnage of 7,500,000; and the French coasting trade a tonnage of 2,500,000. The direct trade of France with Great Britain appears to be somewhat in excess of half a milliard of francs, or about one-tenth of the whole. The total trade of France presents a proportion of *five-eighths* of the trade of the United Kingdom; and a proportion of *five-sevenths* of the combined trade of the Prussian Zollverein, the Hanse Towns, and the Austrian Empire, which have double its population, or 72,000,000 inhabitants as compared with 36,000,000. The increase in French trade, it is singular to remark, is much beyond proportion to the increase of its population. During a quarter of a century, from 1831 to 1856, the census has increased only by four millions, or one-eighth, while the trade of the country has more than doubled. We suspect, however, that the census to be published next year will prove a large increase of the census of 1856.

If we turn from the commercial to the agricultural state of France, we shall find some explanation of both these circumstances. It will be seen that an immense proportion of the soil is either waste, woodland, or ill cultivated. The poverty of landlords, incident to its subdivision, has perpetuated this character of rural districts. The encouragement offered to agriculture becoming therefore indifferent, the rural population have largely migrated to the towns. In rejecting agriculture they have adopted trade, in which protection and monopoly have *apparently* offered the most favourable prospects; but, meanwhile, this dislocation of the natural relations between town and country has unfavourably reacted on the growth of the population. We do not of course assign the disproportion of increase, between the inhabitants and their commerce, wholly to this double cause; but it is certainly an influence of great magnitude.

The superficial extent of France is 52,760,000 hectares, or about 127,000,000 acres. The arable proportion of this area is just 60,000,000 acres. The meadow-land forms but 10,000,000; and the vineyards, orchards, gardens, etc., consist of 7,000,000. There remain, therefore, 50,000,000 acres more or less unproductive. Of this, nearly 20,000,000 consist of woodlands, paying taxation; and 20,000,000 more consist of wild pastures, heaths, and barren land. Of the remaining 10,000,000 acres, one-half is occupied by roads, rivers, and public places; and the other half by unproductive woods, which are not taxed. It is not surprising, therefore, that the aggregate population of France is disproportionate to its area.

Two influences are now tending, we believe, to increase cultivation in France. The Government, on the one hand, has endeavoured to promote it by a direct enactment, passed only a few months ago, and under which the Treasury will advance money for the improvement and reclamation of the soil, somewhat as the State has in England been in the habit of advancing money for similar objects, under direction of the Court of Chancery, but on a larger scale,—in proportion, perhaps, as the general poverty of the French landowner seems to invest the lord paramount of the soil with a grave financial responsibility, unknown in a country divided among such wealthy landlords as ours. But we have no space to enter on the details of this measure.

On the other hand, we believe that the new French tariff in the Commercial Treaty will promote agriculture in France, although its tendencies are obviously various, and may be even conflicting. It will have been seen that nearly one-fifth of the French soil, or nearly 25,000,000 acres, is woodland, and of this nearly 20,000,000 acres is described as productive enough to pay tax to the State. But, in proportion as English coal becomes a substitute for wood used for fuel, the amount of remunerative woodland will be reduced. This will be one of the first results of the Commercial Treaty to the surface of the soil. The immediate result of that treaty on manufacturing industry, such as prevails in towns, will also probably be the reduction or dislocation of that industry, because goods manufactured here will be at first imported into France at a less cost than they can be produced by France. British manufactures have long been smuggled into France through Catalonia and the Pyrenees, at a price remunerative to the smuggler, in spite of the immense circuity of the transit, and of the double peril of being challenged by two lines of custom-houses, which are probably more than commensurate with the new duties. And the articles of export to this country, of which there will be an increased manufacture, such as wine, will be at least as much rural products as oppidan products.

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There will, therefore, it is to be presumed, be an immediate reflux of population from the towns back to the country. Nevertheless, it is probable that, at a later period—when the town manufacturers of articles which will be exposed to competition from this country shall have obtained British machinery in their mills—such manufactures will revive in France, and will perhaps contend with ours on equal terms. But the *immediate* results of the treaty—a diminished demand for wood, an increased demand for the vine, a certain dislocation in oppidan labour, and the importation of manufactures peculiarly calculated to consult the comfort of the French peasant, as well as the increase of wealth which the action of the treaty must gradually diffuse both through town and country—must produce an agricultural reaction which later events will scarcely countervail. We have seen that forty-five million acres in France are either wood or waste. Assuming that the reclamation of two-thirds of this area is practicable, there arise an immense field of agricultural energy, and probably an equal stimulus.

Hence, if peace prevail, we may look forward to a vast increase in the population of France. The French people are more similar to the Belgians than to any other nation in their general character, their classes of occupation and their turn of mind. It might have been expected, therefore, that they would approach the Belgians in the proportion of territory to population. But the Belgians have beat them in a ratio of more than *two to one.* Belgium, with 7,000,000 acres, has a population of 4,500,000; France, with 127,000,000 acres, as we have seen, has only a population of 36,000,000. If equal to Belgium in natural as well as artificial resources, France ought to be capable of supporting a population of 80,000,000.

We turn from this hasty glance to the prospects and resources of France in commerce and agriculture to her military and naval organization. We find an army of 400,000 effective troops in France, 80,000 in Algeria, and 20,000 in the two Indies; the total is half a million. The peace conscription affords a presumptive army of 560,000, since 80,000 are conscribed every year, and serve for seven years. But the Government can increase their army without increasing their conscription, by offering bounty for re-enlistment; and this resort has been had recourse to with a view of procuring an army of veterans. Thus, by the pressure of a bounty on the one hand, and of an increase of the conscription in a year of war, on the other hand, as in 1859, the French army may be indefinitely augmented.

The subject of the French navy involves details beyond our scope; but the same double advantage of system with geographical position that attaches to other sources of French power, applies also here. To a State possessing one arsenal at Cherbourg and another at Toulon (independently of three arsenals in the Bay of Biscay), neither the Channel nor the Mediterranean is a foreign sea; and France, with 40,000 registered sailors in reserve, however imperfect their tactical training may be, can promptly equip, from opposite seaboards, a large steam fleet possessed of extraordinary facilities for immediate counteraction to the policy or the force of any maritime opponent. That she has no such colonial empire as our own, is a cause of her great capacity of naval concentration.

We have offered this rapid digression into the wealth, the prospects, and the armaments of France, because France at this moment forms the axis on which the international policy of Europe chiefly turns. The deduction is ambiguous; for we find nearly equal incentives to peace and materials of war. Neither could any urgency of domestic improvement form in itself an efficient barrier to a campaign, that should again endure but two months, and might hold out the incentive of reviving, when the security of the Government required it, the triumphs of the first Empire. But if the Powers interested in resisting aggression, shall so previously combine against aggression, as to render war, if commenced, probably lasting, and therefore also ruinous to the author of it, the aims of peace may extinguish the schemes of war. In regard to the relations of Great Britain with France, they might be compromised, not simply by the coarse expedient of a direct dispute between the two Governments, affecting rights and dominions—an event in the last degree improbable—but by an attack either on Germany or Belgium, which might involve us, for the sake of ultimate self-defence,—an alternative perhaps somewhat less improbable; or, thirdly, by the ingenious artifice of France taking the place of ally of less important States, thrown by France into opposition to us, and of disturbing our Eastern interests in the Levant. The latter course appears not unlikely to provoke at any rate dissension.

The Germanic Confederation presents itself as, in theory, the leading fortification of European independence against attack either from France or Russia; and accordingly it demands the first place in the defensive alliances of the Continent. This Confederacy was urged by Prince Metternich on the Congress of Vienna, with the

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view of extinguishing the policy under which German rulers had before been singly defeated or allied, and in either case alienated by treaty from the German cause. But, acknowledging the difficulties on which any political union of Germany was based in 1815, and the opposition by which any reform of the present system is attended in 1860, no one can confide in the organization that Germany now possesses.

In the first place the extent of this Confederacy is not defined, even in its legal constitution. The Act of the Confederation of 1815, incorporated into the General Congress Treaty of Vienna, no doubt described its frontiers with sufficient, though not absolute precision; but in 1854 the Federal Diet assumed to itself the questionable right of including all the non German provinces of Austria and Prussia. A Confederation of forty millions was thus technically extended into a Confederation of seventy millions; although the late Austrian war evinced, that Germany placed little reliance on an act which can hardly be pretended to have been legal. But assuming the Confederation to be still described by the boundaries of 1815, it is nevertheless so linked with extra-German States, that it is brought into endless relations and innumerable disputes with which it has no legitimate concern. Not only did the Austrian and Prussian Governments make it subservient to the interests of their non-German States: the King of Denmark became a member of it, as Duke of Holstein; and the King of the Netherlands as Duke of Luxembourg. A Confederation formed of forty millions, nominally Germans, and linked with another forty millions of all races, stretching from the Cattegat Sea to the Mincio, must be incapable of vigorous or consistent action. As a defensive body, it ought to be concerned only in the maintenance of German interests. But, in fact, the Confederation is continually dragged down by Austria into her own extra-German quarrels. Whenever Austria declares war, the whole of her German territory—more than one-fourth of the Confederation—becomes alienated from the Federal body; and on the conclusion of peace in July last, after bringing all Germany to the verge of hostilities with France, for a defence of her tyrannous exactions and illegal aggressions throughout Italy, she entered upon a violent recrimination with the Prussian Government, for not taking the field in a war which Austria had begun, by demanding the disarmament of an independent State, with whose freedom Prussia sympathised, and Germany stood unconcerned.

The dilemma of German federal reformers, then, may be stated to be, that Germany must either act with Austria, or set herself free from Austria; and that while the prominence of extra-German interests at Vienna renders the first course impossible, the tenacity with which Vienna clings to a Confederation, of which its Government is a legal part, is inconsistent with the second. What sympathy can exist between a people whose bond of union is emphatically that they *are* a people, and a government under which race rules race, religion rules religion, Hungarian troops are conscribed to trample down Venetian rights, Venetian troops are conscribed to trample down Hungarian rights, itself the impersonation of military violence, the archetype of reckless government, and the chief example of financial malversation? Austria, indeed, talks largely of her patriotism. A government without a country! An empire in which the first principle of administration is to subjugate, and to solve the problem by which the dominance of six or seven million Germans—of whom few probably but Styrian and Tyrolese mountaineers are naturally attached to the throne—shall be maintained over populations five times their number, not seldom their superiors in energy, and their equals in civilisation and intelligence. There can hardly, then, be any other community of feeling between Germany and Austria than the sense of a common danger arising in menace of war either from the Vistula or the Rhine.

Nevertheless, perhaps, neither Prussia, nor even the Zollverein, is capable of standing altogether alone. To maintain Prussia, with a population of only 18,000,000, as a Great Power—while France lies on the west with 36,000,000, Austria on the south still with 37,000.000, and Russia on the east, with nearly 65,000,000 in Europe—has been an object only to be realized by means of the military system peculiar to that State. Nor is this all. The frontiers of Prussia are more threatened, and less defensible, than those of any other State. In the first place, Prussia has a vast seaboard stretching nearly from Denmark to Russia, with scarcely a ship for its protection. A State which possesses a great seaboard without a fleet illustrates the antithesis to M. de Talleyrand's ideal excellence of a state without a frontier. Again, Prussia touches all the three great monarchies of the Continent, whereas France is walled off against all but Prussia by intervening States. Her Polish frontier directly abuts on Russia, her Silesian frontier on Austria, and her Rhenish frontier on France. The Vistula bisects her Polish provinces, the Oder bisects

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her Silesian provinces, the Rhine bisects her Rhenish provinces, as the Elbe bisects her central dominions; yet no one of these natural boundaries serves her for a frontier. Extending from Russia to Belgium over the vast plain which marks the southern shore of the Baltic, there is no high ground in Prussia for a choice of points of defence. No one can travel successively through the Austrian and Prussian territories without being struck by the great superiority of the former for defensive tactics. Prussia, indeed, possesses rivers and fortresses for a base of strategic operations; but rivers and fortresses only.

It may be assumed, therefore, to be only by means of federation, as well as of the extent and organization of the Landwehr and Landsturm, that Prussia can maintain herself as a great power; and it may even be questioned whether that scheme for the aggrandisement of Prussia, which stands among the latest of the views of Mr. Pitt, would have corrected her inferiority. During the negotiations preceding the campaign of Austerlitz, in 1805, Mr. Pitt proposed to throw the whole of the Low Countries, if conquered from France, into Prussia. Thus, he contended, Prussia might at once cope with France; and by stretching herself to Antwerp and Ostend, she might be brought into more direct alliance with Great Britain. Such an empire would have now given Prussia a population of 26,000.000, but still without a more defensible frontier than before. The proposal of Mr. Pitt, however, is now simply curious, and not practical; and it is more important to consider the practicability of a political Bund, inferior to the German Confederation in extent, but coexisting with it, and generally describing the circle of the Zollverein. To supplant the present Confederation by such a confederation as this would be neither possible nor expedient. It would not be possible, as has been said, because the opposition of Austria would be insurmountable. It would not be expedient, because the existing security, that neither Austria nor Germany should ever combine against the other with either France or Russia, is dependent on the maintenance of the present Confederation. If the Austrian Empire and the States of the Prussian Zollverein could legally take the field against each other, the independence of the centre of Europe would be worth no more than in the age of the First Napoleon.

There is reason to hope that German politics are tending towards the formation of some such subordinate confederacy as that which we have indicated. The Zollverein now comprises a population of 32,700,000, and its existence indicates a strong *rapprochement* among the component States. Corroborative indications are not wanting. The public men of Saxony have now abandoned the asperity with which they spoke of Prussia, both after the partition which she effected of that country, and even so lately as 1850,—when Saxony allied herself with Austria in the league which Austria, led by Prince Schwartzenberg, formed against Prussia, led by General von Radowitz, to decide the question of the constitution of Hesse Cassel. The public men of Bavaria, in spite of a dynastic alliance between their Court and that of Austria, are inclining to Prussian institutions; and the liberalism of the Court of Baden has just been strikingly evinced. Princes and people are alike sensible to the danger of their present divided state, and they perceive Prussia to be their natural protector. The force of interest and the decline of jealousy point to a general willingness to recognise Prussia as the head of such a confederacy.

As one great advantage of France, both in attack and defence, is her centralization, under which her forces can radiate from a common centre of action, so one great disadvantage of Germany is her decentralization, as well as her disunion. To govern Germany from Frankfort is as different from governing France from Paris, geographically, as it is politically. But Germany might be directed in war from Berlin, almost as efficiently as France from Paris. It is hard to believe that the states of the Zollverein—without annulling the existing confederation, which would still offer both to Germany and German-Austria reciprocal aid—would decline to form a federal body in war, in which the ruler of Prussia, jointly perhaps with two colleagues chosen by the other States, should direct its military forces. This infraction of the Act of the Confederacy would be much less considerable than that of 1854.

Some simple expedient such as this is apparently sufficient to shield Western Europe from ambitious war. The Federal empire of Germany and the Composite empire of Austria, two well-organized, distinct, yet confederate powers, together numbering 70,000,000, would form a barrier between France and Russia; and while the one would protect Belgium in the West, the other would protect Turkey in the East. We believe Austria, with all the errors and crimes of her administration, to be even yet necessary to what is termed a balance of power in the East of Europe; for she has been convinced that she could not share with Russia in a partition of Turkey upon

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equal terms, since the defeat of her aggressive policy by Great Britain and Prussia in the treaty of Sistova, of 1786. But as the independence of Hungary was formerly one of the main objects for which the existence of the Austrian empire was held to be beneficial in the East of Europe, so the conquest of Hungary by Austria has lessened the European importance of an empire, whose overthrow would, after all, promote a consolidation of Germany. The force of stern necessity is now, however, favouring a restoration of some part of the prescriptive rights of Hungary, doubly abolished in government and religion; and we may here offer a statement of the demands of the Hungarians from the new and important work of M. de Szeméré, the Ex-President of the Council of Ministers in Hungary:*—

"Henceforth vague promises, half-measures, partial concessions, will not satisfy Hungary. The changes she will require are as follows—

"1. The restitution of her ancient historical limits, which all her kings have sworn to maintain and defend. This is likewise the unanimous wish of Croatia, Transylvania, the Woiwodina, and the Military Frontiers, which have all been violently detached from the mother country.

"2. The re-establishment of her old constitution, according to which the legislative power resides in the Sovereign and the nation conjointly, the latter acting by means of two chambers, one hereditary, the other elective.

"3. The restoration of her municipal autonomy, the most essential part of her constitution, as it supplies the best bulwark against the encroachments of the central Government, gives her the faculty and capacity for self-government, and is the best school for training a constant succession of public men.

"4. The re-acknowledgment of all the laws and treaties which secured the political and national independence of the kingdom; civil and political equality (proclaimed in 1848), as also the right of association for all the inhabitants; the voting of the budget and fixing the number of recruits by the Diet—in short, the most complete participation in all the internal and external affairs of the kingdom.

"5. Lastly, the maintenance of the pragmatic sanction—that is to say, dynastic union with the Austrian provinces, but only on condition that they shall have a constitution; for it is impossible to imagine a perfect and durable union between States, some of which are governed constitutionally, others despotically. Hungary does not aspire to any exceptional position; what she asks for herself, she also asks for the other provinces.

Nothing can be easier than to effect this change of system. It would only be necessary—

"1. That Francis Joseph should cancel all he has done during the last ten years, from 1849 to 1859, as that great sovereign, Joseph II., cancelled with sublime courage all he had done between 1780 and 1789. The wounded self-love of Francis Joseph must give way to higher considerations. The points at issue are, the existence of an empire, as regards Europe; the restoration of liberty and nationality, as regards Hungary; and the continuance of his dynasty, as regards himself.

"2. He must name, provisionally, a palatine, as constitutional head of the State when the king is absent from the kingdom.

"3. He must convoke the Diet, in accordance with the electoral laws of 1848, which shall act as a constituent assembly, the relations of Hungary with the other provinces necessarily requiring modification, as they too would be constitutional States.

"4. He must enter upon and follow up this constitutional and progressive policy sincerely, frankly, and without reserve. The more reasons nations have to mistrust a dynasty, the more difficult it is to gain their confidence, and that is certainly the only basis on which a new and powerful Austria can be founded.

"Such are the sole means of giving new life to Austria. If adopted, the diversity of races, which is now her weakness, would become her strength. It would be a powerful federation of free nations under one sovereign; she would be strong in herself, and her existence would no longer depend on the good pleasure of her neighbours. Despotism has brought Austria tottering to the brink of a precipice; liberty and respect of nationalities would render her powerful.

"To Hungary especially falls the mission of forcing the dynasty to enter upon this path of safety; but in this great enterprise on whom must she fix her hopes?"

It appears that the Court of Vienna has at length acquiesced in the necessity of restoring some portion of the rights of Hungary.

Thus far we have glanced at a few of the leading international relations of Europe; and such a view of the condition of the Con-

* *Hungary from* 1848 *to* 1860, by Bartholomew de Szeméré, late Minister of the Interior and President of the Council of Ministers in Hungary. London, Bentley.

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tinent presumes, that the political questions that may arise will probably prove foreign rather than domestic. But the most superficial inquiry will evince, that there lie wider questions between Governments and their respective subjects, than between one Government and another. A social revolution has gradually, and for the most part peacefully, transpired throughout a great part of Western Europe during the last half century; and the progress of government has not, in any country but our own, kept pace with the progress of society. In Prussia, the abolition of baronial tenures and feudal servitude, which was carried out by Stein and Hardenberg between the years 1807 and 1821, has brought a new and immense class into being; the same change has been effected nearly throughout Germany; in Spain, the sales of the immense property of the Crown, of the Church, and of a great portion of the embarrassed or exiled nobility, have introduced an allotment of the soil into proprietorships hardly inferior to those of France in number and subdivision. Even in Italy the same tendencies have prevailed, though they have been less prominent; and in Hungary, under the Parliamentary Government of that State, the servile tenure had actually, if not also technically, disappeared. A great expansion of democratic power forms the social fact of our own age; and it is to be assumed, either that that power must be brought into harmony with the existing polity of Europe, or must provoke a new conflict with it, on those questions which the violent repression of an equally violent revolution in 1848 has left unsolved. Premising that a perpetual dynasty of bayonets is impossible, we take the general alternative of Western Europe to lie between revolution and reform, and to be not distant.

Two cardinal distinctions in the distribution of classes present themselves, however, between Great Britain and the other States of Western Europe; and they render us cautious of judging the interests of the Continent by the example of a country so dissimilar from it as our own in its social organization. The prevalence of great estates is now peculiar to the United Kingdom. England and Scotland, with their large ownerships and large tenancies—and Ireland, with its small tenancies indeed, but still with its large ownerships—form a contrast to the system of tenure and cultivation on the Continent, too well credited and known to require an appeal to the evidence of statistics. But, on the other hand, while the aristocratic power in country districts is here vastly greater than in any other State, the oppidan influence, or the popular power of the towns, is also much greater here than elsewhere. The population of the boroughs of Great Britain amounts to more than two-fifths of her total population; and after deducting enfranchised towns too inconsiderable to represent town interests, a third of the total population will still be found to be oppidan. In Spain, there is a population of 15,000,000; but of this number more than 12,000,000 belong to rural districts, and barely 3,000,000 to the towns. In France, the total population is 36,000,000, as we have already said; but the population of the towns which possess 20,000 inhabitants, is, we believe, largely under 5,000,000. In the Austrian Empire, there are not six towns which possess 60,000 inhabitants. It may be too much to assert, that if the Continental States of Western Europe had generally been marked by large proprietorships like ours, they would certainly have enjoyed Governments at once less centralised and more stable; but it may be maintained with confidence, that if they had been generally marked by large towns such as ours, their despotic Governments would have been annihilated.

But while we therefore hardly venture to institute political comparisons between Great Britain and the Continent, and to draw inferences from them, we assume that the general tendency of this new-born democratic power,—if not deliberately kept in antagonism with existing institutions, by a refusal of popular concessions, may prove in favour of liberty and peace. The French Revolution may be pointed to as a contrary example; but in France institutions and traditions were swept away by the maintenance of that very antagonism; and though it cannot be pretended that the wrongs now sustained by the Germans, for example, bear any comparison with those which the French peasantry were enduring before the Revolution, that precedent may serve to indicate the critical period which continental statesmen have now to guide. But we may reasonably base this conclusion on the example of States which gained a similar popular development in former periods. We allude to Norway, the Low Countries, and Switzerland; and these countries have been remarkable through successive ages, for their maintenance of peace from without, and liberty from within, whether their constitution were republican or monarchical. The issue of this new rural system, nevertheless, must obviously depend on the idiosyncrasies of each people and state; on the character of the religion; on the mode and extent of education; on the prevalence of bureau-

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cracy; and, more than all, on the proportionate influence of the middle and town classes, and on the policy of the remaining great landowners who form the aristocracy. These circumstances are so various as to promise a great diversity of aspects in the different States of Europe.

It is worth remarking that, of all the continental countries which have attracted attention by their movements during the last quarter of a century, Sardinia is the only one which has brought its aristocracy into harmony, like our own aristocracy, at once with the throne and the people. In German Austria, for instance, we find the great landowners generally allied with the throne against the people; in Hungary and the Two Sicilies, they are as generally allied with the people against the throne; in France they are unequal to the support of either; in Spain they deliberately stand aloof from both. The distinctive success of Sardinia in uniting the monarchy with the Milanese and Florentine nobility, as well as with all classes in her old kingdom, renders her Government hardly less than our own, a model for other countries to imitate; and it refutes all the vaticinations of the opponents of Italian independence, and of the disbelievers in Italian unity. But no other Continental State has made this advance. The Prussian constitution stands next to the Sardinian in importance; but the Prussian constitution is by no means calculated to effect the required conciliation of classes. The Prussian representatives consist of 90 nobles, 80 district councillors, 70 bureaucrats, 64 judicial magistrates, 140 officers of the army, and 20 religious superintendents. Such a parliament is likely to produce, not free legislation, but administrative conflict, judicial venality, and military insubordination.

The proposed emancipation of the serfs in Russia evinces the desire of the Russian Government to follow in the career of Germany; but this question is still somewhat obscure; and Prince Peter Dolgorouki,* who has done more than any other writer to expound it, has just painted Government and nation in so deplorable a condition of finance, administration, and commerce—and the Sovereign himself, so trammelled by his nobility on one side and his bureaucracy on another—as to offer an indifferent prospect of the attainment of a measure which he also paradoxically describes as calculated to increase the poverty of the serf. His picture of Russia has also a certain bearing on the Eastern intrigues, which public rumour has ascribed to the courts of Paris and St. Petersburg, under the euphonism of a civilisation of Turkey; for even the problem of self-civilisation seems insoluble in Russia.

In this medley of foreign and domestic danger on the Continent, Great Britain, not only free, through wise legislation, from the disharmony of classes within her own seas, but secure even in the loyalty of her most distant colonies, will be concerned chiefly with the maintenance of a maritime superiority, which is necessary to protect her coast, to secure her commerce, and to maintain her communication with an empire scattered over either hemisphere and through every zone. Nor will she be held unequal to this task, however active be the rivalry of France, by those who remember that, in countries such as Spain and Holland, there no longer remain the elements of those maritime confederacies which, fifty and sixty years ago, she defeated and dissolved.

The increasing force of popular interests may yet preserve our peace with France; our irresistible affinity with Germany, as the most powerful of defensive nations, promises us an ally in war; and the Treaty of the 15th of July 1840, negotiated with Russia by Lord Palmerston, and by Lord Clanricarde—and perhaps our greatest diplomatic success since the alliances of 1813—still serves for a monument that Russia, then brought into our alliance against France, stands in no necessary antagonism to our policy. These are the advantages on the development of which our position in Europe depends; and there is reason to hope that that union of firmness and temper, which has uniformly marked the present administration in the conduct of foreign affairs, may employ them with success, in the forthcoming negotiations, for the maintenance of peace.

* La Verité sur la Russie. Paris, 1860.

Art. X.—Recent Publications.

Archaia; or, Studies of the Cosmogony and Natural History of the Hebrew Scriptures. By J. W. Dawson, LL.D., F.G.S., Principal of M'Gill's College, Author of "Acadian Geology," etc. Montreal: Dawson and Son. 1860.

We have read this volume with great pleasure. There are some things in it with which we do not agree; but every page bears testimony to the substantial literary, scientific, and theological attainments of its author. There are no attempts to look asquint at any of the important topics discussed. Candour, good sense, and a fine Christian spirit, happily distinguish Principal Dawson's work

from many, which on both sides of the Atlantic, have been written on the same subjects. We were aware of Dr. Dawson's accomplishments as a geologist, but we were not prepared to accord to him that varied learning, evidences of which are everywhere apparent in this volume.

Turning to an examination of the cosmological pecularities of the Bible, he takes for his starting-point the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures. He does not examine, in order to find whether or no the references to natural science in them are such as warrant him to accept the Scriptures as inspired; but, confessing his faith in their inspiration, he shows how his inquiries can be best prosecuted from this point of view. An opposite course has led only to error. Writers have set themselves to interrogate them as to one physico-theological question and another, having no faith in the witness. No wonder, then, that the testimony has often *seemed* absurd or contradictory. But with a "cross-questioner" like Dr. Dawson, the utterances are seen to be not inconsistent with the character of the witness; though we may sometimes have to aver that another construction might be put on them than is done by him. An enumeration of the general contents will indicate the range and importance of the subjects discussed in "Archaia." We have Objects, Character, and Authority of the Hebrew Cosmogony—General Views of Nature contained in the Hebrew Scriptures—The Beginning—The Desolate Void—Light—Days of Creation—The Atmosphere—The Dry Land—The First Vegetation—Luminaries—The Lower Animals—The Higher Animals—Man—The Rest of the Creator—Unity and Antiquity of Man. To these is added an Appendix, chiefly containing quotations from well-known works in science, which bear upon the topics discussed in the body of the work. The views stated in the first chapter as to the harmony between science and religion, and as to the attainments of the writers of Scripture in the knowledge of natural science, have more than once been brought out in this journal. So also has the importance of scientific knowledge to the Christian Church. At one time there was some likelihood that prominence was about to be given to this in Scotland; and, had Dr. Fleming been spared a fews years longer, he would have compelled even the most ignorant theologians to acknowledge the truth of his views. But it is always difficult to persuade men of the importance of branches of knowledge, with which they are only partially, even not at all acquainted.

We have not space to give that prominence to the volume now before us which undoubtedly it deserves, and must limit our remarks to one or two points. In referring to the first verses of Genesis, the author dissents, and we think on good grounds, from Dr. Pye Smith's local chaos theory. He thinks that what is most generally known as the reconcilation scheme of Chalmers is as little satisfactory. Now, while we should not like to hold that this scheme is unobjectionable, we continue of opinion that it meets many difficulties. Dr. Dawson rightly thinks that, *à priori*, "it is improbable that the first act of creative power should have resulted in the production of a mere chaos;" but no such charge as this can be alleged against a general scene of desolation, before the introduction of a new epoch and the bringing in of species wholly distinct from previously existing ones. We have often wondered at the want of reflection which has characterised many geologists, when dealing with this question. We suppose that few will be found to deny the general submergence of the land of the northern hemisphere before the beginning of the Pleistocene period, during the progress of which the Drift was realized. Nothing more than a general prevalence of such a phenomenon is demanded for the chaos of theologians. Why might not the local pass into the universal? The contemporaneous existence of animals characteristic of both is, however, the stumbling-block here. But if you grant the introduction of new species, you give a place to miracle in the developement of the cosmical scheme of life. Now, what greater difficulty is there in believing that old types were planted anew by the hand of the Creator in the midst of those novel forms which were to distinguish the period, than in holding that *new* species were intruded? There is miracle in either case. Again looking at the days of creation, we are of opinion that Dr. Dawson has not succeeded in shutting up readers to his opinions as the only sound ones, notwithstanding the breadth of view and the great ability which characterize his discussions on this point. He holds what is now generally known as the "Age Theory." But it is due to the author to state that he has arrived at this by a process peculiarly his own. While acknowledging the ability and freely using the arguments of Cuvier, Jameson, Hugh Miller, and others, he is far from relying on these great names. His conclusions result from independent and original investigations.

Referring to Genesis i. 5,* Dr. Dawson

* "And God called the light Day; and the darkness he called Night. And the Evening and the Morning were the first day."

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says: "The first important fact that strikes us, is one which has not received the attention it deserves—viz., that the word day is evidently used in two senses in the verse itself. We are told that God called the *light*, that is the diurnal continuance of light, day. We are also informed that the *evening* and the *morning* were the first day. Day, therefore, in one of these clauses is the light as separated from the darkness, which we may call the *natural day*; in the other, it is the whole time occupied in the creation of light, and its separation from darkness, whether that was a *civil or astronomical day*, of twenty-four hours, or some longer period." After having followed Dr. Dawson's reasoning and illustrations with great care, we frankly confess that we have not been led into his views. We would rather hold by the word as an intelligent man would at once accept them, who has no pet theory to plead for, and would urge that the second clause is simply explanatory of the first. We have day and night in the first, and then we are told that day includes the period from dawn to dusk, and night the period from dusk to dawn. It is no doubt possible that the interpretation which Dr. Dawson pleads for may be the true one, but another than man must come and tell us so before unbiassed men will accept it. The references to creation in the Scriptures are no more numerous than were needed in order to make the higher revelation intelligible to us. Let geology deal with the records on the rocks as not being mentioned in Genesis—as not even contained under the expression, "in the beginning"—and the Bible will be saved from many foolish interpretations, and critics from much not very pleasant work. But what say you of the six days? Well, we take them as every unbiassed reader has read them from earliest times, and aver that they cover the record of the making of the things therein described. Before the first day, the earth lay ready for the introduction of new forms, as it had done when the Silurian ceased, and the Devonian has to be realized, or as it did when the well-marked Carboniferous was to be ushered in. The alleged astronomical difficulty might be stated in the same way; but we spare our readers.

It appears to us that the difficulties in the way of such an interpretation as Dr. Dawson, following Hugh Miller and others, has put upon the *seventh day*, are even more formidable. If you receive the theory that God's Sabbath began with Adam, and still continues, the inference in sound logic is that every day is alike. And if you answer that God has specially told of six days as for man, then we answer that He has set apart a seventh *in the same way* for Himself,—the weekly Sabbath, at the close of which man may hasten forth to his own work. Like the other view, there is a possibility that Dr. Dawson, Hugh Miller, etc., may be right on this point; but we again repeat, a new revelation will be required before that great multitude, who find in the Bible the words of eternal life, will accept the theory as true. Will Dr. Dawson do us the favour to look at Hebrews iv., and say whether his views will harmonise with the views of the Spirit of God given there as to the Sabbath rest, when set alongside of the rest of Canaan, and the rest of the soul in Jesus Christ? In all these not very profitable discussions, this chapter has been habitually kept out of sight.

We might subject all the author's remarks to a criticism of this kind; but were we to do so, we should not like to be held as committed on the side of any of those theories, the weak parts of which he points out with much skill and to much profit. As regards the strictures on Professor Hitchcock, at p. 114, it should be borne in mind that the Professor, to whom both pure science and physico-theology is much indebted, wrote the sentences reviewed at a time when comparatively little prominence had been given to those palæontological discoveries which now seem to contradict them.

The chapters which follow that now noticed are devoted to the discussion of such subjects as "The Atmosphere—The Luminaries—The Dry Land—The First Vegetation—The Lower Animals—and Man." To the discussion of these the author brings a strong intellect, a richly furnished mind, great and accurate scientific attainments, and extensive acquaintance with the literature of physico-theology, and, withal, a manifest love to the Creator as a covenant God. These are qualifications which are seldom met with in such literature. The chapter on the "Unity and Antiquity of Men" will well reward the painstaking perusal of candid enquirers, on a subject which is likely to be as keenly discussed in Britain as it has, for some years, been in America. Many of the views brought forward by Mr. Darwin, in his recent work on the "Origin of Species," point to this. Should the question arise, we can cordially recommend Dr. Dawson's chapter, now referred to, as a safe guide. It was our first intention to have offered an analysis of this chapter to our readers, but the space at our disposal for this notice prevents us doing more than refer to it. In conclusion, we beg to thank Dr. Dawson for his able work. As has been shown, we are not disposed to accept it, as a whole, without note or com-

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ment, but this does not prevent us characterizing it as the best of its kind which has been recently published. It will give us much pleasure to meet soon again with the author of "Acadian Geology" and of "Archaia."

Pre-Adamite Man; or, the Story of our old Planet and its Inhabitants, told by Scripture and Science. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co. 1860.

THIS volume stands in direct contrast to "Archaia." Unlike Dr. Dawson, the author, or, as we should perhaps rather say, authoress, evidently can lay no claims to high scientific attainments. The book, nevertheless, is well written, and contains a good *resumé* of the opinions of others on the subjects reviewed, with, here and there, some original matter, in the form of hypothesis and speculation. We may thus recommend it to any of our readers, who are not as tired as we are of theories of creation. We need not enter very fully into the discoveries which have urged the writer to take up the ground occupied in the volume. If he or she will turn to Dr. Dawson's notices of the flint weapon, those fertile themes for speculation, an answer will be found, which, if not amounting to absolute proof as to the comparatively recent character of the flint weapons, yet to an hypothesis which takes away much of the importance which credulous theorists have been so ready to assign to them. That no human bones have been found *in situ* with them, might have suggested an explanation. During the action of physical disturbance, which led to their being left in their (alleged) position, those who had been making them, or had laid them up for use, had been compelled hastily to make their escape. But even if bones had been found, before we could have been justly entitled to draw such conclusions from them as those ever ready to believe wonders are, we would have required to show, that the physical action in the localities described have at all times been the same as they are now.

As to Gen. i. and ii., we have none of the difficulties which this writer, and some others, find in harmonising them. The differences are just such as might be expected to characterize an exact account of any one series of events, and a general statement of this afterwards. What says the writer to this, as an explanation of the difficulty in regard to the fowls referred to in Gen. i.; and those mentioned in Gen. ii.—'the waterfowl are associated with the waters, and the land birds with the dry land?' The writer holds the six days to indicate six great ages, whose periods may be examined in the earth's crust. We have so often stated the grave objections to this, presented in the geologic record, and in the word itself, if we look at it in the light of a correct exegesis, that we shall not repeat them. Since the death of Mr. Hugh Miller, our views have received one testimony and another in their favour, in recent scientific discoveries. The position in the scale of life assigned by Mr. Miller to certain animals and plants, in the bringing in of organic forms, and whose place, as fixed by himself, he found necessary to his theory, has been altered at one point and another. As regards the point, however, now under notice, it is quite clear that the world will be troubled with schemes of harmony until we come to take other ground than apologists at present, almost without exception, hold. We must say at once, "If you will speculate on creation, don't mix up your theories with the Bible at all. The sacred volme was not given to instruct us in natural science, or in the physical history of the globe, but in the knowledge of a covenant God, in 'the great love wherewith He hath loved us.'"

The author of the book now before us thinks there is warrant to conclude, "with the Bible in one hand and science in the other," that there were men before Adam, "whose mundane history, whatever its course, must have run out long ere our Adamic family appeared!" And then they were a race to be much envied. "As a sentient being, he must have enjoyed an existence of exquisite satisfaction." There would be no work demanded of him, no painstaking toil of body or of mind. A very Mahometan paradise would that pre-Adamic world be for man! We can only say to all this, that, "with the Bible in one hand, and *some* science in the other," we believe that the said race has its existence only in the author's not very well trained imagination. It would be making far too much of the volume to give ourselves in earnest to its refutation. We think so well of the talent shown in the work, that we are quite sure the author has not the least confidence in the views stated.

Farm Insects: being the Natural History and Economy of the Insects Injurious to the Field Crops of Great Britain and Ireland. By JOHN CURTIS, F.L.S., etc. London and Glasgow: Blackie & Son. 1860.

ABOUT fifty years ago, Mr. Kirby complained of the little attention paid to his favourite science, Entomology. "Her cham-

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pions," he said, "hitherto have been so few, and their efforts so unavailing, that all her rival sisters have been exalted above her; and I believe there is scarcely any branch of natural history that has had fewer British admirers." That this is no longer true, we are mainly indebted to Mr. Kirby himself. He took the true way to secure success. Spence, in 1809, gave him the hint of the way to success. He remarks: "Everybody reads with avidity anecdotes of the uses, injurious properties, habits, etc., of insects; and only admit your readers through such a vestibule, you will get numbers to the science, who would have been deterred at the very threshold of mere technical discussions." All are aware how successfully Messrs. Kirby and Spence carried out this idea in "The Introduction to Entomology."

Mr. Curtis should obtain many readers, if the same inducements have still weight, for he has added to these one much more powerful than any of them. The attractiveness in the case of this work is much increased by the direct appeal to man's self-interest. The insects described are those from which man is ever anxious to keep the crops, in the raising of which he spends so much time, work, and skill.

> "A feeble race! Yet oft
> The sacred sons of vengeance, on whose course
> Corrosive Famine waits, and kills the year."

How to keep the pests from destroying the produce of the season, is the problem put before the farmer. Mr. Curtis comes to his help in this volume. If a remedy is to be supplied, the disease must be well known; if insects injurious to crops are to be killed, the farmer must know his enemies when he sees them, be acquainted with the various changes which they undergo in their progress to maturity and their habits while under these,—must know where to find them, and what weapons to use most successfully against them. Contrary to the conviction of kind, warm-hearted Uncle Toby, farmers have no wish to treat these insects as kindly as he did the renowned fly "which buzzed about his nose, and tormented him cruelly all dinner-time." They do not think that the "world is wide enough for themselves" and the insect pests. "I'll not hurt thee," says Uncle Toby, rising from his chair, and going across the room with the fly in his hand; "I'll not hurt a hair of thy head. Go," says he, lifting up the sash, and opening his hand as he spoke, to let it escape, "Go, poor devil, get thee gone; why should I hurt thee? This world surely is wide enough to hold both thee and me!"

The crops especially liable to the ravages of insects are the turnip and corn crops. In addition to these, potatoes, pease, beans, rape, mangel-wurzel, carrots, clover, etc., suffer less or more from them annually; and during certain seasons some of them may be almost or wholly destroyed. The seasons and circumstances least favourable to the growth of any one of these crops, must always afford most opportunity for the ravages of injurious insects, just as the sickly human frame is ever most open to the inroads of prevailing diseases. Mr. Curtis devotes four chapters to the natural history and economy of the insects which affect the turnip crops. These may not only be read with much profit by every practical agriculturist, but we are quite sure every student of scientific entomology will find them full of interest. Having given some attention to the subjects treated of, we are free to acknowledge having gained much instruction in following Mr. Curtis through the pages (more than a hundred) in which he deals specially with the turnip pests. His well-known skill as a first-rate entomologist, his dislike of assertion in regard to points which he has not fully investigated, his thorough acquaintance with the literature of his favourite science, and his readiness to give honour to whom honour is due, in regard to priority of observations, will all arrest the attention of the reader. These remarks on the pages devoted to the turnip fly are equally true of the injurious insects and caterpillars referred to in connection with other crops.

When we took up this volume, we began to prepare an analysis of the topics referred to, but we soon found that justice could not be done to them in such a notice as we must now be satisfied with. Not only is the work one which deserves an elaborate review as a work of true science; it is one, moreover, which even the unscientific reader may study with profit. It ought to find a place in every intelligent agriculturist's library. Messrs. Blackie have done a good work in putting it within the reach of farmers. We may add that the work is illustrated by admirable engravings on steel plates and on wood.

The Aquarian Naturalist. A Manual for the Sea-Side. By Thomas Rymer Jones, F.R.S., etc. London: John Van Voorst.

This volume deserved sooner notice. It has not only lain long on our table, but it has been used. So that, if we have been long in directing the attention of our readers to it, now that we do so, we are in circumstances to speak decidedly of its merits.

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Professor Jones has here brought together a great amount of useful information for the sea-side student. Whether the present mode of writing popular hand-books will be found ultimately favourable to science itself, may, perhaps be doubted. It will certainly lead to a more general interest in scientific subjects, and send many more forth to collect in favourite fields. But we fear the interest is so general as not to include in its range that painstaking application which the attainment of all substantial information demands. "Making collections" is in danger of being little more than a short-lived fashion, for those who are engaged in it seldom know more than the names of the most common species. Good, doubtless, results from all this; though it may not be in the direction of scientific progress. It is good to give "the habit of the eye"—to lead many forth into field and forest, to mountain and valley, to rill and river, and to the shallows on the sea-shore. Old and young are the better for it. They pick up health in the open air, and this reacts on their spiritual nature; they may even meet with one of those glimpses into the thoughts of a present Creator which sometimes, as if by accident, meet even the most unobserving when left alone amidst the works of God. But, while this is the case, we suspect there is some reason to believe that many, who might have become students in the highest sense, ever impressed with the attractiveness of sound information, and willing to face any amount of labor in order to attain it, have had the way made too plain for them, and have become contented to have others read for them what they would have been the better of reading for themselves, and to have others observe for them, in order that they might have at second-hand what they ought to have mastered by the forthputting of direct personal energy. Thus, give a man almost any one branch, or even any one hundred branches, in natural history, and he will quote readily authorities which he has never seen, refer to facts which he has never taken the trouble to verify, and mention, as if from the personal point of view, experiences in the study of the works of God which have never in reality crossed his path. There may thus be a danger of making attainments too easy. The spirit of self-reliance in observing, of persevering waiting upon nature, and of willing toil in order to substantial knowledge, may be lost, and that which might be well fitted to discipline the whole mind may come to nourish its natural indolence. To very many it may seem the highest praise we can bestow on Professor Jones' work to rank it in the list of those which make the study of Marine Zoology too easy. There is some likelihood that when *Miss Mary* and *Master Thomas* have glanced over it, they may hasten with collecting jars to the shore to fill the aquarium which fond paterfamilias has set up for them; and, when it is well stocked, the wondering parents may be called to listen to the young ladies' remarks about "Sir John Dalyell's discoveries," or to the hopeful brother's correction, "You forget, sister! what you refer to is to be found in a remarkable paper by Quaterfages, in the 'Annales des Sciences Naturelles,'" or, "The observation is recorded by Kölliker," while the accomplished Miss takes her revenge by adding, "Here is Professor Jones' 'Aquarian Naturalist,' and you will find from it that we were both mistaken. He says that Van Beneden first noticed it." Let not any reader smile: the picture is from life.

We are glad, however, to observe the prominence given by Professor Jones to the late Sir John Dalyell's discoveries in Aquatic Zoology. He was among the first in Scotland who gave himself in earnest to the study of this branch of natural science, at a time when many obstacles had to be cleared away before a hearing could be got, even from men who, in other branches of zoology, were adding greatly to our knowledge of nature. His work on the "Rare and Remarkable Animals of Scotland" was the fruit of very great toil and expense; though it has found a place in our chief public libraries, it has not hitherto attained the wide circulation which its merits as a work of true science deserve. In one way, indeed, many of the facts first recorded by Sir John have become well known, even in the popular literature of Aquatic Zoology. They have been copied at first and at second-hand most freely, and all connection with the original source left out of view. It will form an evidence of true love for such studies, when a work like that of Sir John Dalyell's "Rare and Remarkable Animals" shall be sought for as a guide by students.

While Professor Jones is careful in pointing out authorities, he is, perhaps, too ready to accept alleged facts on the testimony of one witness. Thus says Sir John, in regard to the food of Actinia, "It is in the highest degree carnivorous. . . The fiercest of the Crustacea . . . fall a prey to the Actinia."—("Rare Animals," p. 197, vol. ii.) And says Professor Jones, "The fiercest of the Crustacea . . . all fall a prey to Actinia."—P. 154. We pointed out some time ago, in this Journal, that there is good cause for believing Actinia will have nothing to do with crabs. Lewes, in "Sea-

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side Studies," has called attention to this likewise, and with the same note. Sir John's sister, Miss Dalyell of Binns, a good naturalist, and Sir John's constant companion and partner in all his zoological studies, holds that her brother was not in error when he made the remark quoted above. Miss Dalyell says, in a letter, "I have seen Actinia swallow crabs, but it was by the merest accident. . . . What is there to prevent an Actinia eating a crab? If the shell is hard, it will suck the meat and then disgorge the shell, in the same manner as the mussel." We candidly reply, "We have seen Actinia habitually turn away as with disgust from active young crabs." We need scarcely add that we cordially recommend Professor Jones' able volume.

The Museum of Natural History; being a Popular Account of the Structure, Habits, and Classification of the various Departments of the Animal Kingdom. Glasgow and London: William Mackenzie.

Eight parts of this work have recently come under our notice. What the "Regne Animal," as edited by the illustrious disciples of Cuvier, is to scientific students, the enterprising publisher of the "Museum of Natural History" wishes it to be to popular readers. The realization of such a design implied many difficulties. It is possible to make a work of this kind too popular, even for the taste of the people. The demand for books in natural science, stripped of the nomenclature of science, is not so great as is often alleged. The fact is, that there is a widely-spread desire among intelligent classes, whose education has not included any of the learned tongues, to become acquainted with scientific terminology through means of the English language. This among other most important aspects of instruction in natural history, is kept in view in the work before us. "Divided into sections," it has been appropriated as follows:—Mammalia—T. Spencer Cobbold, M.D., F.L.S. Birds—William S. Dallas, F.L.S. Fishes—Sir John Richardson, C.B., F.R.S. Reptiles, Mollusca, Infusoria, Radiata, etc. — William Baird, M.D., F.L.S. Entomology and Crustacea—Adam White, Esq., "of the British Museum." The names are a guarantee for the correct and substantial character of the information. We have carefully looked into the different parts, especially in regard to subjects associated with our own present studies, and have found them treated in a peculiarly lucid and correct way. The work is illustrated with numerous engravings on steel and wood, from drawings by Charles Landseer, F. O. Finch, N. J. Holmes, etc. These are generally exceedingly characteristic, and must convey to readers well defined impressions of the forms of life sketched. In one or two examples, we think the effect might have been more successful. Thus, as to colour, *Sturnus Vulgaris* is too green. Even when this bird is seen at ease, on a branch in bright sunlight, the sheen on his glossy feathers is never so high-coloured. His bill, too, tapers over much, and looks liker the bill of the leading members of the Sylviadæ than of Sturnus. As to form, it strikes us that the figure of *Rollulus Cristatus* conveys to the reader the impression that this bird is much larger than it is. But these are very small matters indeed. The anatomical figures are excellent. The work is one of sterling merit. It is not unworthy of such names as Dallas, Richardson, Baird, and White, and it speaks most favourably to the enterprise and commercial energy of the publisher. It deserves all success.

Englische Geschichte vornehmlich in sechszehnten u. siebzehnten Jahrhundert. Von Leopold Ranke. Erster Band. Berlin: Duncker u. Humblot. 1859. Pp. 606.

From Germany and France, Ranke has now turned to England. In the first volume of his history, now before us, he displays the same extent of research, largeness of views, and impartiality of treatment, which made his former works so acceptable to the historical student. He embraces the Tudors and the first Stuart in the present instalment of his work, sketching in a preliminary book the course of the English annals until the death of the last Plantagenet. The connection and involvement of English with Continental history is ably traced throughout. Ranke is, however, we think, somewhat too much of the old school of historians in not paying sufficient attention to the state and progress of the people. The court, camp, and cabinet take up his attention too much, to the exclusion of the plough and the workshop. The age of guilds was quite as deserving of notice as the later era of factories. The countryman of Hans Sachs and Albert Dürer should not have fallen into this mistake. Nor has he sufficiently noticed the literary aspect of the Reformation and early Puritan period. The German historian might have been expected to have noticed works so remarkable from their passing interest, and from closing the first era of Scottish song, as the "Cardinal" and the "Monarchie" of Lyndsay. For Ranke, Scott's words do not hold good:—

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"Still is thy name of high account,
And still thy verse has charms."

Again, a series of productions so memorable in the history of the Puritans as the Martin Mar Prelate Tracts, the satire Menippée of England, should have received at least a passing notice. A few inaccuracies may be mentioned. Ranke somewhat antedates the raising of the Prior of St. Andrews to the Earldom of Moray. The influence of Knox in regard to the destruction of the ecclesiastical buildings of Scotland is exaggerated. Knox's own expression of "the rascaill multitude" has been overlooked. On the other hand, from more mature consideration of some not unimportant points, Ranke is able to correct even so accurate a writer as Hallam. Two very admirable parts of the book are the unfolding of the progress of the separation of England from Rome in Henry's time, beginning with the importance attached to the views of those canonists, who held that such a marriage as his with Catherine could not, even by a Pope, be made valid; and the tracing of the different parts of the foreign policy of James I. in the period of his reign when the Cecil interest prevailed. The latest authorities have been turned to account. Froude has been carefully read, but Ranke's estimate of Henry differs widely from that formed by his accomplished advocate. The last chapter in the fourth book, and the concluding one of the volume, is on the Elizabethan literature. With some good thoughts, it is not very satisfactory. The theological and other prose literature of that Augustine age of our country has been apparently only superficially studied by Ranke. From Hallam's Literature of Europe, and Marsden's Puritans, perused together, the general reader will get a far better view of the subject than from the book before us. Those who are accustomed to consider German books as in appearance somewhat between the cheap newspaper and the brown paper parcel, will be astonished at the externals of the volume. The paper and typography are admirable; for Germany they are superb.

Storia dei Mussulmani in Sicilia. Scritta da MICHELE AMARI. Volume Secondo. Firenze. Le Monnièr. Pp. 561.

Ricordi Biographici e Carteggio di Vincen Gioberti. Raccolti per cura di G. MOSSARI. Tomo primo. Torino.

WE have classed these two books together as the productions of men who have toiled and suffered in that cause of Italian freedom which has now, we trust, begun permanently to triumph. Amari has not, in his present subject, one admitting of the popular interest in treatment which was supplied by his former work on the Sicilian Vespers. He has aspired to do for the Sicilian Mahometans what had been effected for their more distinguished Spanish co-religionists by Condé. The present volume embraces the period of their greatest glory, as the succeeding will contain the era of their decline and giving way to the Normans. M. Amari occasionally shows a narrower spirit when treating of non-Romanist Christians. A more careful revisal would have prevented names being differently spelt in different places, and repetitions of narrative occurring. But these are small defects when compared with the thoroughness of research, the fulness of information, and the interest thrown alike around the civil, the military, and the literary topics embraced. From Arabian, Italian, and French sources, M. Amari has largely drawn and carefully selected. German and English authorship on this theme has not been so freely resorted to.

Gioberti did not live, as Amari has done, to witness the merging of Sardinia in an united Northern Italy. He died in exile in 1852. But none among the Italians of this century has contributed more to prepare the way for the present state of matters in the Italian peninsula. The author of the "Modern Jesuit" heralded the revolt of his native country from ultramontanism. The present biography is in connection with a complete edition of the works of the Piedmontese philosopher. As yet it only comes down to 1838; but the care and affection which mark its composition, lead us to anticipate even greater pleasure from the remaining volume, which will embrace the events of 1848, Gioberti's Ministry at Turin, and his latter days of exile. The lovers of Italian liberty, the friends of philosophical speculation, the well-wishers to a liberalized Romanism, will all find much to interest in M. Mossari's meritorious publication. Sardinia has made large advances indeed since the period when its first eminent man of letters, Alfieri, found its atmosphere too intellectually stifling to admit of his living there. To military renown, always its characteristic, the more peaceful glories of intellect have been, in fair proportion to other divisions of the Peninsula, added during the present century.

Histoire des Classes Laborieuses en France, depuis la Conquete de la Gaule par Jules César jusqu'à nos Jours. Par M. F. DU CELLIER. Paris, Didier et Cie. 1860. Pp. VII. and 479.

ONLY within the last two generations has the history of the working classes in Britain

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been specially treated. Their Revolution, introducing the same period, has likewise directed the French mind to the topic. M. Du Cellier has ably shown how little the declamations of the last century in favour of the people were based upon thorough knowledge. He has throughout treated his important subject with calmness of investigation, as well as breadth of research. Neither political extreme in this country, nor in any other, will resort to his pages, to find easy material of declamation or invective. To his general impartiality almost the only exception is his undervaluing the educational and benevolent, while admitting the preaching and writing activity of the French Protestants. If they were so deficient as he alleges, how were there so many edicts issued by the king and the provincial parliaments against Huguenot schools? M. Du Cellier has particularised the religious reaction against Montaigne and the classicism of the Renaissance, which the Oratorians, the Sorbonne, and the Jesuits produced. Without too minutely scrutinizing on this point, it is to be wished that he had given more attention to such works as Drion, De Felice, and others, on the Protestant side. But it is more pleasing to advert to the generally well-proportioned character of the book. It is divided into sixteen chapters, of which the first three treat of the Ancient, the next five of the Medieval, and the remainder of the Modern sections of his subject. While he has had recourse to the original authorities, classical, middle age, and others, he has also carefully studied such contemporary writers as Guizot and De Broglie, who have investigated particular sections of his theme. M. Du Cellier gives brief but sufficient information as to the extent in which the current literature of France, in different ages, has influenced the working man. He has well shown how thoroughly the lower classes participated in the fierce passions of the League, and how far, at a period somewhat earlier, the higher orders were from being alone guilty in the Bartholomew Night. To descend to more modern events, the concluding chapters on the Restoration, the Monarchy of July, and the Republic of 1848, severely test his impartiality. But he stands the trial. The one-sidedness of French Conservatives and Liberals — the breach between the *bourgeoisie* and the *ouvriers*, leading to the expulsion of that monarch who was the impersonation of the former; the readiness of all but a comparatively limited section of the latter to be led away by Communistic delusions, are clearly and fully unfolded. Not a page of mere sentiment, not a paragraph of idle rhetoric, deforms the volume. From what in this country are termed the French faults of style, the book is thoroughly free. His manly protest against the enervating literature of the day is admirable in its tone and touch. Free as it is from all exaggerating favouritism of topic, the volume of M. Du Cellier is worthy of the careful perusal of all who wish to know the points of comparison and of contrast between the past state and present position of the French workman, urban or rural, and his compeer on this side the Channel. Doubtless the author has, on principle, excluded them; but we confess we should have liked the insertion of some of the songs, and axioms, and anecdotes, which labour has in every age liked to employ in its own service at the expense of capital. The work would have gained thus in *piquancy*, and would not have lost in truthfulness. The statesman, the philanthropist, the man who has raised himself, the man who hopes to rise, alike are appealed to in this work. Though an inexpensive book, it is issued with all the elegance which, even in closely printed volumes as this, invariably characterizes the Didier press. Few French works of our day are more worthy of a rendering into English.

De Villahermosa a China. Colloquios de la Vida intima. Par Nicodemes Pastor Diaz. Madrid. 1859.

Pastor Diaz is by birth a Gallician. Bred to the law, he early gave literary promise. On his first coming to the Spanish capital, he was kindly received by the literary veteran Quintana, who introduced him to intellectual society. His first literary efforts were poetical. His "Ode to the Moon," published in the Madrid "Artista" in 1836, first gained for him a decided reputation as a lyric poet. A few years afterwards he collected from periodicals his pieces into a volume. Like a number of other literary men in the Peninsula, he has occupied himself with politics. He has been a deputy to the Cortes, a Minister, and ambassador at Turin. The book before us, his latest work, is a novel of modern life, in which a number of moral and psychological questions are discussed. Less distinctively Spanish than his fair rival Fernan Caballero, he has not attracted so numerous an audience in his native country, nor can he count upon so largely as she is entitled to do the appreciation of foreigners. But those who prefer in prose fiction to have their intellect as well as their imagination and feelings appealed to, will peruse with pleasure the work of

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M. Pastor Diaz. It may be hoped that, now that the national honour has been satisfied by the successful termination of the Morocco war, the inhabitants of the Pyrenean Peninsula, as the Germans call it, will cultivate more successfully the liberal arts. At present the temper of this country seems to be to pet Italy at the expense of Spain. But a more general acquaintance with the literature of the latter would show that the land of Cervantes and Calderon has still the materials for a distinguished intellectual career. The organs of public opinion have been led tacitly to recall the disparaging statements which, at the beginning of the late war, they made about the Spanish army. The works of such writers as Caballero and Pastor Diaz, if studied, would be found as adapted to reverse hasty judgments, as the brilliant military services of O'Donnell and his gallant fellow-generals. It is to be regretted that, among us, so few, except Romanist clergymen, attracted by such able but sectional writers as Balmez and Donoso Cortes, should pay attention to the tongue in which the best known of prose fictions has been written. Spanish was the study of our literary men in our Augustan era. More remote from our ordinary rules of thought and expression than either French or German, it is, in this respect, a more useful mental occupation than either. The "Revue des Deux Mondes" keeps before the highest French mind, with impartiality and critical power, the literary productions of Spain, as well as its compeer and rival in the other South Europe Peninsula.

Le Chancellier D'Aguesseau; Sa Conduite et ses Idées Politiques. Par M. Francis Monnier, Professor au College Rollin. Paris: Didier et Cie. 1860. Pp. 499.

A series of able articles in the *Moniteur* on D'Aguesseau lately appeared from the pen of M. Oscar de Vallée. A more complete work on the famous Chancellor has now been issued by Professor Monnier. It is a book of permanent value, thorough extent of research and carefulness of narrative. The fortunes of the eminent legal family from which Francois D'Aguesseau was descended have been carefully, but not in a disproportionate manner considered. The book is divided into three parts, of which the first treats of D'Aguesseau's history till his accession to the Chancellorship in 1717. The second embraces the period which elapsed between his thus reaching the summit of his professional career, and his second exile in 1722. The third comprehends the twenty-nine years between that date and his death. M. Monnier has accurately shown the real merits of the great Chancellor, and has neither disguised nor explained away his occasional weaknesses in action. He has carefully abated the somewhat vague and rhetorical eulogies which the less accurately informed of modern French liberals have passed upon D'Aguesseau. Not aiming at brilliancy, M. Monnier has yet produced a book of great interest, in which the political and social life of France in the first half of the eighteenth century is ably depicted. The state in which D'Aguesseau found French law, his views as to its reform, and the manner in which his legal designs and efforts have been adopted or modified by succeeding jurists, are clearly and freely unfolded. A good selection is given of the chief causes with which, as pleader or as judge, his name is associated. But there is no section of the work which can reasonably be regarded as dry by a non-professional reader. To the more public matters treated of, a fine relief is afforded by the well-chosen details about the Chancellor's country life at Fresnes, and an account of his writings on subjects not connected with the law. The book is an important contribution to the history of that pre-revolutionary period, on which MM. de Tocqueville, de Carnè, and others, have recently written so fully and with such interest. The favourable opinion of such judges as Cousin and Barthelemy St. Hilaire, encouraged M. Monnier to this publication. We hope that the reception of his book will be such as to render him independent of anything more than suggestions from his literary friends in regard of any future work.

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THE

NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

No. LXV.

FOR AUGUST, 1860.

ART. I.—1. *Lettre de* M. LEVERRIER *à* M. FAYE *sur la Theorie de Mercure, et sur le Mouvement du perihelie de cette Planete.* Comptes Rendus, etc., Sept 12, 1859, vol. xlix., p. 379–383.

2. *Remarques de* M. FAYE *à l'occasion de la Lettre de* M. LEVERRIER. Id. Id., p. 383–386.

3. *Passage d'une Planete sur le disque du Soleil, observée à Orgeres, par* M. LESCARBAULT. *Lettre à* M. LEVERRIER. Id. Id., Jan. 2, 1860, or COSMOS, Jan. 13, 1860, vol. xvi., p. 50.

4. *Note sur la Planete intra-Mercurielle.* Par M. RADEAU, Prof. dans l'Université de Königsberg. COSMOS, Feb. 10, 1860, vol. xvi., p. 147.

5. *Sur quelques Periodes qui semblent se rapporter, à les Passages de la Planete Lescarbault sur le Soleil.* Par M. ROD. WOLFF. Comptes Rendus, Mars 15, 1860, Tom. l., p. 482.

6. *Decouverte d'une Nouvelle Planete entre Mercure et le Soleil.* Par M. L'ABBE MOIGNO. COSMOS, Jan. 6, 1860, vol. xvi., p. 22.

7. *Future Observations of the supposed New Planet.* By M. R. RADEAU. Monthly Notices of the Astron. Soc., March 7, 1860, vol. xx., p. 195.

8. *Sur la Nouvelle Planete annoncée par M. Lescarbault.* Par M. EMM. LIAIS. Astronomische Nachrichten, No. 1248, p. 373, April 14, 1860.

9. *Reponse à M. Liais.* Par M. RADEAU. COSMOS, vol. xvi., p. 473, May 4, 1860.

10. *On some previous Observations of supposed Planetary Bodies in transit over the Sun.* By R. C. CARRINGTON, Esq. Monthly Notices Astron, Soc., vol. xx., p. 192.

IN our articles on the Revelations of Astronomy,* and on the Discovery of the Planet Neptune,† we submitted to our readers a popular account of the bodies of the solar and sidereal systems, and of the comets, or wandering stars, which occasionally cross them in their path. Since that time important discoveries have been made in the science, by the use of fine telescopes, and improved methods of observation; and speculation, which has hitherto performed but a small part in accelerating the march of astronomy, has begun to assert its just influence, not only in predicting the existence of new planets, but in exploring the inner life of the planetary system.

Within a few years, new satellites have been found circulating round some of the remoter planets, while the structure and condition of the planets themselves have been studied with the improved telescopes now in the hands of astronomers. No fewer than *fifty-eight* new planets, or asteroids, as they have been called from their smallness, have been discovered between Mars and Jupiter; and, what is more interesting still, M. Leverrier, one of the discoverers of Neptune, had, from theoretical considerations, suggested by irregularities in the motions of Mercury, predicted the existence of a planet, or a ring of planets, between that body and the Sun; and M. Lescarbault has actually discovered this intra-mercurial planet, while it was passing in the form of a round black spot over the disc of the Sun.

The history of this discovery, if it is a discovery, is one of the most curious chap-

* *N. Brit. Rev.*, vol. vi., p. 206–256.
† *Id. Id.*, vol. vii., p. 207–247.

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ters in the annals of science. It has been characterized as "the Romance of the New Planet;" and astronomers of no mean celebrity are now marshalled in hostile array in discussing the question of its existence.

On the 2d January, 1860, M. Leverrier communicated to the Academy of Sciences a remarkable paper on the Theory of Mercury. In studying the 21 transits of that body over the Sun between 1697 and 1848, he found that the observations could not be represented by the received elements of the planet, but that they could be all represented, nearly to a second, by augmenting by 38 seconds the secular motion of the perihelion of Mercury. In order to justify such an increase, we must increase the mass attributed to Venus *one-tenth at least* of its value, which, from sixty years' meridian observations, has been found to be the four hundred thousandth part of that of the Sun. If we admit this increased mass of Venus, we must conclude, either that the secular variation of the obliquity of the Ecliptic, deduced from observations, is affected with errors by no means probable, or that the obliquity is changed by other causes wholly unknown to us. If, on the other hand, we regard the variation of the obliquity of the Ecliptic, and the causes which produce it, as well established, we must believe that the excess of motion in the perihelion of Mercury is due to some unknown action.

"I do not intend," says M. Leverrier, "to decide absolutely between these two hypotheses. I wish only to draw the attention of astronomers to a grave difficulty, and to make it the subject of a serious discussion." We must therefore, as he suggests, find a cause which shall impress upon the perihelion of Mercury these 38 seconds of secular motion, without producing any other sensible effect upon the planetary system.

M. Leverrier then shows that a planet between Mercury and the Sun, the size of Mercury, situated at half his mean distance from the Sun, if moving in a circular orbit slightly inclined to that of Mercury, would produce the 38 seconds of secular motion in his perihelion. But when he considers that such a planet would *have certainly a very great brightness*, he cannot think that it would be invisible at its greatest elongation, or during total eclipses of the Sun.

"All these difficulties," he adds, "disappear, if we admit, in place of a single planet, small bodies circulating between Mercury and the Sun;" and he thinks their existence not at all improbable, seeing that we have already a ring of 58 such bodies between Mars and Jupiter. As these bodies mnst frequently pass over the Sun's disc, he advises astronomers to search for them with care.

With the view of discovering these bodies, M. Faye, the distinguished colleague of M. Leverrier, has submitted the following plan of operation. Considering that the brightness of the region round the Sun will not permit us to see such small planets as those indicated by M. Leverrier, he proposes that observations should be made during the darkness of solar eclipses, and particularly during that of July next. Instead of following the Sun to the last moment of total darkness, he suggests that the observer should keep in the dark for a quarter of an hour, in order that his eye should be more sensitive at the decisive moment, in order to perceive the smallest speck of light that may radiate from the neighbourhood of the Sun. We would add to the suggestion, that if he fancies he sees such a luminous speck, he should look away from it, in order to throw its image on a more sensitive part of the retina,—a process which has enabled astronomers to see a satellite of Saturn, invisible when looked at directly. In such a search, it is not less important that the pupil should, if necessary, be expanded by belladonna or hyoscyamus, in order to embrace the whole pencil of rays which fall upon the object-glass of his telescope.

M. Faye proposes also, as suggested by Sir J. Herschel, that in several observatories, suitably chosen, the Sun should be photographed several times a-day, by the help of a large instrument. "I have myself," he says, "shown how to give to these photographs the value of an astronomical observation, by taking two impressions on the same plate after an interval of two minutes. It will be sufficient to superpose the transparent negatives of this size, taken at a quarter of an hour's interval, to distinguish immediately the moveable projection of an asteroid in the middle of the most complex groups of small spots."

While these two distinguished astronomers were occupied with this inquiry, and inventing methods of discovering the disturber of Mercury, they were little aware that an humble individual had cut the knot which they proposed to untie.

During the last century, various continental astronomers had observed, among the spots that so frequently appear on the Sun's surface, one more round than the rest, and had fortunately recorded the fact, and the date of its appearance. They do not seem, however, to have suspected that it might be a planet, and therefore did not attempt to trace it across the Sun's disc, or to watch for its reappearance. The phenomenon was at last seen by a more sagacious observer, who

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was able to appreciate its importance, and anxious to trace it to its cause. This observer was M. Lescarbault, a doctor of medicine of the Faculty of Paris, and carrying on his profession at Orgeres, a small town in the arrondissement of Chateaudun, in the department of the Eure and the Loire. Having been fond of astronomy from his infancy, and having since 1837 observed that the law of Bode was far from representing accurately the distance of the planets from the Sun, he imagined that, independently of the four small planets, Ceres, Pallas, Juno, and Vesta, which Piazzi, Olbers, and Harding had, between 1801 and 1807, discovered in the wide space between Mars and Jupiter, there might be another elsewhere. But as he was then situated, he found it difficult to make the necessary observations.

When he was watching the transit of Mercury over the Sun, on the 8th May, 1845, the idea occurred to him, that if there was any other planet between the Sun and the Earth than Venus and Mercury, it ought to be seen in its passages across the disc of that luminary; and that, by frequently observing the margin of the Sun's disc, we ought to see the appearance of a black spot entering upon the Sun, and traversing his disc, in a line of a greater or less length.

At this time it was impossible for him to institute this plan of observation, and it was not till 1853 that he was able to commence it. Between 1853 and 1858, he seldom directed his telescope to the sun; but in 1858, when he had a terrace at his command, he constructed a rude instrument, by which he could measure, within a degree nearly, the angle of position; and he tested its accuracy by measuring the position of spots on the Moon, and comparing his observations with a map of that satellite published by John Dominique Cassini.

This instrument was a telescope, with an object-glass about four inches in aperture, and four feet ten inches in focal length, made in 1838 by M. Cauche, and having a magnifying power of 150 times. The finder of the telescope magnified six times. In the focus of both telescopes were placed three parallel vertical wires, and three parallel horizontal ones, the distance between the two outermost being from 32 to 34 minutes. A circle of card-board, 5½ inches in diameter, and divided in its circumference to half degrees, was placed on the eye-piece of the finder, and concentric with it. The telescope had a vertical and horizontal motion, and was supported by a wooden pillar with three feet, the points of which rested on a frame also with three feet, and having screws, in order to level the instrument.

With his telescope thus mounted, and by the aid of other pieces of rude apparatus, which it is unnecessary to describe, he was able to measure the distance of any well-defined spot on the Sun's disc from its margin.

Whenever our observer expected that the duties of his profession would allow him a little leisure for observation after mid-day, he regulated his watch by the Sun's passing the meridian, by means of a small transit instrument; and having adjusted the rest of his apparatus, he directed his telescope to the Sun, and, during a period varying from half an hour to three hours, he surveyed the whole contour of the Sun's disc, keeping his eye at the eye-glass.

After these repeated surveys of the great luminary, he was at last gratified with the object of his ambition. On the 26th March 1859, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he saw a black point enter the Sun's disc. Its circumference was well defined. Its angular diameter, as seen from the Earth, was very small; and he estimated it as much less than one-fourth of that of Mercury, which he had seen with the same telescope and the same magnifying power when it passed over the Sun on the 8th May 1845.

The following are the observations which he recorded.*

The black spot entered upon the Sun's disc at a point 57° 22′ 30″ to the west of the upper extremity of the vertical diameter of the Sun, at

True time at Orgeres, . .	3h.	59m.	46s.	P.M.
Mean Solar time at Orgeres,	4	5	36	P.M.
Sidereal time, ...	4	19	52	P.M.
Mean Solar time at Paris, .	4	8	11	P.M.

In these numbers there is a possible error of from 1 to 5 seconds, which must be added.

The black spot emerged from the Sun's disc at a point 85° 45′ 0″ to the west of the lower extremity of the Sun's vertical diameter, at

True time at Orgeres, . .	5h.	16m.	55s.	P.M.
Mean Solar time at Orgeres,	5	22	44	P.M.
Sidereal time, ...	5	37	14	
Mean Solar time at Paris, .	5	25	18	P.M.

The black spot was at its least distance from the centre of the Sun at

---

* The position of Orgeres on the best map of France is in North Latitude, . . . 40° 8′ 55″
Longitude W. of the Observatory of Paris, ... 0 2 53
On the 26th March 1859,
The Mean time at True Noon at Orgeres was . . . 0h. 5m. 53·05s. P.M.
The Sidereal time at Mean Noon, ... 0 13 35·47 P.M.
The True time at Mean Noon, 11 54 6·87 A.M.

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True time at Orgeres, . .	4h.	38m.	20s.	P.M.
Mean Solar time at Orgeres,	4	44	11	P.M.
Sidereal time, ...	4	58	33	P.M.
Mean Solar time at Paris, .	4	46	45	P.M.

The time which the black spot took to pass over the Sun's disc was,

In Mean Solar time, ...	1h.	17m.	9s.
In Sidereal time, ...	1	27	22

The least distance from the Sun's centre was 0° 15′ 22·3″

The distance between the points of entry and emergence was 9′ 13·6″, and

The Sidereal time necessary to describe the Sun's diameter would have been 4h. 29m. 9s.

After giving these results, M. Lescarbault expresses his conviction that, on a future day, a black spot, perfectly round and very small, will be seen passing over the Sun in a line situated in a plane comprised between 5⅓° and 7⅓°, and that this orbit will cut the plane of the Earth's orbit towards 183° in passing from the south to the north.

"This point," he continues, "will very probably be the planet whose path I observed on the 26th March 1859, and it will be possible to calculate all the elements of its orbit. I am persuaded also that its distance from the Sun is less than that of Mercury, and that this body is the planet, or one of the planets, whose existence in the vicinity of the Sun M. Leverrier had made known a few months ago, by that wonderful power of calculation which enabled him to recognise the conditions of the existence of Neptune, and fix its place at the confines of our planetary system, and trace its path across the depths of space."

The letter of which we have given the substance was dated the 22d December 1859, and was brought to M. Leverrier by M. Vallée, Honorary Inspector-General of Roads and Bridges; and he was led, from the details which it contained, to place in them a certain degree of confidence. He was surprised, however, that M. Lescarbault, when he had made such a remarkable discovery, should have allowed *nine months* to elapse without communicating it. This delay, which was not sufficiently justified by the statement that he wished to see the black spot again before he made his discovery public, induced M. Leverrier to set out immediately for Orgeres, to which he was accompanied by M. Vallée, Junior Engineer of Roads and Bridges.

On their arrival at Orgeres, without any previous notice, they found in M. Lescarbault a man who had been long devoted to scientific pursuits, surrounded with instruments and apparatus of every kind, constructed by himself, and provided even with a small revolving cupola. He permitted his visitors to examine in the most careful manner the instruments which he used, and he gave them the most minute explanations regarding his works, and especially regarding all the circumstances of the transit of the planet over the Sun.

The entry of the planet on the Sun's disc was not observed by him, as might be inferred from his letter. It had, before he saw it, described a line of some seconds on the Sun's face, and it was only from an estimate of its velocity that he deduced the time of its entry.

The angles of position relative to a vertical line were measured in the way he has described in his letter; and it was by transferring these observations to a celestial sphere that he was able to determine the length of the chord described by the planet, and to ascertain the time that it would take to traverse the whole disc of the Sun.

The explanations of M. Lescarbault, and the simplicity with which they were given, inspired M. Leverrier and his friend with the most perfect conviction that the observations deserve to be admitted into science, and that the long delay in publishing them arose only from a modest and calm reserve, which may be expected at a distance from the agitation of towns. It was an article in *Cosmos*, on M. Leverrier's theory of the perturbation of Mercury, that induced M. Lescarbault to break the silence which he had so long preserved.

In submitting to calculation the data supplied by observation, M. Leverrier has found that the chord described by the planet over the Sun's disc is 9′ 17″, and the time of traversing the whole disc 4h. 26m. 48s.,—numbers which differ very little from those of Lescarbault, and proving that he had taken great pains in the graphical deductions from his observations, and that the observations themselves possessed a certain accuracy in spite of the imperfect means by which they were obtained.

The time of the planet's transit will give us its distance from the Sun only on the hypothesis of a circular orbit. On this hypothesis, half the major axis of the orbit will be 0·147, that of the Earth being unity. Hence the time of its revolution will be 19 days 17 hours.

The angles of position have enabled M. Leverrier to compute the geocentric longitudes and latitudes of the planet at its entrance and emergence; and, by assuming its distance from the Sun as 0·1427, to determine the heliocentric longitudes and latitudes, and fix the inclination of its orbit at

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12° 10′, and the longitude of the ascending node at 12° 59′.

According to M. Lescarbault's observation of Mercury when passing over the Sun in 1845, the diameter of that planet was certainly quadruple of the apparent diameter of the planet observed on the 26th March 1859. Considering the masses as proportional to the volumes, M. Leverrier concludes that the mass of this last planet is only the *seventeenth* part of the mass of Mercury,—a mass too small, at the distance at which it is placed, to produce the whole of the anomaly which he had found in the motion of the perihelion of Mercury.

The new planet, in consequence of the small radius of its orbit, will never have a greater elongation, or distance from the Sun, than 8°; and as the whole light which it sends to us is, according to Leverrier, more feeble than that of Mercury, we may readily understand why it had not hitherto been seen.

Such is the account M. Leverrier gave, at the public meeting of the Academy of Sciences on the 2d of January last, of his visit to Orgeres, and of the conclusions which he has drawn from M. Lescarbault's observations. It excited, as might have been expected, the liveliest interest in Paris. Exaggerated in its details, and embellished every time it was told, the scientific melodrame of Orgeres was the only topic of converse at the seances of philosophy and in the salons of fashion. Garibaldi and the weather ceased to interest the Parisians; and the village doctor, in his extempore observatory, and his round black spot, appropriately bearing the name of VULCAN, were the only subjects of discussion, and the only objects of learned and unlearned admiration.

Leverrier was of course the lion in every gay salon, and was obliged to recount the story of his journey to Orgeres in its dramatic phase, and without the reserve which was required in his communication to the Institute. On one of these occasions, when he was detailing the motives, the incidents, and the results of his visit to Lescarbault to a brilliant party at the house of his father-in-law, M. Choquet, he was fortunate enough to have among his audience the celebrated savant M. L'Abbè Moigno, who has reproduced in his *Cosmos** the fascinating history, as it fell from the lips of the greatest astronomer of the age.

For a long time M. Leverrier refused to attach any credit to the reports which reached him on the subject. He could not believe that the discovery of a new planet could have been kept secret for *nine* months, and that a humble village doctor could have been the person who discovered it. As the Director of the Imperial Observatory, however, it was his duty to inquire into the truth of the report; and having a personal interest in the question as the predictor of a planet near the Sun, he resolved to enter upon the investigation. Lescarbault's letter to himself, of the 22d December, confirmed him in this resolution; and though he had a secret conviction that the story might be true, yet the predominant feeling in his mind was to unmask an attempt to impose upon him, as the person more likely than any other astronomer to listen to the allegation that his prophecy had been fulfilled.

He accordingly set out from Paris by railway, on Friday the 30th December, accompanied by M. Vallée as a witness of the stern inquisition which he was about to institute. Orgeres was unfortunately twelve miles distant from the nearest station, and our travellers were obliged to perform the journey on foot. On their arrival at the house of M. Lescarbault, M. Leverrier knocked loudly at the door; and when the Doctor himself had opened it, his visitor declined to give his name and his titles.

"One should have seen M. Lescarbault," says Abbé Moigno, "so small, so simple, so modest, and so timid, in order to understand the emotion with which he was seized, when Leverrier, from his great height, and with that blunt intonation which he can command, thus addressed him: 'It is then you, sir, who pretend to have observed the intra-mercurial planet, and who have committed the grave offence of keeping your observation secret for nine months. I warn you that I have come here with the intention of doing justice to your pretensions, and of demonstrating either that you have been dishonest or deceived. Tell me, then, unquivocally what you have seen.' The lamb, as the Abbé calls the Doctor, trembled at this rude summons from the lion, and, unable to speak, he stammered out the following reply: 'On the 26th March, about four o'clock, I directed my telescope to the Sun, as I had been in the habit of doing, when, to my surprise, I observed, at a small distance from its margin, a black spot well defined and perfectly round, and advancing with a very sensible motion upon the disc of the Sun. Unfortunately, however, a customer arrived. I came down from the observatory, and in this painful situation I replied as I best could to the inquiries which were made, and returned to the observatory. The round spot had continued its transit; and I saw it disappear at the opposite margin of the Sun, after having been projected upon his disc for nearly an hour and a half.' 'You will then have determin-

* January 6th, 1860, vol. xvi., p. 22.

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ed,' asks Leverrier, 'the time of the first and last contact; and you are aware that the observation of the first contact is one of such extreme delicacy that professional astronomers often fail in observing it?' 'Pardon me, sir,' replies the Doctor, 'I do not pretend to have seized the precise moment of contact. The round spot was upon the disc when I first preceived it. I measured carefully its distance from the margin, and, expecting that it would describe an equal distance, I counted the time which it took to describe this second distance, and I thus determined approximately the instant of its entry.' 'To count the time is easy to say, but where is your chronometer?' 'My chronometer is a watch with minutes, the faithful companion of my professional journeys.' 'What! with that old watch, showing only minutes, dare you talk of estimating seconds? My suspicions are already too well founded.' 'Pardon me,' was the reply, 'I have also a pendulum which nearly beats seconds.' 'Show me this pendulum,' says Leverrier. The Doctor goes up stairs, and brings down a silk thread, to which an ivory ball was suspended. I am anxious to see how skilfully you can thus reckon seconds.' The lamb acquiesces. He fixes the upper end of the thread to a nail, and after the ivory ball has come to rest, he draws it a little from the vertical, and counts the number of oscillations corresponding with a minute on his watch, and thus proves that his pendulum beats seconds. 'This is not enough,' replies the lion; 'it is one thing that your pendulum beats seconds, but it is another that you have the sentiment of the second beaten by your pendulum in order that you may count the seconds in observing.' 'Shall I venture to tell you,' says the lamb, 'that my profession is to feel pulses and to count their pulsations? My pendulum puts the second in my ears, and I have no difficulty in counting several successive seconds.'

"This is all very well for the chapter of time,' says the Director; "but in order to see so delicate a spot, you require a good telescope. Have you one? 'Yes, sir, I have succeeded, not without difficulty, privation, and suffering, to obtain for myself a telescope. After practising much economy, I purchased from M. Cauche, an artist little known, though very clever, an object-glass nearly four inches in diameter. Knowing my enthusiasm and my poverty, he gave me the choice among several excellent ones; and as soon as I made the selection, I mounted it on a stand with all its parts; and I have recently indulged myself with a revolving platform, and a revolving roof, which will soon be in action.' The lion went to the upper story, and satisfied himself of the accuracy of the statement. 'This is all well,' says he, 'in so far as the observation itself is concerned; but I want to see the original memorandum which you made of it.'

"It is very easy,' answered the Doctor, 'to say you want it; but though this note was written on a small square of paper, which I generally throw away or burn when it is of no further use, yet it is possible I may still find it.' Running with fear to his *Connaissance des Temps*,* he finds the note of the 26th March 1859 performing the part of a marker, and covered with grease and laudanum. The lion seizes it greedily, and, comparing it with the letter which M. Vallée had brought him, he exclaims: 'But, sir, you have falsified this observation; the time of emergence is four minutes too late.' 'It is,' replied the lamb. 'Have the goodness to examine more narrowly, and you will find that the four minutes is the error of my watch, regulated by sidereal time?' 'This is true; but how do you regulate your watch by sidereal time?' 'I have a small telescope—here it is—which you will find in such a state as to enable me to tell the time to a second, or even to some fractions of a second.'"

Satisfied on this point, Leverrier then wished to know how he determined the two angular co-ordinates of the points of contact, of the entry and emergence of the planet, and how he measured the chord of the arc which separates these two points. Lescarbault told him that this was reduced to the measuring the distances of these points from the vertical, and the angles of position, which he did by the systems of parallel axes we have mentioned, and the divided circle of card-board placed upon his finder.

Leverrier next inquired if he had made any attempt to deduce the planet's distance from the Sun from the period of four hours which it required to describe an entire diameter of the Sun. The Doctor confessed that he had made attempts to do this, but not being a mathematician, he had not succeeded; and that this failure was the reason why he had delayed the announcement of his discovery. Leverrier having asked for the rough draught of these calculations, the Doctor replied, "My rough draughts! Paper is rather scarce with us. I am a joiner as well as an astronomer. I calculate in my workshop,

* The Abbé Moigno here adds, parenthetically, the following mysterious passage:—"For he possesses the *Connaissance des Temps*; and he does not leave it in the state of a book with its leaves uncut, as we have seen in the Imperial Observatory, where, for a season, the *Nautical Almanack* reigns sovereign.'

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and I write upon the boards; and when I wish to use them in new calculations, I remove the old ones by planing." On visiting, however, the carpenter's shop, they found the board, with its lines and its numbers in chalk still unobliterated.

When this cross-questioning, which had lasted an hour, was finished, Leverrier was convinced that an intra-mercurial planet had really been seen, and with a grace and dignity full of kindness, he congratulated Lescarbault on the important discovery which he had made. Anxious to obtain some mark of respect for the discoverer of Vulcan, Leverrier made inquiry concerning his private character, and learned from the village curé, the juge de paix, and other functionaries, that he was a skilful physician, and a worthy man. With such high recommendations, M. Leverrier requested from M. Rouland, the Minister of Public Instruction, the decoration of the Legion of Honour for M. Lescarbault. The minister, in a brief but interesting statement of his claim, communicated this request to the Emperor, who, by a decree dated January 25th, conferred upon the village astronomer the honour so justly due to him. His professional brethren in Paris were equally solicitous to testify their regard; and MM. Felix Roubaud, Legrande, and Caffe, as delegates of the scientific press, proposed to the medical body, and to the scientific world in Paris, to invite Lescarbault to a banquet in the Hotel de Louvre, on the 18th of January.* A similar offer had been made to him by his professional admirers in Chartres and Blois; but he declined all these invitations, pleading as an excuse his simple and retired habits, and the difficulty of leaving the patients under his care.

The interesting documents which we have attempted to analyze and abridge, excited the greatest sensation in every part of Europe; and the records of astronomical observations were diligently searched, in order to find if any round black spots had been seen on the disc of the Sun. Astronomers, too, of all ranks, whether occupying well-furnished observatories, or supplied only with a telescope and a darkening glass, have been watching the little planet during the time when it was likely to pass over the Sun. No rediscovery of it, however, has yet been made; but very interesting cases have been found in which a round black spot has been seen upon the Sun.

M. Wolff of Zurich, in his last publication on the solar spots, had, in 1859, given a list of no fewer than twenty observations or affirmations, made since 1762, that a black spot has passed across the Sun. Mr. Carrington has added other cases, the most important of which are contained in the following list:

Dlaudacher, . .	1762,	End of February.
Lichtenberg, . .	1763,	November 19th.
Hoffmann, . . .	1764,	Beginning of May.
Scheuten and Crefeld,	1764,	June 6th.
Daugos,* . . .	1798,	January 18th, 2 P.M.
Fritsch, ...	1802,	October 10th.
Capel Lofft, . .	1818,	January 6th, 11 A.M.
Stark, ...	1819,	October 9th.
Stark,†	1820,	February 12th, 12h.
Steinhübel, . .	1820,	February 12th.
Schmidt, . . .	1847,	October 11th, 9 A.M.

Upon comparing the three observations of Daugos, Fritsch, and Stark, made in 1798, 1802, and 1819, M. Wolff found that they were satisfied by a planet whose period of revolution is 38½ days, or, what is the same thing, 19¼ days; which agrees so remarkably with the number 19.7, deduced by Leverrier from the observations of Lescarbault, that we cannot ascribe it to chance.

Upon the supposition that the black spots seen upon the Sun by the astronomers above mentioned are bodies between Mercury and the Sun, M. Wolff is of opinion that the observations can only be reconciled by the admission of at least *three* intra-mercurial planets.

In the number of *Cosmos* of the 10th of February, 1860, M. Radeau, of the University of Königsberg, has submitted to calculation the observations of the French physician, and he finds, upon the supposition of a circular orbit, that the mean distance of the planet from the Sun will be 0.143, and its

* *Cosmos*, Fev. 3e, 1860, xvi., p. 115.

* *Astron. Jahrbuch*, 1804, p. 185.

† This black spot was nearly twice the apparent diameter of Mercury. "At noon," says Canon Stark, "this spot was 11′ 20″ distant from the east limb, and 14′ 17″ from the south limb of the Sun; and at 4h. 23m. in the evening it was no longer to be seen. The appearance was rather indicative of the transit of a planetary heavenly body, having its path included within that of Mercury, than of a solar spot."—*Meteorologische Jahrbuch*, 1820.

This remarkable observation has been confirmed, says Mr. Carrington, in a passage of a letter from Olbers to Bessels, dated 20th June 1820 (*Corr.*. vol. ii., p. 162): "What do you say to Steinhübel's observation of a dark, round, well defined spot, which on the 12th of February of this year completed its transit across the Sun's disc in *five* hours? If the thing is a fact, it indicates a planet interior to the orbit of Mercury."

The spot, called small and sub-elliptic, and 6 or 8 seconds in diameter, seen by Capel Lofft on the 6th January 1818, was observed about 2½h. P.M. considerably advanced on the Sun's disc, and a little west of the Sun's centre. It was seen also by Mr. Acton. "Its rate of motion seemed inconsistent with that of the solar rotation, and both in figure, density, and regularity of path, it seemed utterly unlike floating scoria. In short, its progress over the Sun's disc seems to have exceeded that of Venus in transit."—*Monthly Magazine*, January 10, 1818.

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period of revolution 19.7 days. But as we are not authorized to adopt a circular orbit, he assumes 0.25 as the superior limit of the distances of Vulcan, and finds that the aphelion distance ought still to be less than 0.25; and in making it vary from 0.206 to 0.25, he concludes that the eccentricity ought to exceed a limit which varies from 0 to 0.176, and that the superior limit of the mean distance of the planet will vary from 0·206 to 0.221. The mean distance, therefore, will always be less than 0·221, and the period of revolution less than 38 days.

These results he endeavours to confirm by the aid of the two German observations, of the 10th October, 1802, and the 19th October, 1819. M. Wolff combines them with the observation of the 18th January 1798; but M. Radeau objects to this, as the angular distance between January 18th and October 10th being only 100 degrees, he must, on the hypothesis of a period of 38·5 days, give the orbit an inclination of less than 1° 5′, in order to explain two transits taking place at distances of at least 40° from the nodes, and less than 2° 5′ even for a period of 20 days; whereas the inclination of the orbit of Vulcan is certainly between 11° and 12° 2′. The planet, or rather the black spot of 1798, cannot have been Vulcan, if we wish to identify with it the planet of 1802 and 1819.

Our limits will not permit us to follow M. Radeau in his other calculations, from which he calculates that it will be possible, in China, to see Vulcan upon the Sun's disc on the 4th of April, at 2 o'clock in the morning; and that transits continuing about 4 hours, would be visible at Paris on the 29th March about noon, on the 2d April between noon and 5 o'clock, and on the 7th April between 10 A.M. and 3 P.M., continuing 4 hours. None of these transits, however, have been seen.

In the copy of M. Radeau's paper communicated to the Astronomical Society* by M. D'Abbadie, we find the following concluding paragraph:—

"On July 18th, 1860 (the day of the great total eclipse), the places of Vulcan, excluding irregularities, would be, on the four suppositions that the periods 32·0, 27·35 30·73. and 26·99,

Geocentric latitude, . + 1° 1′, + 0° 6′ + 1° 2′, —1° 3′.
Geocentric longitude, . 112° 5′, 122°, 119°, 125° 5′.

The Sun's longitude will then be 116°, that of Jupiter 124°, and its latitude 0° 5'.

"On that day, therefore, Vulcan must be looked for in a zone beginning at 2°, or *four* Sun's diameters to the south of Jupiter, passing a little to the west of the latter, in nearing the Sun within 1° or *two* diameters, and finishing 4° to the south-west of the Sun."

In a letter to M. Laugier, published in the *Comptes Rendus* on the 5th March 1860, M. Rod. Wolff discusses the four observations of black spots on the Sun which were observed between 1798 and 1859.

Dangos	1797, January 18th,	1.725 days	— 82 × 21·087	days.
Fritsch,	1802, October 10th,	6,208 "	— 296 × 20·973	"
Stark,	1819, October 9th,	126 "	— 6 × 21·000	"
Stark,	1820, February 2d,	14,287 "	— 680 × 21·010	"
Lescarbl't,	1859, March 26th.			

M. Wolff concludes from the above numbers that these five transits may be explained by a planet whose synodical revolution is 21 days, and sidereal revolution 19.9 days; and he adds, that the factors, 82, 296, 6, and 680, being even numbers, would entitle us to adopt a synodical revolution of 42 days—a result which the observations of M. Lescarbault do not authorize.

The history of astronomy presents us with few instances in which her observations have proved false, or her observers faithless. The telescopes of one age have corrected, doubtless, the imperfect forms of sidereal groups and planetary bodies as observed in another, and the astronomical tables of the present day have thrown into the shade the calculations and predictions of earlier times; but we have no instance in which the discovery of a primary planet, or even of a satellite, has been long the subject of doubt or of controversy. Such a case has now occurred, and one which may long remain a source of disquiet, personal, if not national, in our planetary annals.

When the astronomers of the Old and the New World, and especially our distinguished friends beyond the Channel, were rejoicing in the discovery of a planet in the very presence of the Sun—a discovery predicted by one French astronomer and confirmed by another, and one likely to suggest some new phase in the condition of planetary life,—when this excitement was its height, the fortunate astronomer decorated with the Legion of Honour, and the salons of fashion instinct with scientific life,—an eminent astronomer, and that astronomer a Frenchman, has presented himself boldly in the face of Europe, not only to question the existence of such a body, but to charge its discover with dishonesty, and impugn the very theoretical principles on which one of the greatest astronomers of the age had foretold its discovery.

M. Liais, a French astronomer in the service of the Brazilian Government * and him-

* *Notices*, March 9th, 1860, vol. xx., p. 197.

*M. Liais is President of the Commission charged with the revision of the map of the coasts of Brazil.

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self the discoverer of a comet on the 26th February last, has just published in a Danish journal a severe criticism of the letter of M. Lescarbault and the calculations of Leverrier. This paper entitled, *Sur la Nouvelle Planete annoncée par M. Lescarbault*, is divided into four heads, as follows:—

1. The observation of Dr. Lescarbault is false.

2. Contrary to the assertion of M. Leverrier, every planet nearer the Sun than Mercury will be more visible, with telescopes, in the vicinity of the Sun than he is.

3. That in eclipses of the Sun the planet of Lescarbault has not been seen.

4. M. Leverrier's hypothesis, that there is a powerful disturbing cause between Mercury and the Sun, is founded on the supposition that astronomical observations have a precision of which they are not susceptible.

1. In support of the first of these bold assertions, our author states that, *at the very time* when the French astronomer was looking at the black spot on the Sun's face, he, M. Liais, was examining the Sun with a telescope of *twice* the magnifying power, and did not perceive it. This observation was made in the bay of Rio Janeiro, at St. Domingos, when M. Liais was carefully determining the decrease in the luminosity of the Sun from its centre to its circumference, and from its equator to its poles. The first of these observations was made between 11h. 4m. and 11h. 20., and from the interruption of clouds the second was made between 12h. 42m. and 1h. 17m., on the very part of the Sun where M. Lescarbault saw the planet enter, and at a time when it must have been during a period of 12 minutes on the Sun's disc, and 1′·4 from its margin. "This quantity," says M. Liais, "is too great to be accounted for by the difference of the parallaxes of Orgeres and St. Domingos; * and consequently, when I made my last comparison, I ought to have seen upon the Sun the black spot in question if it had been seen at Orgeres." It is certainly not easy to conceive how M. Liais could have missed seeing the black spot, when he was using a fine telescope, and making such a nice observation on the light of the Sun's disc at the very place where the planet should have been; and had he continued his observations even for a few minutes longer, we should have admitted the force of his argument: but *twelve* minutes is so short a time, that it is just possible that the planet may not have entered upon the Sun during the time that he observed it. Still, however, he is entitled to assert, as he does, "that he is in a condition to deny, in the most positive manner, the passage of a planet over the Sun *at the time* indicated."

M. Liais proceeds to support his astronomical fact by a moral argument, which, we think, has not much force. He says, what is true, that Lescarbault contradicts himself in having first asserted that he saw the planet enter upon the Sun's disc, and having afterwards admitted to Leverrier that it had been on the disc some seconds before he saw it, and that he had merely inferred the time of its entry from the rate of its motion afterwards. "If this one assertion then," says M. Liais, "be fabricated, the whole may be so;" a conclusion which we cannot accept. These arguments M. Liais considers to be strengthened by the assertion, which, as we have seen, perplexed Leverrier himself, that if M. Lescarbault had actually seen a planet on the Sun, he could not have kept it secret for nine months.

2. The assertion of our author, in opposition to that of Leverrier, that the planet, if one existed, ought to be seen in the vicinity of the Sun, is not so easily answered.

In support of this opinion, he enters into an elaborate calculation of the brightness of the planet Vulcan compared with that of Mercury. He asserts that, from its proximity to the Sun, it must be 7⅛ times brighter than Mercury. But Mercury has been seen by himself and others within 7° or 8° of the Sun, and therefore, assuming the diameter of Vulcan to be 2″ 5 (for which he assigns good reasons from Lescarbault's observations) the total light which it sends to the earth will be nearly double that of Mercury; and consequently Vulcan, Leverrier's Ring of Planets, ought to have been frequently seen by astronomers in the vicinity of the Sun, when they were searching for planets and comets in that locality.

3. The assertion, that the planet of Lescarbault has not been seen during eclipses of the Sun, is of course true.

As the planet Mercury has been frequently observed during solar eclipses, we might reasonably expect to have seen Vulcan; and during the many observations which will be made in the vicinity of the Sun during the time of the total eclipse in July next, and doubtless both before and after it, with this object in view, Vulcan may possibly be seen.

Taking then, into consideration the numerous observations that have been made on the Sun and in its vicinity by so many astronomers, and with such fine telescopes, M. Liais

* The difference of longitude of Orgeres is assumed to be 3b.; but if this is not correct, the conclusions of our author are untenable.

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concludes, "That if the motion of the perihelion of Mercury is due to the attraction of matter lying between the Sun and this planet, this matter does not form planets, properly so called, but must be in the state of cosmical dust, and form a part of the solar nebulosity or zodiacal light."

4. M. Liais's last observation, questioning the existence of a disturbing force requiring for its cause the existence of a planet or planets, merits, doubtless, the attention of astronomers.

The motion of the perihelion of Mercury has been deduced from twelve observed passages of this planet. Admitting the time of the planet's entrance upon the Sun's disc to be affected with refraction, M. Liais has obtained by calculation a motion of the perihelion so much less than that assumed by Leverrier, that he can account for it by supposing the mass of Venus to be from the 10th to the 15th greater than it is supposed to be. By admitting a possible error in the obliquity of the Ecliptic of 2½″, and consequently an increase of one tenth in the mass of Venus, M. Liais asserts that the whole motion in the perihelion of Mercury may be explained; and he further asserts, that by abandoning the invariability of the mean motions, which supposes a constancy in the masses of which there is no proof, the position of Mercury may be explained without supposing so great a motion in his perihelion as has been alleged.

To this remarkable paper no reply has yet been made by Leverrier, or any French astronomer. In the *Cosmos*, however, of the 4th May, we find a letter of the Abbé Moigno prefixed to a reply to M. Liais, by M. Radeau, of Koenigsberg. The Abbé is justly offended at the expression of M. Liais, "that the observation of M. Lescarbault (in reference to his not having seen the entry of the spot) is partially fabricated (*apres le coup*), on after consideration." He considers it as dispensing him from refuting it; and he adds, that in order to leave no doubt in the matter, he cheerfully accepts the short reply of M. Radeau.

Although we have great confidence in the honesty of M. Lescarbault, and anxiously hope that he has made a great discovery, we cannot admit that Professor Radeau has, on any essential point, *refuted* either the assertions or the arguments of Liais. In the first place, he states, on the authority of the *Connaissance des Temps*, that the difference of longitude between Orgeres and San Domingos is 3h. 2m., in place of 3h., as adopted by Liais; but, as he allows that the difference of parallaxes would have retarded the entry of the planet only about half a minute at San Domingos, he admits the great fact, that the planet ought to have appeared on the Sun's disc during the *eleven* minutes that M. Liais was surveying it. He then asks if M. Liais may not have made the interval of his observations—namely, 12h. 42m. to 1h. 17m. —too wide, so as to permit us to reduce these *fatal eleven* or *twelve* minutes, as he calls them, and keep the planet so much nearer the margin of the disc as to escape the notice of Lais, whose observation he considers as simply a negative one that proves little. To this M. Liais will doubtless reply, that the limit of 1h. 17m. was the limit recorded in two notes, and must therefore be held as correct.

M. Radeau then replies to the argument that in consequence of Vulcan's superior brightness to Mercury he ought to have been seen near the Sun. Liais himself had seen Mercury within 1° of the Sun on the 14th July 1858, and with the naked eye near the horizon, within 7° of the Sun; and therefore, *a fortiori*, a brighter, though a smaller planet, ought to have been often seen in the same region. In reply to this, M. Radeau says, that the distance, 0·1427, at which he finds Vulcan's brightness to be 7·36 times that of Mercury, is not the result of M. Lescarbault's observation, as he says it is, and that *we may, without inconvenience, suppose it equal* to 0·22; and the true distance of Mercury being 0·33 on the day mentioned, the ratio of their distances will be as 2 to 3, and the ratio of their brightness as 9 to 4—that is, as 2·25 to one, in place of 7·36 to 1. "Hence," continues M. Radeau, "the total light emitted by Vulcan will be only *one-half*, in place of *double* that of Mercury, on the supposition that Mercury has a disc *four* times greater than that of Vulcan."

The assumption of 0·22 as the distance of Vulcan, is, we must say, wholly unjustifiable. Liais's number, 0·1427, is that which Leverrier has deduced from Lescarbault's observations; and Radeau himself, in his first paper, actually makes it, as we have seen, 0·1423, though he afterwards reduces it. It is, therefore, unfortunate that he should not have at least mentioned this important fact, His other argument, that Mercury must always be *less full*, at the same distance from the Sun, than Vulcan, though true, has no real bearing on the question; for Mercury has been very distinctly seen, and Vulcan not, when the latter was more full than the former.

Since the first notice of the discovery of Vulcan, in the beginning of January 1860, the Sun has been anxiously observed by astronomers; and the limited area round him in which the planet *must be*, if he is not

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upon the Sun, has doubtless been explored with equal care by telescopes of high power, and processes by which the Sun's direct light has been excluded from the tube of the telescope as well as the eye of the observer; and yet no planet has been found. This fact would entitle us to conclude that no such planet exists, if its existence had been merely conjectured, or if it had been deduced from any of the laws of planetary distance, or even if Leverrier or Adams had announced it as the probable result of planetary perturbations. If the finest telescopes cannot rediscover a planet that has a visible disc, with a power of 300, as used by Liais, within so limited an area as a circle of 16 degrees, of which the Sun is the centre, or rather within a narrow belt of that circle, we should unhesitatingly declare that no such planet exists; but the question assumes a very different aspect when it involves moral considerations. If, after the severe scrutiny which the Sun and its vicinity will undergo before, and after, and during his total eclipse in July, no planet shall be seen; and if no round black spots distinctly separable from the usual solar spots, shall not be seen on the solar spots, we will not dare to assert that it does not exist. We cannot doubt the honesty of M. Lescarbault; and we can hardly believe that he was mistaken. No solar spot, no floating scoria, could maintain, in its passage over the Sun, a circular and uniform shape; and we are confident that no other hypothesis but that of an intra-mercurial planet can explain the phenomena seen and measured by M. Lescarbault—a man of high character, possessing excellent instruments, and in every way competent to use them well, and to describe clearly and correctly the result of his observations. Time, however, tries facts as well as speculations. The phenomena observed by the French astronomer may never be again seen, and the disturbance of Mercury which rendered it probable, may be otherwise explained. Should this be the case, we must refer the round spot on the Sun to some of those illusions of the eye or of the brain, which have sometimes disturbed the tranquillity of science.

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This long list of books, great and small, learned and popular, exegetical and doctrinal, experimental and polemical, tracts for the times and discussions on truths of permanent moment, proves their author to have been, at least, a busy man. But when it is borne in mind that he was, during the period of this prolific production, pastor of a very large congregation in Edinburgh, doing constant duty, and liable to perpetual interruptions, teaching "publicly and from house to house," occupied also with ecclesiastical matters, and bearing his part in such religious and benevolent associations as every great city sustains, the preceding catalogue shows him to have been a man of incessant and extraordinary labour. Nor was it with Dr. Brown as with men of an earlier period, who seem to have published all they wrote as a thing of course; for large stores of his manuscripts remain behind, not in the shape of note-books, discourses, meditations, or diaries jotted down "at sundry times," but treatises and commentaries, formally and finally prepared for the press. Nor are these books named at the head of this article collections of sermons first preached, and then cunningly remoulded and thrown into printed circulation. Each of them has a specific object,—is the elaborated defence of some truth, or the definite exposition of some book of Scripture. We could name several series of popular books, both practical and prophetic, which resemble stucco images flung out of the same mould, all very like, but none of any value, and scarce to be distinguished from one another by some slight variations of feature or attitude. But Dr. Brown's works are like a gallery of statues, in which, indeed, you may see the style and mannerism of the same hand; but each piece has a history, unity, individuality, and purpose of its own. The mere ambition of authorship did not move him to this fertile diligence—it was not in youth, but in age, when he was midway between sixty and seventy, that he published the majority of his works—not to let the world see what he could do, or what he had been doing, and what now was the harvest of his life. No; he employed the press, as solemnly and prayerfully as he had used the pulpit, for the work of his Master, the welfare of the Church, and the service of the age. And he had been in no haste to assume the responsible task—one of his finished Expositions had lain in his repositories twice the Horatian period. His earliest productions, too, are the smallest; he made no precocious effort to astonish or dazzle the world when a younger man. He walked in the river when "the waters were to the ankles," ere he threw himself on the deeper billows and swam. In a word, this wondrous and successful industry sprang from the profound and unsleeping consciousness of his being a servant, with whom sloth is treason, and whose hiding of the talent is as wide a breach of trust as the squandering of it; for he felt himself bound to trade to the best advantage with all his gifts, in the hope of being greeted at length with his Lord's approval. Few men have better realized, or more steadily laboured and prayed to realize, what it is to "serve his own generation by the will of God," ere he "fell on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers," than he whose life, character, and works, are the subject of the following paragraphs.

Few incidents are furnished to a biographer by the life of a faithful and diligent minister, especially if he has not kept a diary, engaged in an extensive correspondence, or been tossed into stormy prominence by the current of events, but has clung to his proper functions, and tried to fulfil his course, or, like Dr. Brown, has lived in his library, and not gone much into the stirring world around him. His Life, written by a devoted and admiring pupil, himself of no mean eminence and promise, will not startle any of its readers. Dr. Cairns has not made an idol of his minister and theological teacher. He does not place him in a niche, bend the knee, and call upon others to emulate his idolatry. He has evidently written under great self-restraint, and has studiously kept himself out of view. He never kindles as he narrates, or deviates into eulogy as he advances. He breaks into no enthusiasm, but has compiled a plain unvarnished tale chiefly about the outer life of Dr. Brown. He has tracked him from home to school and college, from the Divinity Hall to license and ordination, from Biggar to Rose Street and Broughton Place, from the pulpit to the professorial chair, and from health to sickness and death, and has briefly and honestly chronicled how he did his duty in these successive scenes,—what trials he met with, and how bravely he rose above them; how he preached, visited, and lectured, and what success attended his labours; how he gathered, loved, and handled his numerous books, and entertained visitors and students in his library; what volumes he has published, and what their character and their general reception. We dissent from scarcely a single word which Dr. Cairns has written; but we confess we should have liked some fuller exhibition of Dr. Brown's mental and spiritual progress, something more than the mere footprints of his visible career, some

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deeper glimpse into his inner nature, some analysis of those minute and complex elements that make a man what he is, and which, in carving out his work for him, gird him with ability to do it. Dr. Cairns will, however, be thanked by the Christian public for his calm, impartial, and graceful story, in which he simply narrates without pronouncing a verdict, presents the premises quietly and unaffectedly, and permits his readers to form their own conclusions.

The Browns have been a famous name in Scottish Dissent, or perhaps, as we may be allowed to call it, Scottish theology. The name has passed through more than one generation, like that of the Casaubons, Scaligers, Buxtorfs, Vitringas, and Turretines of other times, and the Lawsons, Heughs, Bonars, M'Cries, Gilfillans, Cooks, Vaughans, and Hills of a more recent period. The first John Brown of Haddington, so well known for his "Dictionary of the Bible" and his "Self-interpreting Bible," was a self-taught man, cradled in hardship and battling with difficulty, while he gathered in boyhood his Latin and Greek as he followed the sheep on the braes of Abernethy. Though never within the walls of a college, he acquired remarkable erudition, and was chosen at length to occupy a chair of theology. He was known throughout Scotland for his piety and learning, his retired and studious habits, and his earnest desire to throw such light on the sacred volume as should make all ordinary readers feel it to be an instructive and blessed book. It may, indeed, be said of his literary and biblical labours, as was said of his Divine Master's preaching, "the common people heard him gladly." The second John Brown, of Whitburn, was a man of primitive worth and manners, who lived and laboured in a rural district with quiet, lowly, and unostentatious zeal. The doctrines and the memory of the "Marrowmen," and other divines of Boston's period, were dear to him, and he laboured to spread and perpetuate them; for those spiritual heroes of his admiration did good work in a former day, and bore up the banner of evangelical theology when it was about to fall from other and feebler hands. His sermons were filled with quaint and pithy illustrations of Divine truth, hallowed with a savoury unction, and delivered with that musical cadence and modulation which the older people lovingly called a song.

The third and greatest John Brown has left a name more illustrious than that of his father or grandfather. Having finished his academic course at the age of sixteen, when he should have been only commencing it, he was sent out into the world to fare as best he might; for, like the majority of Scottish students, he was obliged to support himself by teaching during his theological curriculum. Leaving home with a guinea and his good father's benediction, the stripling went to Elie, on the east coast of Fife, and there taught himself and the village boys and girls for several years. The plan so largely followed by English non-conformists, of giving gratuitous board and education to young men studying for the ministry, is the other extreme to our thrifty mode. The Anglican way is, however, very expensive, and is attended with many failures; for after the term of study is completed, many lads of piety and promise are found to be deficient in such gifts as are essential to popular preaching. True, indeed, with us the prime student does not always turn out the prime preacher, while he who passed through the Hall unnoticed may astonish by his audacious elocution, and his self-command in the pulpit. Still, the youth who in early life is left to his own resources, and thrown into the current either to sink or to swim, is drilled into the best of lessons—that of self-reliance under the Divine blessing; for he is brought face to face with wants which nothing but his own ceaseless toil can relieve: is taught how to value money rightly, and to calculate how best to spend it, for he has earned it; and thus comes to learn what nerve and resolve are in him, and to take the measure of himself by means of those suggestive experiences and conflicts through which he has passed. Such to a young man is the lesson of lessons, and he can get it only by a process which may humble him far oftener than it may flatter him. Cramming for a competitive examination cannot impart it, and success in such rivalry is no proof that it has been mastered; for a competitive trial, which from its very nature shows the possession only of cleverness and memory, but not of general talent, leaves ungauged the noblest elements of moral tuition and discipline.

On being licensed, John Brown became at once a popular preacher, and was called to Stirling, but by Synodical decision was ordained at Biggar, 6th February 1806, the congregation there having also chosen him. Thence, after fifteen years' service, was he removed to Rose Street, and thence, after a ministry of seven years, to Broughton Place, in the pastorate of which he spent the remaining thirty years of his long life. His removal to Edinburgh gave the Secession Church a positon which it had not hitherto enjoyed in the critical and literary metropolis of Scotland. Hall, indeed was there, a man of popular gifts and dignified eloquence;

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and Peddie, proverbial for the ingenious inferences and the keen practical sagacity of his expositions,—qualities not confined to his discourses, for his reply to Dr. Porteus of Glasgow was declared by Dougald Stewart to be one of the best specimens of the *reductio ad absurdum* in the English language. Jamieson was there too, renowned for his Scottish erudition, and not less noted for the massive thought and the earnest gravity of his sermons. We abstain on purpose from saying a word on others not belonging to Dr. Brown's denomination, or we might have referred to the shrewd and discriminative preaching of the historian M'Crie, one of whose printed discourses Dr. Brown declared to be among the best ever published; to Henry Grey, so tender, impressive, and catholic; to the fervid and spiritual Gordon; and to Andrew Thomson, whose robust genius clothed itself in a fitting masculine style, and spoke with a fresh and manly elocution. Dr. Brown's pulpit appearances soon attracted large audiences, many of whom came to enjoy his discourses as a literary treat; for they were clear, accurate, sober, and ratiocinative—now working out some thought with steady skill and accelerating progress, now proving some doctrine from Scripture with accumulative energy, and now urging truth on heart and conscience with the honest vehemence and majestic authority of one who felt it to be his function to "persuade men," to "pray them in Christ's stead."

Dr. Brown's preaching, then and afterwards, had four marked characteristics. It was clear, always clear. Its clearness was its brightness. No hearer was ever at a loss for his meaning: every paragraph stood out with mathematical precision and distinctness. It was the truth given out with luminous prominence—not delicately shaded off, on the one hand, into clouded obscurity, or feebly fading away on the other hand, into dim and intangible vagueness and uncertainty. He felt with good old Richard Baxter, that "it takes all our learning to make things plain." He spoke of God's grace, man's guilt, Christ's love, the Spirit's influence, and the nature and necessity of faith and holiness, so lucidly, that nobody could misunderstand him, or wonder what he meant. No paragraph ever resembled the impalpable image of which Eliphaz says, "It stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof." Dr. Gillies, in his biography of his father-in-law, the eminent Maclaurin, says that his style, which was clear in his younger days, grew more obscure as he grew older. No one could make such a complaint about Dr. Brown. Even in those critical dissertations in which he sometimes, perhaps too often, indulged, he was easily followed step by step by a trained and intelligent audience. He had no long and involved constructions, like those of Milton, Hooker, or Sir Thomas Brown, "with many a winding bout of linked sweetness long drawn out," but clause came after clause, each very distinct in itself and in its connection. His expositions of Divine truth were, in their uniform clearness, like the sharply-defined edges and ridges of a hill seen against the cloudless sky of a summer evening. His preaching was also "with power." Even when, in advanced years, he took to the slavish reading of his manuscript, his "natural force was not abated." Nothing was weak, tawdry or effeminate about him in the pulpit: all was vigorous, elevated and effective. A living energy pervaded all his discourses. His stule was felicitous, because it was the exact transcript of his thoughts, without any spasmodic abruptness, or any affectation of classic purity and grace. In the mere manufacture of periods he had no pleasure. He was a slave neither to the chaste and tuneful charms of Addison, nor the sonorous and measured parallelisms of Johnson—the twin-gods of literary homage at the commencement of the century. He did not imitate the concealed art of the one, or the open effort and laboured sweep of the other. His loud, hale, and hearty tones were no less in keeping, while his quick eye, noble form, symmetrical figure, and snowy "crown of glory," contributed to the general impression. At the same time, he employed no rhetorical arts of intonation and gesture. He would not stoop to discharge such mimic thunder. Occasionally he raised his voice to such a pitch that one might call it a shout, and the ceiling rang again; and occasionally, as he warmed into a climax of argument or indignation, he stamped his foot so lustily, that it stilled and overawed the congregation. He preached the Gospel in its simplicity and majesty. He knew full well that the giving of mere instruction was not his whole duty, but that men's spirits must be aroused and dealt with, and that the preacher must use every effort, work on every passion, enlist every motive, and bring every appliance to bear on those to whom he appeals. In doing this, he trusted to the power of the truth. He never entertained his audience by a series of dissolving views of marine or rural scenery. He did not wander among woods and meadows, and tell of the song of the bird or the hum of the bee, the hue of the flowers or the scent of herbs; nor did he ever flit like a meteor over regions on which hovered a light that "ne'er was seen on sea or shore."

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You never thought of complimenting any sentence by saying, "That's fine;" but you were often inclined to say of a paragraph, "that's masterly." His power was not that of imagery, passion, or pathos, but that of ripe and solid thought. Every listener felt that the preacher had something to say, for the "burden of the Lord" was upon him, and that he must say it. His occasional hesitancy for want of the right word or selected epithet, made him all the more emphatic and memorable. A sermon of his, when in his better days, was not like a lazy rivulet, creeping in stillness through a level English landscape, but like a Scottish stream, that battles its way over every obstacle, sometimes leaps and foams, and is always showing itself to be "living water," by its forcible current and visible speed.

Dr. Brown's preaching was eminently scriptural. We mean, not merely that he preached the truth of Scripture—a compliment due to every evangelical minister—but that, in a full and felicitous way, he made Scripture its own interpreter. He had a special tact in "comparing spiritual things with spiritual;" and his frequent and favourite illustrations of Scripture were taken from Scripture. The emphatic way in which he quoted a clause was often a striking commentary upon it. We remember, for example, hearing him many years ago on Heb. viii. 1, and on the clause, "We have such an high priest." He was telling how the sacerdotal office of Christ had been modified, explained away, and denied; how the Socinian spoke of having a friend, a counsellor, and a sympathizer, and how the Jew imagined that Christianity had no one like Aaron to stand between the living and the dead, when he gradually warmed to a white heat, and, repeating the clause, pronounced, "We have," with such a resolute accent, and in a tone of such assertatory vehemence, that the delivery of the two words not only contained the whole sermon within it, but gave edge and life to the subsequent illustration. His sermons were rich in apposite quotations, the "golden pot" was filled to overflowing with the precious manna. While his discourses ranged through every portion of the Bible, its central truths were his chosen theme. To him the cross was the centre of revelation, to which all its doctrines are united in happy harmony, and from which emanate their life and splendour. He delighted to expatiate on the Gospel as the Divine scheme of mercy, and often said of the Law, in contradistinction from the Gospel, "The law never made a bad man good, nor a good man better." "Law doctrine was never in his blood," said one of his venerable rustic admirers. His was no negative Gospel—no tossing of Christ's cross out of view into His tomb. He had great faith in the old Gospel—the Gospel of Peter and Paul—and had no sympathy with those philosophical harangues which sometimes either take its place, or profess to adapt it more thoroughly to the wants and tendencies of the present age. If such an attempt was only to simplify the system or improve its nomenclature, he might not object; but if, with insidious change of terms, there was also a change of belief, then he would "give place by subjection, no, not for an hour." He held that what had achieved such triumphs in the first century could repeat them in the nineteenth century; and that the Gospel was not to be set aside by civilization as unnecessary or superseded by philosophy as antiquated.. For the spiritual relations of man to his Maker are unchanged by such adventitious circumstances; so that what was preached in Antioch, Athens, Corinth, and Rome, must be preached still in Edinburgh, London, Paris, and New York. The moral disease being radically the same, the same benign remedy must still be applied. The enlightenment of these times no more alters man's relation to God, than it changes the elements of his humanity; and there is no need, therefore, for "another Gospel, which is not another."

Lastly, Dr. Brown's preaching was, as his biographer also remarks, distinguished by its tone of authority. Not that there was any assumption of sacerdotal prerogative in it, or any attempt to acquire or wield dominion over men's faith. It was not dogmatism, on the one hand, nor the feeble and uncertain teaching of the scribes, on the other. But he did not speak in hesitation, as if he doubted what he said, or needed formally and cautiously to prove it. He was not for ever appealing to evidence, and fencing with logical parade, as if his statements were liable to challenge; but, with his open Bible before him, he solemnly and boldly announced its truths as eternal and indisputable verities. His own mind was made up; and he could not but appropriate the Apostle's motto, "We believe, therefore we speak." He was never like one arguing a case, resting it on probabilities, or placing it at the hazard of succeeding experiments; for he knew that the Gospel has a witness in every man's conscience, and he fearlessly appealed to what Tertullian has called *testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ.* Therefore his teaching was, to use the epithet which Longinus applies to the style of Paul, anapodeictic, undemonstrative—not searching for truth, but pointing it home;

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not deducing it, but applying and commending it as "worthy of all acceptation."

According to universal testimony, Dr. Brown's preaching differed much in his riper years from what it was at the commencement of his ministry. Not that, as was the case with Chalmers at Kilmany, it ever wanted the evangelical element, or was only ethical and discursive; but it was couched in scholastic phrase, and embroidered with juvenile ornament. As the style of Edmund Burke, from its naked simplicity in his youth, grew more and more luxuriant in imagery, till in his old age it had the stiffness and the almost ungraceful richness of brocade, so Dr. Brown's preaching became more and more wealthy in evangelical statement and unction, and had shed around it more and more the incense of a devotional spirit. Some of his later sacramental addresses, in tenderness and simplicity, equal, if they do not surpass, the apostolic pastorals of the late Principal Lee. We should not, therefore, call Dr. Brown's preaching philosophical, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, or in the sense in which it might be applied to the sermons of Archer Butler, which, in magnificence of thought and moral grandeur, have rarely been surpassed. Nor should we call it intellectual, in the vulgar acceptation of the epithet, as when it is applied to a style of discoursing which apes the "enticing words of man's wisdom," and strives to mitigate the offence of the cross by obscuring the view of it, or speaking of the agonies endured upon it more as a tragedy than as an atonement, rather as a martyrdom than as a propitiation. But if the meaning be, that there is grasp of thought, visible and positive vigour of mind put forth —no dull or jejune repetition of commonplaces, but mental action creating sympathy with itself, and calling forth a hearty response and acquiescence—then Dr. Brown's preaching was intellectual beyond that of many. He never neglected nor tampered with pulpit preparation, self-indulgence or procrastination was not among his sins. His commission was, "Give ye them to eat," and he strove to store up nutriment for them, in the hope and dependence that He who gave the commission would lay liberally to his hand. He never, at any period of his life, trusted to extemporaneous utterance. Every discourse was carefully thought out, and the ideas, and often the exact words, were committed to memory. A sermon was to him a solemn work, involving immense responsibility, and not merely a task to be got over on Sabbath as easily and as passably as he could. The pulpit was the scene of his power; and he would not weaken its influence by negligent preparation; "saying away," as the phrase is; filling up the prescribed period with a succession of words and sentences so loosely strung together, and so utterly inane and devoid of consecutive thought, that if a hearer falls asleep and in the course of twenty minutes wakens again, he will find the preacher much about where he left him. Dr. Brown was always roused into unwonted rage when he referred to such slovenly and unfaithful practices. To show his idea of the importance of a sermon, and the anxious care and toil which it of necessity demanded, he used to quote a saying of Robert Hall's to himself: "A man of genius, sir, may produce one sermon in the week; a person of average talent may compose two; but nobody but a fool, sir, can write three." "This witness is true," though couched in the form of a paradox. Every one remembers how Lord Brougham, in his recent inaugural address as Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh, insists on earnest and continuous preparation and study as indispensable to successful public speaking.

Conscientious and incessant preparation was all the more needed by Dr. Brown, for he was not an orator in the high sense of the word, or in the sense that Mason, Hall, and Waugh were orators. To speak of the last, as he belonged to Dr. Brown's own communion, there was no comparison in many points between the two men. Dr. Waugh was not simply a consummate speaker—he was an orator. While he prepared sermons with care, and could deliver them with ease and effect, still he could, on the inspiration of the moment, throw off gleaming thoughts, and pour out streams of tenderness. He did not need, in such moods, to think continuously what he was to add, or to ponder prospectively how he was to get a rounded conclusion. What next to say, never troubled him; how to say it, was born with him. Idea led on to idea, sentence linked itself with sentence, image rose after image, his eloquence baptized into the Spirit of Christ, and his sermons as devout as other men's prayers. His subject hurried him along, and he yielded to the impulse. Ordinary speakers, though they are good speakers, never venture far from shore, or lose sight of the headlands; but orators such as Dr. Waugh, fearlessly leave all known landmarks, and commit themselves to the deep, assured that they will neither sink nor lose their way, but can return at will after their adventurous wanderings. A great deal of our best preaching, even when not given from a paper, is but the reading of manuscript

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by the eye of memory; but in genuine oratory, every power is brought into tense and vigorous play; not only are previous trains of cogitation brought up, but new trains are suggested and ardently pursued; the reasoning faculty soaring on the pinions of imagination, and having a wider sweep of view from its height; every fact within reach being laid under contribution, and many a stroke suggested by the consciousness that an impression is being made; language all the while starting up as it is wanted, and not waiting to be pressed into service,—the right word leaping into the right place without effort or confusion. Dr. Waugh often realized this description. Earnest, self-possessed, and imaginative, he often surprised his audience by some felicitous and unexpected allusion, frequently a Scottish one,—as, when illustrating the second verse of the 46th Psalm, he exclaimed, "What!" says distrust or weak faith, "were the Cheviot hills to be cast into the sea, could the shepherds be blamed for trembling?" or when, describing the revulsion of soul in the prodigal, he pictured him casting a glance at his squalid countenance and tattered robes reflected in the streamlet, then starting, looking up to heaven and shrieking in panic, "God of Abraham, is it I? To what a wretched plight have I brought myself." We might also have referred to Shanks of Jedburgh, spoken of by the elder brethren as unsurpassed in vivid description and appeal—"an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures" when preaching from a tent at a sacrament; to Jameson of Methven, a man of uncommon stamp, sometimes creeping indeed, but majestic when on the wing; and to Young of Perth, whose ardent and philosophical mind did its grandest achievements of oratory when left to itself, and unfettered by the notes of preparatory meditation.

From what has been said, it will be inferred that Dr. Brown's mind was distinguished more by its vigour and clearness, than by its depth and acuteness. His ideas were always judicious, if not always original or profound. He cared not to range among subtle and daring speculations, and though he could appreciate and admire them, he did not indulge in them. His devotion to the useful kept him from being fascinated by the novel and the recondite, by what was too high to be bound down to immediate utility, or too fine to be yoked to every-day business. Locke and Edwards seem to have been his favourite metaphysicians, on account of their clear and palpable reasonings. We say not that he held all their views, but he reckoned them masters of thought, and maintained that it was only by a wicked and one-sided interpretation of Locke, that Condillac, Helvetius, and Comte could claim him as a patron of Sadducean sensationalism. Idealism of every form he could not away with; Berkeley, Kant, Hegel, or Ferrier, had no attractions for him. Owen, Howe, and Baxter were a triumvirate which from familiar knowledge, he delighted to extol. Dugald Stewart also moved his admiration, though he had not been allowed to attend his class, there being the impression among evangelical men of that day—an impression not without foundation—that teachers of moral philosophy were often little better than baptized pagans. It was apparently forgotten, however, that moral obligations spring out of man's nature, and exist independently of Christianity, though it is very far wrong to refuse the light which Christianity casts on man's being and relations, and ignore the existence of that new motive power to which faith gives existence and permanence within him. Dr. Brown relished the elegance and culture of Stewart's mind, the grace and purity of his style, and the precision and distinctness of his views; for he never hides himself in cloud-land, or vanishes from view amidst transcendental subtleties. Dr. Brown was fond of poetry in his youth, and some of the minor poets, such as Langhorne, Penrose, and especially Charlotte Smith, were among his favourites. But his tastes grew more select as he advanced in years, though we do not think that the ethereal beauties of Wordsworth, Shelley, or Tennyson, could ever captivate him. In his later writings, as we have already intimated, there was little of the garniture of fancy. He rarely employed imagery; his illustrations were plentiful, but usually homely, and it is surely a mark of his good sense that he did not strew his pages with faded garlands. He coveted beauty of form more than luxuriance of drapery—the severer beauty of unity and life which belongs to just or striking conceptions. His mind was not like the orchard in the rich bloom of spring, but like the orchard plenished with fruit in autumn; not like the parterre, gay with colours and laden with perfume, but like the field of grain which presents a harvest to the sickle.

From the days of Knox and Melville, the Church of Scotland had endeavored to secure a learned ministry, trained to a knowledge of the sacred tongues and of the languages of the earliest and best versions of Scripture, and instructed in the canons of criticism, as well as in the principles, history, and application of exegetical erudition. The First Book of Discipline sketched a plan

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of study, wiser and wider by far than had hitherto been attempted. The literary history of the University of Glasgow begins with Melville's regency. An improved curriculum, which had been advocated by no less a man than Buchanan, was introduced into St. Andrews; the College of St. Mary, with four professors, was to take charge of theological tuition, in which the interpretation of the Old Testament and comparison of it with the Chaldee paraphrases and Septuagint, and the interpretation of the New Testament and collation of the original text with the Syriac version, occupied a prominent place. But the example set by the early reformers was lost in succeeding troublous times. None rose up second to Buchanan, the translator of the Psalms, and none appeared like Andrew Melville, the reformer and principal of two universities —*qui Athenas et Solymam in Scotiam induxit.* Thus the original purpose of these noble remodellers was neither definitely nor successfully carried out. No chair for the special study of the New Testament existed in any of the colleges. Systematic Theology became the engrossing study; and so minute, metaphysical, and protracted was the treatment of it occasionally, that the story goes of an Irish student, who had been a session under Dr. Finlay, at Glasgow College, and who, on being asked by his presbytery, preparatory to examination, what theme had occupied the professor's time, naively answered, "Half an attribute." At the period of the first Secession, theological tuition was a subject anxiously pondered. Wilson, the first professor, was the most scholarly of the "Four Brethren;" but his life was short, and the professorate was held from time to time by different persons, as by Brown of Haddington on the one side, Moncrieff of Alloa and Bruce of Whitburn on the other. Lawson of Selkirk, the Christian Socrates, as Dr. Brown terms him, held a chair for above thirty years. Paxton, author of the well-known "Illustrations of Scripture," was teaching at the period of the union of the Burgher and Antiburgher parties, but did not join the united church; in connection with which, and by an extension of the system, Biblical Literature was first formally lectured on by Dr. Mitchell, who in 1804 had won the Claudius Buchanan prize for the best essay on the Civilisation of India, and whose praise is yet in all the churches; while Dogmatic Theology was taught by Dr. Dick, whose published system has gained for itself general approval. At Dr. Dick's death, the Synod, urged mainly by Dr. Brown, appointed a committee to consider the whole subject of theological education; and that committee, guided also by him, proposed an enlarged scheme which was at once adopted. Four chairs were agreed on: one of Hermeneutics, that of Dr. Mitchell; one of Exegesis, to which Dr. Brown was chosen; one of Systematic Theology, filled by Dr. Balmer; and one of Pastoral Theology, occupied by Dr. Duncan. The arrangement still continues, but is so far modified that Pastoral Theology is joined to Systematic Theology; and to the fourth chair is appointed the important subject which the Germans call Dogmengeschichte, or the history of doctrine, ritual, and government.

Dr. Brown had a special talent for exegesis, and it is by his exegetical labours and publications that his name will be perpetuated. It was not till some time after his ordination that he turned his mind to the critical study of Scripture, and there seem to have been few previous symptoms of such a latent taste within him. What first developed the liking it is difficult to say, but once developed, it never paused—was never satiated. Onward and onward for forty years did he advance, day after day being given to the careful and prayerful exposition of the word of God. Commentary, either more popular or more academic, became "everywhere and in all things" the business of his life, and "This one thing I do," might have been inscribed over his study. Not only were his lectures in the pulpit exegetical, but his sermons had no little of the same aspect and character. His thoughts and conversations ranged round the unvarying themes,—editions of the Greek Testament, introductions, grammars, dictionaries, concordances, commentaries, disputed passages, difficult clauses, reconciliation of textual difficulties, better translations, and comparative merits of expositors. Dr. Brown had many qualifications for an expositor besides his ardent attachment to the study—that attachment being itself the sure token of possessed qualification. The Bible was the book on which his life's labour was spent. He felt the necessity of such a record and disclosure of God's purposes and acts, and was wholly and vehemently opposed to all theories which taught the possibility of subjective piety without an objective revelation,—a form of spiritualism which places all religions on the same low level, and pictures each as the native outgrowth of the soul modified by temperament, experience, and education. In the inspiration of Scripture he had a firm faith. Perhaps he had no precise theory which he could minutely and scientifically expound, but he held the Bible to be God's book—not

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in thought only, but in language—prophets, evangelists, and apostles, being guided by the Divine Spirit to those words by which ideas divinely communicated were expressed without any possibility or shade of error. Therefore, in his view, the Bible could not deal loosely with facts, or fallaciously with arguments. In the Old Testament the religious revelation is imbedded in the common history, but it is never, as some pretend, like truth set in falsehood. The one cannot be disengaged from the other. If the prophet deliver a religious message not in naked purity, but in connection with some event in the annals of the people, then if the outer illustration is liable to error, the thing illustrated is not secure against corruption. How can we accept the truth expounded, if we may not receive the expository material with implicit confidence? Dr. Brown therefore held to a plenary inspiration producing a book of universal and unchanging truth. Unchanging, we say, for though the books of Scripture were specially adapted to the age in which they appeared, they never lose their adaptation to all ages. They may be stripped of their Hebrew costume, but eternal truth remains behind. The altar, victim, blood, vail, and priest may be taken away, but there remains behind a foreshadowed atonement in the Old Testament, and an actual propitiation in the New. Dr. Brown, therefore, could not yield to the theory of Jowett, which regards the Bible as behind the age, and he has entered his stout protest in the preface to his Exposition of Romans.

As an expositor, Dr. Brown had but one desire, and that was to discover the mind of the Spirit in His own word. Few expositors have felt this desire so uniformly, or have so consistently carried it out. His two questions were, What was this oracle in sense to those who first received it, and what is it still to us? And he was patient in coming to a conclusion. As when Luther and Melanchthon, in translating the original Scriptures into German, sometimes spent a month over a word, so anxious were they to select the proper term, so Dr. Brown, in lecturing through a book, sometimes paused in his course for weeks, when he came to some dark or difficult passage, so conscientious was he in seeking to ascertain its true meaning. This dictum, too, was often on his lips, when referring to some current but false exegesis, "This is truth, important truth, and truth taught elsewhere in Scripture, but not *the* truth contained in this passage." No one was better aware than he of the mischief done to interpretation by the application of any reigning philosophy, whether it be Aristotelian, Platonic, or Neoplatonic, whether it be that of Kant, or Locke, or Hegel; for it twists and tortures revelation to its own uses, and carries with it the sense which it proudly imposes on Scripture. Few expositors, indeed, can thoroughly divest themselves of philosophical or theological predilections, and their exegesis is unconsciously warped. They see as they wish to see, and find what they secretly hope to find. What is in them, they read as being without them. We are bound to say that we find little or nothing of this in Dr. Brown's commentaries. There are many things with which we may not agree, many points on which others seem to have led him astray, but we do not discover that any statement is the result of a foregone conclusion. These lines of Cowper were often quoted by him:

> "Of all the arts sagacious dupes invent,
> To cheat themselves and gain the world's consent,
> The worst is Scripture warped from its intent."

He valued systems very highly, and had studied the best of them, as Turretine, Mastricht, Stapfer, and Pictet. He estimated creeds and confessions at their due value, but he felt that often, when right in doctrine, they were wrong in the interpretation of many of the passages by which they defended it. He could not, therefore, linger by the cistern, where the water is apt to stagnate, but pitched his tent under the green oak, and by the living fountain. To say that he admitted the necessity of the Holy Spirit's influence and enlightenment for the correct understanding of the lively oracles, would be a very feeble and inadequate statement, because his soul was filled with such a conviction, and it surrounded and hallowed all his Biblical toils. For the author of a book best knows the meaning of it, and the Spirit of truth is promised to guide into all truth. *Bene orâsse est bene studuisse* is oftener quoted to point a paragraph, than actually believed and realized. But Dr. Brown's friends knew that he was always as earnest and continuous in asking light from on high, as he was diligent in seeking it by literary study and research. He lived and laboured in faith, for no man is saved by theology, or a theoretic knowledge of religion. The beggar by the wayside gets as much of the sun's radiance as the astronomer who studies and understands its physical laws and constitution.

Learning is no less indispensable to honest and accurate exposition of Scripture. Dr. Brown's erudition was immense and varied; ever growing, and stretching out into many spheres. For his time, his scholarship was good. In his youth, the means now at hand

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were not to be had; and the study of the classic tongues was, and, alas, is, not pursued in our northern universities, till authors are mastered, and the soul of the language is caught; a crude acquaintance with flections and syntax being all that is ever dreamed of. In those days, so far as Greek was concerned, Matthiæ, Thiersch, Buttman, Kühner, Madvig, Bernhardy, and Krüger, had not given the fruits of their grammatical studies to the world. Nor did there exist many other philological treatises, that now form the best implements of the exeget. Not a few of them, either written in Latin or translated into English, Dr. Brown could use at a later period; and he did use some of them to great advantage. But his scholarship was not what it would have been, had such instruments and appliances been found in his earlier years. It was not till 1810 that Planck definitively settled the nature of New Testament Greek; and Winer's Greek Grammar, now in its sixth edition, appeared first in 1822. The first edition of the Hebrew-German Lexicon of Gesenius appeared in 1810, and the first of his Latin Manuals in 1833; his smaller Grammar was published in 1813, and his larger in 1817, but both in German. No one will suppose us to mean that Dr. Brown was deficient in scholarship; but it wanted somewhat of edge, precision, and familiarity with minutiæ, which nothing but early culture can furnish. Nor do we think that scholarship forms the distinctive excellence of his commentaries. While there is, generally, the manifestation of it, the exegesis is indebted more to a sound head than to acute linguistic erudition; relies more on a searching and thorough analysis, than on grammatical and lexical investigation; and appeals more to what the writer has been saying for the meaning of what he now says, than to the subtle doctrine of cases and particles, idioms and mysteries of syntax. But of this again. Though he was not a Hebrew scholar, like the men of other days, such as Lightfoot, Pocock, and Robertson, yet it may be safely asked, who of his contemporaries approached him in Hebrew exegesis, or has even published anything that may afford ground for comparison with his able exposition of the eighteenth Psalm, and of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, in his "Sufferings and Glory of the Messiah?" The system of Masclef, Parkhurst, and Wilson, so popular in his youth, had well-nigh banished the study of Hebrew from our country; and we believe that Dr. Mitchell was among the first, if not the first, who publicly taught Hebrew as expounded by continental Hebraists. In all the universities at the time it seems to have been taught without points, as the technical phrase is, that is, in a meagre and miserable form.

And for this work Dr. Brown had furnished himself with a magnificent library. When in Biggar he originated a ministerial library, which was provided by the congregation, and augmented yearly through its liberality. The plan was adopted in 1852 by the United Presbyterian Synod; and now there are 150 such libraries, each the property of the congregation, yet selected by the minister and kept solely for his use. But his own library was the growth of a lifetime, and its augmentation never ceased. It consisted at his death of about nine thousand volumes,—not confined to one department of literature, but having books of all kinds and ages. Many volumes of rare pamphlets issued in connection with various old Scottish controversies and the stirring questions of the day, are to be found in it; and will make it of great value at some future period, to any plodder given to such researches. By far the larger portion of it, however, was biblical: hosts of commentaries; the best grammars, lexicons, and concordances; with seventy-two different editions of the New Testament, and more than a hundred copies of it altogether. There are also in it rare and costly editions of works: nine editions of Thomas a Kempis; first editions—*editiones principes* of many foreign and English classics. The great majority of these books are in the best order—his tasteful eye liked a fine binding—and one in unison with the age or the character of the book. His library was deficient in the department of the Fathers—for what reason we know not. In the enumeration, in his preface to "Galatians," of commentators on the Epistle consulted by him, he quotes Chrysostom, with an English title (Oxford, 1845), and makes no mention either of the Latin Jerome or the Greek Œcumenius and Theodoret. Of this immense collection of books he had a perfect mastery; a mastery in our experience unequalled, and as the redundancy of his notes to many of his volumes testifies. This tendency to a farrago of appended notes is peculiar to some men, and seems to grow with them. They tell first what they have to say, and then what all other men have said. We do not refer to such supplementary notes as are attached to Hare's "Mission of the Comforter," or to Magee's "Dissertation on the Atonement;" but to Dr. Brown's "Law of Christ,' or to "Parr Spital Sermon," which last, according to Sydney Smith, had "an immeasurable mass of notes about every learned thing, every learned man, and almost every unlearned

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man, since the beginning of the world." In Dr. Brown's volume referred to, notes are found from all sources,—from Hutten and Marvell, Cartwright and Chatham, Atterbury and Clarendon, Gower and Simon Browne, King James and Lord Melbourne, Sully and Adam Smith, Chillingworth and Usher, with crowds of others far too numerous to be specified.

But we refer to a more special mastery than this ability to gather notes, which may be done from a general knowledge of the contents of a book, and by means of an index—an instrument that often produces a specious and cheap array of erudition. Dr. Brown seemed to know not only where each book was, but what was in it. His visitors were usually received in his library, and it was the resort of his evening parties. As the conversation wandered from point to point, or questions were started, or the opinions of other men were doubted or canvassed, he was in the habit of taking down volume after volume, to verify, illustrate, or diversify the topics of discourse. There might be on the part of some one a reference to John Newton; and then he would lay hold of some forgotten volume, or bound up series of magazines, and read of Newton's quaint and humorous conversations with an aged dame, who lived by keeping poultry, and who, though very poor, yet never lost faith in God, her provider, for she felt that He would not feed His chickens, and allow His children to starve. Or he would next, if the theme were started, read one after another of numerous English and Scottish rhymed versions of the Psalms, of which he had a unique collection, and compare their beauties and merits. Or a lady might doubt the propriety of her son's going to study in Germany; and he would open for her at once one of Tholuck's most beautiful passages on the Ascension. Or some young aspirant might speak of the rich and gorgeous style of the older English philosophy; and he would immediately bring Henry More, and recite one of his Platonic paragraphs in his own emphatic style. Or the reformers and their mutual relations might be spoken of; and then would he, with a smile which so well became him, turn to Luther's apologetic Latin preface to Melanchthon, for stealing and publishing his notes on Romans, and give it with great relish. Or he would show an original copy of the Areopagitica, with what he complacently believed to be John Howe's autograph upon it. Or he might hand round for admiration some copy of an Elzevir or Foulis classic, which he had recently picked up. Or he would take some book, and give you its pedigree, tell you to what collection it had belonged, and how much it fetched at Pinelli's, Macarthy's, Heber's, or the Duke of Sussex's sales, and how it had passed from one to another, till it reached himself. Or, in fine, if his favourite studies were asked about, and editions of the New Testament lovingly inquired after, he would open with delight the first edition of Erasmus, the earliest published, in 1516; then Stephens' first, the *O Mirifica*, in 1546; then Beza's first, in 1565, based on the third of Stephens; then the first Elzevir, in 1624; and then the second Elzevir, which called itself, *Textum ab omnibus receptum*, out of which mendacious statement sprang the received text. No man in Scotland was better acquainted with authors and the various editions of their works. With books out of the way he had uncommon familiarity, and when occasion came he could employ them with astonishing success. It did one's heart good to see him kindle up in this antiquarian field, for its dust did not suffocate him, and the rarity of its lore did not unduly elate him.

Dr. Brown had not studied German, and knew little of modern treatises written in that marvellously flexible and expressive tongue. But for many years, up till within the last forty years, the German *literati* mostly wrote in Latin, and Latin was as familiar to him as English. The recent German commentaries were therefore neglected by him, even for his last work, such as Philippi and Umbreit on Romans, two of the best of their class. But with all the divines and critics of the period succeeding the Reformation he had an intimate acquaintance, — Witsius, Deyling, Vitringa, Lampe, Marck, Calovius, Calixtus, Carpzoff, Schultens, Turretine, the elder Michaelis, the authors contained in the immense tomes of the Critici Sacri, and the accompanying Thesauri of tracts and dissertations. He was the first in this country to give an account of the New Testament edited and annotated by Koppe and his coadjutors, Heinrichs and Pott,—an account which, in the form of an extract from the "Christian Monitor," has been reprinted by Horne in the various editions of his "Introduction." This mass of books was stored and valued chiefly for its connection with Scripture. For its illustration did he become a scholar, and gather large and varied erudition. He had read much, and all his reading was at his command; critics and commentators were his daily tributaries. He had many rare books, many old books, many curious and costly books, but the Bible was his book. His delight was with all helps in his power to exhibit the mind of God as found in it, so

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that his literary labours were all professional, and all he wrote was on the Bible or about the Bible. Its life enlivened his own composition; and even other men's opinions, when reviewed, as must be often done, by the interpreter, appear on his pages, not as a collection of dry twigs without leaves, but rather like so many fruit-bearing branches engrafted into the trunk, and partaking "of the root and fatness." The wonder is, that among so many books he did not get confused. But he had a very tenacious memory, and, we believe, he would say something of the history and contents of every volume in his vast collection. So quietly did he do the work of consultation, that nobody seems to have caught him at it, even at simultaneous consultation when he was writing his expositions. No one seems to have found him with piles of opened volumes about him. The floor of his study was at no time covered with such miscellaneous litter as often lies about in other literary workshops. He had no slovenly habits; neatness and elegance characterized his book-rooms, his clothes, his handwriting, and his manuscripts.

As the early Manichean notions of Augustine, though formally renounced by him, seem still to mould and modify some of his latest thoughts and images, so we have often thought that some of those commentators whom Dr. Brown studied in his first love of Biblical Science, exercised an unfavourable influence over him. Those interpretations which are the least to be commended, are usually found in Koppe or his co-editors. We could instance, in the Exposition of Peter, his making of the phrase, "sufferings of Christ" (1 Peter i. 11), mean "sufferings of the people of God till Christ should come,"—a notion different from that of many who yet identify Christ and His people; and in the Commentary on Galatians his reluctance in some clauses to give to the word "Spirit" its high and distinctive personal sense of the Spirit of God. From the same school he seems to have learned also his habit of transposing clauses, in order, as he thought, the better to bring out the meaning, though he sternly condemned Lowth's perpetual emendations of the text as unscholarly and unwise; for, as Gesenius has observed, there is not one of the Bishop's pressing difficulties that a more thorough knowledge of Hebrew Grammar would not have enabled him to solve. Among scholars and exegets, Storr was his special favourite. The two had much in common. Both were untrammelled and patient critics, and both bowed to the supreme and final authority of Scripture, as a Divine and infallible record. The Scottish and German minds resembled each other in the characteristic production of broad and vigorous thought. Both had a singularly full and accurate knowledge of Scripture, especially of illustrative words and clauses, their memory being stored like a volume of marginal references; but both so misled occasionally by the application of parallels as to content themselves with a verbal connection and analysis, as if one were to trace a river, not by the sight of its water, but by the verdure and willows on its banks.

The exegetical studies begun by Dr Brown in the calm retreat of Biggar were long cultivated by him, ere he thought of publication. Many years passed by, nay, he had been fourteen years a professor, before he sent any learned work to press. But from 1848 to 1857 eleven octavo volumes were issued by him in rapid succession, besides some minor tractates; and all this when he was beyond the grand climacteric. His delight in publishing was equal to what it had been in studying. He did not live, however, to fulfil his task; and there remains among his papers a commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, a work which he sentenced "to sleep till he slept." To pass a critical and discriminative judgement on all these volumes, would carry us beyond due bounds. A few remarks, therefore, must suffice.

The "Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of Peter" was the first-fruits of the coming harvest. The Epistle had for sixteen years occupied his attention in a variety of ways, while he was expounding to his people, and it has probably on that account a great fullness of illustration. He had been preceded by Leighton, whom he used so often to call the "good Archbishop" in his course of pulpit lectures, that he did not need to name him. Leighton was a man of refined and spiritual taste and insight, with no little of that holy tact which supplies the want of erudition. Passages occur in him of great depth and penetration, in which the beauty of the thoughts breathes itself into the style—thoughts not unlike those of Anselm and Augustine in their serene unction and ardent piety. Besides hosts of writers of the class with which he was most familiar, Steiger had also gone before Dr. Brown; but his work, like many juvenile performances, is ambitious and discursive. Dr. Brown's lectures have many excellencies. They are elaborate and thorough, while they are popular in form. The meaning has been anxiously sought for, and is clearly given out without the parade of learning or the technicalities of exegesis. The spirit of the inspired writer is often vividly caught and

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reproduced—that bold and chivalrous spirit that stamped its image on every sentiment and action. He loved the Apostle's constitutional ardour, chastened in his age by the memory of his failings. He sympathized with that sanguine spirit which, though sometimes in error as to judgment, always obeyed its first promptings without fear or reserve. He gladly followed him in his numerous allusions to the Old Testament; for, as the Apostle of the Circumcision, he unconsciously clothed his conceptions in the diction and imagery of his nation's oracles. He was not disturbed by the absence of lengthened demonstration in the Epistle, or by its apparent want of aim,—the marks of an unlettered mind; and he admired the rapid interchange of doctrine with direct and desultory precept and warning, springing out of the old and open-faced honesty of the Galilean fisherman. The commentary is marked by its sound and consecutive arguments; and if there are not many great passages standing out in relief, there is nothing flat or feeble. Though there are no heights in it, a tone of spiritual elevation pervades it. The author says, "If he has been able in any good measure to realize his own idea, grammatical and logical interpretation have been combined, and the exposition will be found at once exegetical, doctrinal, and practical." But while, from their didactic and practical nature, these volumes do not give a fair specimen of Dr. Brown's critical abilities, they show his marvellous power of putting erudite statement in a plain and unlearned form, and teach us that an expositor needs not be always showing his learning while he is bringing out its results, and that Scottish lecturing, entering so deeply into the subject, and not merely skipping over the surface of the water and only now and then wetting the wing, is the most solid and instructive form of ministerial teaching. It is but right to add what is so touchingly said in the preface: "The author would probably never have thought of offering these illustrations to the world, had not a number of much respected members of his congregation earnestly solicited him, before increasing age should make it difficult, or approaching death impossible, to furnish them with a permanent memorial of a ministry of considerable length, full of satisfaction to him, and he trusts not unproductive of advantage to them." But ten years of constant labour were yet before him; and in 1856 he published "Parting Counsels,"—"more last words"—an exposition of the first chapter of 2d Peter—remarking in the preface, that "from the nature of its contents it seems peculiarly fitted to form the subject of a communication from a pastor who has passed more than half a century in official labour to those whose spiritual interests he has ministered to." He would not, however, venture to expound the remaining chapter till "better informed and, more fully assured," for many difficulties occurred in them; a token that he was now feeling one of the symptoms of age, in being "afraid of that which is high."

In 1807 Dr. Brown had begun to lecture on the Gospel of John; and during the intervening 43 years—that is, till 1850—the Gospels, especially the discourses of Christ other than the parables, had occupied much of his time. In 1850 he published "Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ, illustrated in a series of Expositions." The sayings of our Lord—what awe and joy one feels at the phrase! The sayings of our Lord—what He said who spake as never man spake, what words flowed from the lips of incarnate Love, words laden with wisdom and fraught with truth for all ages—words ever repeated, and never losing their bloom and freshness—words familiar as the sunbeam, and yet, like the sunbeam, bright and welcome every morning—words that find an echo in the heart, and lodge themselves in it as the germ and nutriment of a new and spiritual existence—words that have passed into proverbs, Christendom feeling their weight and edge, and the toil and sorrow of every-day life lightened and cheered by them—words which, like winged seeds wafted by an invisible power, plant themselves where no one dreams of, and bears such fruit as no one anticipates—words that thrill in their unearthly tone and volume as they burst from the Speaker, looking up to His Father on the hill-top, in the upper room, or on the cross—words that touch us with more than woman's tenderness, as when He says to the distressed Magdalene, "Why weepest thou!"—words that astound us by their superhuman energy, as when, rising in the storm-tossed skiff, and His locks streaming for a moment in the breeze, He speaks to the billows, and their foaming crests crouch under Him into stillness—words which flashed and pierced like lightning among the mases of people surrounding Him—words, too, of Divine reach and penetration, and serene pathos and charm as he unbosomed Himself to His inner circle—or words, in fine, clothed in those vivid and memorable stories which are read and relished by the child for their simple beauty, and by the sage for their unfathomed depth and disclosures, "apples of gold in pictures of silver."

Dr. Brown's volumes on the "Discourses and Sayings of our Lord" are freer and less elaborate than some of his other volumes of

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exposition. Independent judgment is seen in all the opinions; but a good deal of foreign material, as from Brewster on the Sermon on the Mount, is inwoven, as indeed he intimates generally in the preface. Dr. Brown never plagiarized; he quoted from others when it suited his purpose, and thanked the original owners. At the same time, while much of a popular and practical nature fills these pages, a deep critical vein, cropping out in a thousand ways, underlies all the discussions. Were we to characterize the work in a few clauses, we should say that it is distinguished by mature thought and just discrimination; that many passages of stirring and hearty eloquence occur in it; that in the portions explaining the Sermon on the Mount there is a keen and thorough search into the train of the Divine argument as it moves in majesty from topic to topic, with searching descriptions of character and analyses of motive based on a knowledge of human nature which a sagacious and self-recording experience only could furnish; that the sections treating of the Discourses in John are not only solemn and weighty, as is most due, but earnest and joyous, exhibiting intellectual skill and exegetical acumen with a softened splendour, as if they were vailed while illumined by the Sheckinah; and that the entire work, while it presents a full body of evangelical truth, and shows the perfect harmony of law and gospel, as it develops and adjusts the various doctrines of theology, is exuberant in wealth of instructive notes from many a source, striking excerpts from the best of authors, and multitudinous references from Holy Scripture. Especially in the supplemental volume, on the "Intercessory Prayer," is the fulness of Dr. Brown's heart manifested; for he felt that the place on which he stood was holy ground, and that an exposition of that marvellous prayer was like drawing aside the vail, and passing with unsandalled foot into the inner and awful shrine. It is adventurous to construe such an Intercession, to subject a Farewell to exegetical handling. "The disposition to inquire," as he says in the preface, "is lost in the resistless impulse to adore." These four volumes also show us that the Redeemer's Person was to him of living central interest; since He whose words are expounded is not some being far removed beyond the stars, but an ever-present Sympathizer and Saviour. For the Bible does not expound a religion, but it teaches of God; and the New Testament does not vaguely lay down the tenets of Christianity, but it portrays Christ. The merits of Dr. Brown in this work are his own,—though there had been before him, as expositors of the whole or parts of these sections of Scripture, such writers as Kuinoel, whose notes, with a show of learning, are often superficial, and sometimes worse than superficial; and Olshausen, whose merit, as Tholuck says, is his "presenting the thought in its unfolding," and who is always fresh and spiritual, if not always lucid and conclusive. Lücke had also written his Commentary on John—sincere, learned, masterly, and minute; Tholuck, too, had published several editions of his work on the same Gospel, not the fullest or most learned of his many works, but simple and delightful, enriched with a glowing spirit of earnest meditation, a true knowledge of the spirit of the Gospel and its adaptation to the spirit of man. The elder Tittmann and Lampe had commented on John years before,—their books very different in form and size as well as materials,—Tittmann excelling in acuteness, and Lampe in breadth,—the one resting more on strict grammatical investigation and the literal sense, and the other more on the scope and connection which he elaborates patiently and illustrates ponderously in his three quartos. Stier's "Words of the Lord Jesus" have been given to the world since Dr. Brown's "Discourses and Sayings;" and though he could have no great sympathy with his brilliant peculiarities, they delighted him on his dying bed. For Stier's mind is very singular; subtle and creative, penetrating and profound, rich in allusion, fertile in suggestion, audacious in deduction, scorning opposition, attracted by the odd and the angular; sparkling and scholarly in his exegesis; often asserting that to be the truth contained, which after all is only an inference; his nervous system so finely strung as to be easily jarred; his thoughts ever and anon blossoming into poetry; inclined to a devout mysticism and looking more to Christ within as Life, than to Christ without as Mediator and Sacrifice; while a fervent piety is ever welling up, and throwing from many jets its prism-tinted spray over all his arguments, vindications, and criticisms.

In 1852 Dr. Brown published the "Resurrection of Life," an exposition of the fifteenth chapter of 1st Corinthians. A wondrous chapter truly,—in which the Apostle, starting from first principles, soars away on daring wing to the heights of ineffable glory; argues out the truth of Christianity from the empty grave of the Redeemer, and affirms that His resurrection was the pledge, and is the pattern too, of that of His people; describes in sentences dim to us by reason of their splendour the relation of the psychical to the spiritual, and of the animal nature that now is to the ethereal frame that shall

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be; and then sweeps away in rapture to sing his pæan over the death of deaths, when it "shall be swallowed up in victory." This expository volume excels in compacted analysis and in wealth of illustration, and, touching many mysteries, occasionally lifts the curtain, if it does not throw it aside. The difficulties are boldly faced; there is no attempt to evade them, or to write round them. If the knot cannot be untied, there is never exhibited the impiety of attempting to cut it. In the course of the exposition many points start up of a kind which Dr. Brown delighted to discuss by the light of the context, the analogy of faith, and the help of previous expositors,—such as "baptism for the dead," and the "delivering up of the kingdom." Those sudden changes of person and appeal, not unlike conversational turns, which occur in the chapter, he opens up with great facility—with equal clearness and power. But these mysteries are not as yet to be fully comprehended; and it is to such paragraphs that Peter seems to refer, when he says that in the epistles of his "beloved brother Paul," when he speaks of "these things," are "some things hard to be understood." "These things" transcend all experience, and may not be known till we enjoy them. The life to come is so unlike the present life,—for it shall not be under the same restrictions of time and space; the spirit being freed also from all physical hindrances, so that its powers are augmented and its capacities multiplied; still in contact with matter, but without sensation, and waiting to put on its "house from heaven,"—a lovely pavilion for a lovelier tenant.

The commentary on Galatians, a special favourite with Dr. Brown himself, is more academic in its structure than those volumes now referred to, and is marked by its clearness and precision, its terseness and learning, its careful review of opinions, and its firm and decided conclusions. Reasons, brief but strong, are assigned for differing or agreeing with any other commentator, and there is no dogmatic or one-sided exegesis. Every kind of help has been consulted, and his opinions were revised and modified during a long series of years. He had long been fascinated by the Epistle, not more by its vehement and vigorous arguments on behalf of a free and unmutilated gospel than by the glimpses it presents of the Apostle's mind as he was writing it. For his emotions cannot be suppressed,—surprise that his Galatian converts had been so soon and so easily seduced, sorrow at their perilous state, and indignation at the vile arts by which the Judaizing teachers had imposed upon them. The pains and labour bestowed on the exposition have been immense, though they do not in every case lead to a satisfactory result. Yet if any one read him on the verse, of which above three hundred interpretations have been given, "Now a mediator is not a mediator of one, but God is one," he will see how lucidly he can arrange discordant judgments, and classify and dispose of them; how he can show the weakness of this one and the mere plausibility of that one; point out how one group of opinions is tainted by a radical fault, and another group must be given up for want of harmony and adjustment, even though after all he has not adopted what we reckon the view least cumbered with difficulties. He traces very perspicuously and accurately the connection between the law and the gospel; maps out their boundaries, where they seem to touch and where they are remote from each other; smites legal bondage, and vindicates zealously and oft the spiritual freedom and elevation of the Church of Christ. He was not wedded to old opinions or old books; what a hearty welcome he gives in one of his notes to the magnificent quartos of Conybeare and Howson! The only things we object to in Galatians come plainly from the school in which he first studied exegesis, and the influence of that school he was never able entirely to shake off. The volume, it may be added, is very different from the rugged and resolute commentary of Martin Luther, and is a mighty advance upon such expositions as those of Dickson, Slade, M'Knight, Pyle, or Ferguson.

The "Analytical exposition of the Epistle to the Romans" differs wholly in character from the commentary on Galatians. Its history is somewhat singular. He had prepared a regular commentary on the Epistle,—"grammatical, historical, and logical,"—but he felt that he might not live long enough to complete it; "yet," as he says, "I was unwilling to go hence without leaving some traces of the labour I have bestowed on this master-work of the Apostles. Forbidden to build the temple, I would yet do what I can to furnish materials to him who shall be honoured to raise it. For the last twelve months my principal occupation has been, so to condense and remodel my work, as to present, in the fewest and plainest words, what appears to me to be the true meaning and force of the statements contained in this Epistle of the doctrine and law of Christ, and of the arguments in support of the one and the motives to comply with the other; and to do this in such a form as to convey, so far as possible, to the mind of the general reader, unacquainted with any but the vernacular language, the evidence on

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which I rest my conviction, that such is the import of the Apostle's words." Dr. Brown confines himself in the main to logical exposition. He tells us that for more than forty years the Epistle has been an "object of peculiar interest, and the subject of critical study." He adds, too, that his early illustrations, "corrected and enlarged by an increasing acquaintance with the inexhaustible subject, have in substance been repeatedly, though in different forms, presented to Christian congregations and to classes of theological students." We believe that even in its present compacted form the exposition was delivered to his congregation; and surely it must have been "strong meat" even to "them that are of full age." For it naturally assumes the varying character of the Epistle, which is so rich in evangelical statement and so masterly in concatenated demonstration; so melancholy in first pressing home so staunchly, and without a word of whispered sympathy, its awful indictment against fallen humanity, and then so exuberant in reasoning out a free and complete justification,—the previous gloom relieving and yet intensifying the brightness.

We have been careful to give Dr. Brown's own account of the origin and character of this work, so simple and unpretentious in his estimate, because he seems to be unconscious that it is really his greatest and most successful effort. It was his last work and it is certainly his best. He was far up in years, and had nigh reached his zenith, when he published it,—his path resembling the sun, who, when highest and farthest from us in summer, pours most light and lustre on the earth. The Analytical Exposition brings out his best powers and peculiarities as an interpreter. His *forte* was not in discussing separate words and shades of meaning. His mind, like Calvin's, was better fitted to trace the course of ideas, and develope the chain of argument; and this he has done with unparalleled clearness, terseness, and cogency. Step by step does he mark out the Apostle's line of thought, and exhibit it in all its bearings, or, separating from it what is subordinate in detail or parenthetical in position, he throws it out into bold relief. Brevity and maturity characterize the illustrations—one stroke and no repetition, one flash and the cloud closes again. The entire comment shows the perfect mastery of the commentator, his long familiarity with and close study of the book, and his psychological oneness with its author. The book had been the delight of his youth when he began to essay his critical strength, and this was his last work and comfort when he was "an old man and covered with a mantle," soon to pass into that land where theology is waited on by the eternal melodies, where Scripture has been crowned by higher revelations in a tongue that needs no interpreter, and where logic and analysis are forever eclipsed and superseded in that light diffused by the throne of God and the Lamb. From explaining and defending a gratuitous justification, as maintained by the Apostle in the earlier chapters, he ascended to enjoy its fruits without pause or end; from insisting on the necessity of sanctification effected by the Spirit of God and inseparably connected with the pardon of sin, as detailed in the wondrous seventh and eighth chapters, he was translated to enjoy for ever its purity and triumph; and from dwelling in profound veneration on the sovereignty of God, in the choice, rejection, and future ingathering of His people, as the Roman Epistle represents it, he was taken to the "general assembly and church of the first-born," where the hundred and forty and four thousand sealed ones of the tribe of Israel stand side by side with the great multitude which no man can number, out of all the races and kindreds of the Gentile world.

No one can read these voluminous commentaries without perceiving manifold traces of inordinate industry, patient investigation, and independent thought. How consistent and uniform he is even in his errors, as in taking "righteousness" to denote always the plan or way of a sinner's justification, while in many places it means very plainly not the method but the basis of justification! Dr. Brown dealt very cautiously and honestly with the views of other critics, and took special pains to show what was to be accepted and what was to be avoided in them. His aim was, by all means to discover fully and to tell plainly the sense of Scripture. If he wrote much about any clause, it was not for ornament or ostentation, but to set out clearly what was in it, and how he came to hold his expressed views about it. He hammered every inch of the quartz, that he might lose no particle of the precious ore. Learned interpretation was with him the source and fence of true interpretation. Yet his commentaries are to us defective, in that they try to hold a medium between a popular and an academic style, between the *concio ad plebem* and the *concio ad clerum.* That he has made the compromise as well as it can be made, may be admitted; but our opinion is, that it should never be attempted at all; that what is meant for the people should be in material and texture written for the people, and that what is intended for the scholar should in basis and structure be adapted to the scholar. We grant that in

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the case of men who like the Professors in the United Presbyterian and other churches, are unwisely obliged to bear the double burden of a pulpit and a chair, there is a strong temptation to adopt such a diagonal course. And yet it is to be noted to their honour that some of the greatest Biblical critics and expositors have composed their works while doing duty as ministers. Calvin was as laborious in the pulpit as he was prolific from the press. Bochart ministered daily while building and filling his erudite storehouses, his Phaleg and Hierozoicon,—his Sabbath lectures on Genesis leading to the one, and his week-day addresses to his people preparing materials for the other. Owen was incessant in preaching while his Exposition of Hebrews was in progress; Lightfoot never failed in parochial duty while he was amassing his wealth of Talmudic literature; Lardner and Pye Smith had a charge in London, and so has Hartwell Horne; Bloomfield is a vicar; Trench, Alford, and Ellicott were among the working clergy when they planned their learned works, and published a large portion of them; Stier was a pastor till lately, and Ebrard is so still; Henry, Scott, Doddridge, and Adam Clarke were assiduous and able ministers. We do not forget that a mere scientific theology is a dead thing ever to be shunned and deplored, and that a working pastor is not liable, as a professor, to adopt and teach it. For, as he is daily brought into contact with humanity sinking and dying and tossing about for comfort, and sees how eagerly it grasps the promises and leans steadily on them,—when he observes how the simplest truths are laid hold of by it in implicit confidence, and in their first and plainest meaning, and how, when it comes to die in this faith, it has nothing to do but to die,—then he surely learns after all his analysis and penetration, his erudite labour and critical inspection, that it is not truth in its sublimer but in its humbler aspects that blesses and saves—that it is not truth stoled in philosophic phrase, or traced to first principles or ultimate relations, that pacifies a stricken conscience, or soothes a wounded spirit, but the truth which a child may comprehend, and which may be all told in monsyllables. Still we think, that while all this is true in practice, — for theology ought never to be divorced from religion, and while none but a religious man is qualified to interpret a religious record, the case is different in the publication of a work; for in proportion as it is composed for two opposite circles of readers, it is fitted for neither. The one purpose neutralizes the other. Dr. Brown succeeded in this difficult task better than any other man, and he far outstrips such men as Doddridge, Chandler, Pierce, or Benson. That his commentaries will live we have little doubt, though a great portion of theological literature is ephemeral. Books may be popular in one age, as being adapted to it, but wholly uncared for by another age, not being fitted for it; just as Dr. Brown's early appearance in the pulpit in "light-coloured corded knee-breeches and Hessian boots" belonged to a fashion which in his last years would have created blank dismay. But what is written on Scripture, if at all deserving the name of exposition, partakes somewhat of the vitality of Scripture. Chrysostom is more read now than he was for three centuries after he died. What Buchanan says of bards may be applied to divines:—

> "Sola doctorum monumenta vatum
> Nesciunt fati imperium severi,
> Sola contemnunt Phlegethonta et orci
> Jura superbi."

Thus, while Matthew Henry is as popular as ever he was, who ever thinks of reprinting "Whitefield's Discourses" or "Harvey's Meditations"? "The grass withereth and the flower thereof falleth away, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever," and all words inspired by it partake of its life and permanence.

The last ten years of Dr. Brown's life were thus passed in extraordinary diligence, and in the quiet of his "Tusculan" retreat, at the base of Salisbury Crags. His work was incessant, and not done in fits. Every day saw its appointed task completed, but no visitor ever caught him as if oppressed by labour. He had none of the littlenesses of some students, and few of the habits of many of them. He was never inkstained, slovenly, or unkempt in appearance. He neither rose early nor sate late, but he gave the day to the day's work. His fame and usefulness are owing as much to toil as to original gift; and, indeed, the love of toil is a special gift of itself. True, without talent there is nothing to trade with, but trading is essential to outcome and "usury." Genius demands hard study, bends to it, supports under it, and vitalizes all its fruits. The sculptor's ideal is realized by the patient labour of the chisel and mallet. Dr. Brown's love of labour was with him identical with love of usefulness—as may be seen from his first attempts at village-preaching during his sojourn at Biggar, and his editing two magazines in succession, to his last literary efforts in gathering and publishing three volumes of scarce and excellent tracts, and in 1857 annotating an edition of Culverwell's "Discourse of the Light of Nature." His fond-

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ness for literature brought him relaxation—his relish for the best productions of our literature and our English classics secured him relief from severer studies—as the virtue of the soil is preserved by rotation of crops. There were few new books of any note that did not find their way to his library table, a literary passion which has come down by intellectual entail to the gifted author of the genial and popular "Horæ Subsecivæ." At the same time, composition was an easy work with him, and his fluent employment of words in writing was quite in contrast to his want of them in speaking. Usually he had carefully thought over the subject on all sides, and had not to search for ideas and illustrations when he took pen in hand. So that he rarely blotted, though he might interline; he added, but he seldom altered. His three volumes on the "Discourses and Sayings of our Lord" were printed from the first copy, which itself was prepared for the pulpit, and his small and elegant handwriting was a luxury for compositors. Nor must it be forgotten that for by far the greater portion of his official life Dr. Brown had abundance of work out of doors in visitation, and in the performance of other parts of the pastoral office,—all of which he discharged to the best of his ability. Not that he excelled equally in all departments of official duty, or had the ease, versatility, or conversational fluency which distinguish some men as visitors and preachers to the household. He was somewhat formal both in speech and act in this subordinate sphere of labour, for as in duty bound he gave himself "constantly to prayer and to the ministry of the word." Yet so far did he strive to make and keep himself acquainted with his large congregation, that he realized what He whom he served gives as the characteristic of a good shepherd, "he called his own sheep by name." And of his congregation, who for so many years joined in prayers so eloquent in their formal quaintness, and listened to sermons delivered with his bold and impassioned utterance, it might be said, "they knew his voice."

We will not affirm that Dr. Brown founded an exegetical school in Scotland, but we may say that he inaugurated a new era. Commentators and scholars of no mean note had been there before him, such as Principals Rollock, Boyd (Bodius), Malcolm, Row, and Cameron, the last one of the most noted scholars and theologians of his time, who, though he taught in the colleges of Bourdeaux, Sedan, and Saumur, held a chair also, at one period, in the University of Glasgow, the city of his birth. One of the Simpsons was the first in Scotland to publish on Hebrew literature, two others of them were devoted to biblical studies, and Weemse made himself useful by various treatises on the illustration of Scripture. We might refer to Cockburn, Ferme, the younger Forbes, Ker, Brown of Wamphray; and to Gerard, Campbell, and Macknight of a more recent period.* But no permanent influence was produced by these men, who flourished at various periods during the last three centuries. Dr. Brown's lot was cast in more favourable times, and by his expository discourses from the pulpit, and his prelections from the chair—by his published commentaries, and the impulse and shaping he gave to other and younger minds—he has certainly given popularity to exegetical study. Nay, we read the other day such a sentiment as this in a contemporary journal, that now there was danger lest systematic theology should be neglected in the more favourite and general pursuit of exegesis.

Dr. Brown more than once in his life felt the disturbing influence of controversy. In the Apocryphal Controversy he took a part against the British and Foreign Bible Society, but ultimately clung to them when they resolved to abandon the course which they had been following in the circulation of the Apocrypha. Dr. Brown was a Dissenter because he was a High Churchman, and therefore took an active part in the Voluntary Controversy, not for any political reasons, but on the great spiritual ground of ecclesiastical independence. The extreme view, which he often and emphatically propounded, that church courts should have dealings with Government at no time and on no subject, was never endorsed by many of his brethren. His refusal to pay the Annuity Tax subjected him to no little obloquy, and he nobly defended himself against the most virulent of his defamers in his "Law of Christ respecting Civil Obedience,"—a treatise which vindicates civil liberty on spiritual grounds, and breathes the old Scottish spirit of protest and defiance against tyranny in all its shapes. Well might Lord Brougham write to the late Lord Cunninghame—"I have never seen the subject of civil obedience and resistance so clearly and satisfactorily discussed." The slavish theories of Hobbes, Parker, and Filmer are exposed and blasted with scorching eloquence; for certainly some of the theories which he refutes vilified the martyrs and murdered patriots of all times, and would, if strictly carried out, have ordained the hundred and twenty members of the Church at Jerusalem

* See our article on "Biblical Literature in Scotland" in the fifth number of this Review.

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to pay an assessment to defray the expense, of the execution of their Friend and Master. had Pilate or Caiaphas seen fit to impose it.

Dr. Brown's theology was eminently Calvinistic. We have never heard higher Calvinism from any pulpit than from that of Broughton Place. It was Calvinism after Calvin's own type, and not after that of some of his successors. The Atonement Controversy in the United Secession Church clearly showed that he held firmly to Calvinism, but held it in perfect harmony with what most other men practically preached, but to which they do not give such theoretic prominence. He did not hold the hypothetic universalism of Cameron and Amyrauld, which had disturbed the Reformed Churches in France, and against which, in 1675, was launched the famous Swiss Formula Concensus. He taught the theology of Boston, of the Erskines and Adam Gib, and taught it in the language of the minor symbolical books of the church to which he belonged. Dr. Balmer also, who, as Dr. Brown's colleague, was implicated in certain charges, cheerfully and eloquently defended himself, but was soon removed from the scene of quarrel, hidden by the Master in His "pavilion from the strife of tongues." We cannot, however, in this journal review the controversy, only remarking, as we pass, that the dispute became at length a logomachy, and that Calvin, in whose system the elective Divine sovereignty holds such prominence, in his testament made four weeks before his death, prays to be purified and washed, sanguine summi illius Redemptoris effuso pro *humani generis* peccatis—universal applicability with limited application. Dr. Brown, indeed, had peculiar views as to the nature of faith, and it is said that his worthy father was wont to tell him that he had "clipped its wings." His knowledge of all the various forms and modifications of Calvinistic theology was minute and extensive, and his writings remain a witness that he held tenaciously by the leading tenets of Scottish theology, and regarded it as a system thoroughly compacted, and as imparting strength and symmetry to vital godliness. Yet it is a system which, while disowned by the creeds of some other churches, may yet be read in their hymns and heard in their prayers, for it probes man's deepest spiritual necessities and supplies them.

Dr. Brown was no mere man of books, though he had such delight in them. He loved the scenery of nature—hill and dale, wood and water. During his residence at Biggar, when a thunderstorm occurred, he used to throw up his window, gaze with great delight on the conflict of the elements, and listen to its reverberations among the hills. His soul could not be confined to sect or party; he was a lover of all good men. He hailed the Evangelical Alliance at its origin, and always adhered to it. On the memorable day of the Disruption, he was in Tanfield Hall ready to welcome Dr. Welsh and the protesting phalanx which followed him. In the missionary enterprise he was ever fervent, and, along with Dr. Heugh, contributed not a little to give the United Presbyterian Church that impulse which is still far from being exhausted.

He was very conscientious, and yet very charitable. But he could not bear pretence and affectation, nor could he admire some German commentators with "their unduly high estimate of themselves, and their unduly low estimate of the sacred books and their authors." His absorbing interest in his own studies did not weaken his interest in all his friends—in all, especially, who were afflicted or bereaved. Many letters of condolence and sympathy were written by him, in a simple and scriptural style, without extravagance of phrase or feeling. One of these letters he sent to one of the bluntest of his accusers, on whom a severe domestic affliction had fallen; and it so melted him that he spoke of the writer of it in unbounded eulogy, as if up to that period he had grievously misunderstood him. At some inconvenience, and in peculiar circumstances, he went to the funeral of one of the two brethren who had formally libelled him; and it is remarkable that, in the biography of that venerable minister, published some years after, there is not a syllable of allusion to the most momentous and responsible act of his life,—his formal accusation of one of the professors of his Church for holding and teaching grave theological error. Dr. Brown's bearing was manly, generous, and noble, and his smile was a benediction. A prince in Israel, he was a kind and genial host in his own house. He had little outflow of words, and his conversation soon became a professional monologue on books and authors. He was often ludicrously hampered in expressing himself, and seemed sometimes helpless for want of topics of common interest. Key-words, oft recurring, characterized both his sermons, prelections, and ordinary talk. He seemed almost unable to express the same thought in two different phrases. When he had formed an opinion of a man or a book, he delivered it usually in the same unvarying words. To his old age he retained much of the sensibility and fervour of youth—"a young lamb's heart amidst the full grown flocks."

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Humour sometimes gleamed in his conversation, as when some one, speaking of a certain individual, said, "Some say he is a little vain," and he replied, "Some say he is not a little vain." This species of humour depends mainly on the position of words, and the accent given to them. Thus too, after he and Dr. James Buchanan exchanged cordial salutations in the Hall at Tanfield on the day of the Disruption, the latter said, "Dr. Brown, I am glad to see *you* here," he at once replied, "And I am glad, sir, to see you *here*." He had passed his ministerial jubilee, which was solemnly celebrated, and at which he gave a last and striking proof of his generous nature, when he became enfeebled, and his constitution began to break up. Yet, as he lay on that couch of suffering, his mind was ever active, and literary plans were begun and so far prosecuted, for his faith never wavered, and his hope was never clouded. His was calm and unruffled assurance. Doubts, fluctuations, and uncertainties never perplexed him, for he had the confidence that knows no shaking, and the "perfect love" that "casteth out fear." After passing through a crisis in which death seemed imminent, he remarked to his daughter how near eternity he had been, but, alluding to the Pilgrim, added, "I felt the bottom, and it was good." Nor did he ever mourn, as Niebuhr did in his want of faith and spiritual support. Counting himself an unprofitable servant, he still felt that he could not be accused to his Lord of having "wasted his goods," though he might murmur with Tycho Brahe, *Ne frustra vixisse videar*. He used to say that the lives of Jeffrey and Sydney Smith were a reproof to Christians, for these men seem to have acted up to their imperfect religious convictions. His bed was often filled with books, but a large print Bible had always the post of honour at his head. He felt, probably as most men do, that he was willing to work, but he was not so sure if he was as willing to suffer. As often happens, too, the simple and more devotional parts of Scripture were his last and favourite readings, so much so, that he remarked to a friend that he thought David was going to displace Paul. At length he passed away peacefully, on the morning of October 13, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the city of Edinburgh, with ministers from many churches and denominations in Scotland, did honour to his remains on the day of their interment.

In conclusion, and in estimating Dr. Brown's influence, we are far from affirming that studious minds are incapacitated for active exertion. With Brougham and Gladstone before us as living examples of the combination of scholarship and aptitude for public business, and with the reproof of Socrates to "the handsome and clever Hippias" ringing in our ears, we will not make the assertion. But we must add that it is a common but a fallacious measurement, when it is supposed that a man who has lived more in thought has less influence for good than another who has lived more in action. The latter makes a more immediate impression, but his own hands may reap the entire harvest which he has sown; whereas, the former, by the silent tuition he has imparted to other minds, often transmits through them his influence to distant lands and other ages. The pulpit wields a greater energy than the platform; more power is generated in the study than in the committee room, but the press of to-day may perpetuate thoughts which shall not have grown obsolete or feeble at the end of a century. Few are or can be equally great in all these departments, and little choice of spheres is left to a diligent Scottish clergyman. Dr. Brown appeared in all the three spheres. He was good on the platform, better far in the pulpit, and his wisdom was listened to in the midst of counsellors framing modes of business. But though these opportunities have gone, by his printed writings, "he, being dead, yet speaketh," and will speak. And in years to come, when the children's children of those who enjoyed his ministry shall have passed away, and traditionary anecdotes of his person and character shall have waxed faint and few, he will yet hold his place as an expositor of Scripture, and wear the title first proudly given to the Grecian Alexander and then to the Arabian Averroes, for he has earned it in a higher sphere than theirs—the title of ὁ ἐξηγητής, the Commentator. In a word, it was his consecration to the Master of himself and all his mental endowment and furniture, that made him what he was, one of the most accomplished divines of his age and country; for, to use inspired language, "if such brethren be inquired of, they are the messengers of the churches, and the glory of Christ." How delightful, then, the thought, that they who have served Him on earth shall be assembled with Him in the skies, where no alienation shall happen, and no cloud overshadow their intercourse; where they can part from each other no more than they can part from Him; where the coffin, the procession, and the sepulchre, shall never be witnessed; where the services never terminate, and the song never loses its newness; and where the complaint shall never be raised in surprise or sorrow, "Our fathers, where are they, and the prophets, do they live for ever?"

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ART. III.—*Scottish Nationality—Social and Intellectual:* Installation Address of the Right Hon. HENRY LORD BROUGHAM, etc., etc.

THE installation address recently delivered by the venerable and famous Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh, amongst many other questions of wider interest, stirred several which appeal peculiarly to Scotchmen, and which, in some form or other, are rarely absent from their thoughts. The questions to which we refer are:—Whether Scotland still possesses a separate nationality, and, if so, in what this nationality consists, and has consisted, since the political autonomy of the country ceased? Whether it is of such value to Scotland, and to the kingdom generally, as to render its preservation desirable? and lastly, supposing the latter question to be answered in the affirmative,—by what means, if any, can its existence be perpetuated?

It is true that these questions were rather suggested than stated by Lord Brougham, and that the answers which he would have given to them were rather indicated than announced. But even indications of opinion from such a quarter deserve at all times our very serious consideration, and more particularly when they have reference to a subject regarding which Lord Brougham is probably more in a position than any living man to make up his mind. That even he has done so, is more than anything which he has said would warrant us in assuming, for he is too wise to dogmatize on a subject which, in some of its aspects at all events, is hidden by the future. But it seems to us that the solution which he hinted at had at least the merit of limiting the question, by placing the true issue before us; and by showing us that *if* we possess now, and in any sense are to continue to occupy, a distinctive and individual position amongst the nations of Europe, that individuality is, and in future must more and more become, not political, or even institutional, but social, and, above all, intellectual.

Those of our readers who remember the line of argument which we adopted several years ago, when, alone, amongst our contemporaries, we advocated those measures of University reform which have borne at least the one good fruit of Lord Brougham's appointment, know that the train of thought which he has thus awakened is by no means new to the pages of the *North British Review.* Our object in the present article shall be to test its validity, and, in so far as we are able, to follow it out into its practical consequences. We commence with a slight historical retrospect of the various phases through which the question of Scottish nationality has passed in the minds of our countrymen, since the union of the crowns in 1807.

"A Scotchman," says Dr. Johnson, "must be a very sturdy moralist who does not love Scotland better than truth: he will always love it better than inquiry; and, if falsehood flatters his vanity, will not be very diligent to detect it." The remark, for anything we know, may convey to us a caution of which we are still in want in prosecuting such an inquiry as we contemplate; and it is not long since we were reminded of it by a conversation with a friend, who boasted a name which placed his Caledonian antecedents far beyond question. We had mentioned to him a fact, which we believe was dragged to light some two or three years ago by the unsparing figures of the Registrar-General, and which seemed little to the credit of Scottish morals,—the extraordinarily large proportion of illegitimate births north of the Tweed. "That fact," he replied, with a decision which the Doctor might have envied, "proves, not the immorality of Scotland, but the worthlessness of statistics."

But though the unexpected appearance of so provoking a fact as this will occasionally call forth illustrations of the truth of Dr. Johnson's remark even in the present generation of Scotchmen, there can be little doubt that it touched our grandfathers far more nearly. So much, indeed, were his northern contemporaries aggravated by this, and other sayings of a similar import, which proceeded from the same sarcastic oracle, that towards the end of the last century a sort of Scottish controversy arose, in which there is reason to fear that along with other less objectionable weapons, the long bow was pretty unsparingly bent on both sides.

This literary warfare, in which, perhaps for the last time, those feelings of jealousy which had so long kept alive a family feud between the nearest of national relatives, found articulate utterance, exhibited itself as a perpetual "aside" to the great Ossianic controversy, and was, no doubt, the means of lending to it an asperity which zeal for the main issue could never have awakened. Several of the stoutest champions of the bard had not a drop of Celtic blood in their veins, or a spark of Celtic feeling in their hearts; and if the Son of Fingal had been an Irishman or a Welshman, they would have discussed the authenticity of his pretended works with as little passion as if they had been inquiring into the individuality of Homer, or endeavouring to discover the extent to which the Socrates of Plato, the

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Socrates of Xenophon, or the Socrates of Aristophanes, or any, or all, or none of them, is to be regarded as the historical Socrates.

But in professing to inquire whether there was, in the poems in question, any appreciable element of thought or feeling which could not have been communicated to them by a man not differing in essentials from an Englishman, they felt as if they were inquiring whether, in Scottish character itself, there was anything more special, more permanent, and more worthy of preservation, than those trifling external peculiarities which always distinguish the inhabitants of different portions of the same country. To have submitted in silence to the transformation of one Celtic bard into a myth—nay, if need had been, to have suffered all the "colleges" of the bards, and senachies, and pipers, to go screaming out of the world of reality into the shadowy regions of the second sight,—would probably have caused no very bitter regret to such men as Blair, or Gregory, or Kames; but, for Scotchmen of that day, to be driven from one of the historical groundworks of a separate national character, was a very different matter, and they fought hard accordingly.

This was, as we have said, perhaps the last occasion on which Scottish national feeling, as represented by persons of respectability and intelligence, assumed an attitude of hostility to England; and it is curious to contrast it with the deeper manifestations of the same sentiment which appeared in the generation which preceded, and its more superficial appearances in those which have followed.

To such men as Belhaven and Fletcher of Saltoun, Scottish nationality meant a separate and independent national life,—moral, social, and political. The national party that opposed the Union knew nothing of half measures. Either Scotland was to cease, and there were to be Scotchmen no longer, or they were both to exist as they had existed since the war of independence, and as, relying on what seemed to them the respectable authority of Buchanan, they supposed them to have existed from the beginning of time. The idea of political identity with a larger, richer, and more powerful nation—of a system of centralization which should embrace all the springs of internal government and external defence, whilst it left untouched, not only the private rights of the citizen and his religious convictions, which, for a time at least, might be protected by positive stipulation, but his modes of thinking and speaking, his habits of living and acting—everything, in short, which, in our sense, constitutes a Scotchman, —was, to them, utterly unintelligible. It was equivalent to saying that the same thing was at once to be, and not to be.

It is true that their own previous history had made Scotchmen familiar with international relations of an unusually intimate kind. Before the Union of the Scottish Crown with that of England, it had for a brief period been united with that of France. On this occasion a complete legal internationalization was effected.* But long before this event, circumstances had brought about, between the citizens of the two countries, a contact far closer than commonly results from political alliances. Before they were made Frenchmen in law, Scotchmen were continually becoming Frenchmen in fact; and for generations they seem to have accomplished the transmutation with scarcely less frequency, and with even greater facility, than they became Englishmen after the union of the crowns, or than they do at present, when there are said to be more Scotchmen in London than in Edinburgh. But the frequency with which it was renounced took nothing from the completeness of the national character whilst it remained. A Scotchman was not less a Scotchman, that he might become a Frenchman when he chose; nay, he was all the more a Scotchman on that account, because the faculty of abandoning it was one of the distinctive marks of the genuineness of the character.† And as it was with France before the accession, so it had been with England from that period down to the Union;—the Scotch, as before, had

* See the Scottish statute 1558, c. 65, in which Queen Mary narrates an act of Henry of France, giving Scotchmen the privileges of natural born subjects, and returns the compliment in favour of Frenchmen. Mr. Chambers mentions two instances, the one in 1615, the other in 1627, in which the peculiar privileges of the Scotch were recognised. On the latter occasion, a hundred and twenty English and Scottish ships were seized. "The Scotch, however, continued to make themselves appear as still connected with France by an ancient league,—a league which, it is to be feared, only existed as a friendly illusion common to the two nations. Out of deference to this notion, the Scotch vessels were all dismissed, while the English were retained." The "friendly illusion" unquestionably was the statute above quoted, which probably retained its validity till the Union.

† One single note, among many that might be selected from Sir William Hamilton's "Discussions," will serve to bring out this notorious fact. "It is," he says, "a curious illustration of the 'Scoti extra Scotiam agentes,' that there were *five Camerarii*, five Chalmerses, all flourishing in 1630; all Scotsmen by birth, all living on the Continent, and there all Latin authors,—viz., two Williams, two Davids, and one George. The preceding age shows several others." As the name Chalmers was never a very common one, and as this statement applies to men of letters alone, it may give some conception of the extent to which continental emigration was carried.

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continued "praising Scotland and leaving it." But to the patriot who left it, as much, perhaps more, than to him that remained, it was an autonomous nation, distinct and separate from every nation on the earth, and amalgamation of which with any other nation, if not exactly a conquest, would still have been a lowering of the personal dignity, a diluting of the spirit of every citizen that it contained. That many Scotchmen should go to England and become Englishmen, was an idea altogether in keeping with previous modes of thinking and acting; but that all Scotchmen in Scotland should become Englishmen, in any sense however limited—nay, that Scotland itself should become a sort of lesser England,—was, to men like Fletcher or Belhaven, a notion strange and intolerable. In addition to the historical peculiarities which thus marked the Scottish feeling of country, it had specialties too, resulting from the genius of the people and the physical character of the land, which have all along distinguished it from the national feeling of the English, and which still often cause it to be misunderstood by them. A Scotchman's nationality has something abstract, and, in a certain sense, ideal about it. It is not so much as the scene of actual comfort and well-being, as in the light of the centre of his conceptions of social perfection, that he loves Scotland. He holds it dear, not so much for what it is, or ever has been, to him or to his,—for to both it has probably proved but an *areda nutrix*,—as for what he conceives or hopes it may become, or under more favorable circumstances might have been made, through his own instrumentality or that of others; and hence it is, that, though the greatest of grumblers at home, he is the staunchest of patriots abroad. To the Englishman, his country is the vine and fig-tree under which he dwelleth in safety and in joy; to the Scotchman, it is the banner under which he fights, the shibboleth by which he is known amongst the nations.

But notwithstanding the prevalence of the feelings which we have described, the wiser counsels of the Unionists prevailed, and the measure which, since the accession, had been proposed in so many forms, was at length brought to the test of a peaceable experiment. At first, it seemed almost as if the results which had been predicted by the national party were to be realized. A species of social collapse, of which these gloomy anticipations were in no small measure the cause, actually occurred; and during the forty years between the Union and the final suppression of the rebellion, the capital of Scotland particularly laboured under a depression of spirit unknown at any other period of its history. But whilst local seemed thus to be absorbed by central life, the fact was, that neither had yet received the benefits which they were mutually in a condition to confer; and it was only as each of these influences came into fuller operation, that men became gradually aware, that what so often before, and so often since, has been regarded as one of the insoluble problems of politics, had for once received a practical solution.

In the case of centralization and localization, as in the case of all other tendencies that are natural and human, the conflict into which they are often betrayed, arises, not from qualities which are inherent in them, but from attendant circumstances which impede or vitiate the action of one or both. Their complete development and unfettered activity, so far from aggravating or perpetuating their opposition, are the only effectual means for bringing it to a close. Assuming them both to be sound and healthy principles, it is an error in fact, as it is a solecism in language, to say that either may be carried too far. Whilst a sound principle is adhered to, it can never become a false principle. No amount of local or individual energy or freedom can be excessive, for they are the very blood and life of central power. No central power can be too vigorous, prompt, or omniscient, for it is thus only a more perfect instrument for the development of local energy and the vindication of individual freedom. But every true principle has its corresponding false principle, and the former is always in greatest danger of encountering the latter when it has been most successful in asserting its own exclusive recognition. If the result of the encounter be, that the true principle is paralysed, the field for a time is left open to error. A return to truth in such circumstances is practicable only by means of another true principle, which, if carried out in isolation, is liable to be similarly neutralized. Of these phenomena we have many examples. Before the time of Alexander, the principle of localization in the small states of Greece reached a point at which, in place of progressing, it wore itself out in hopeless encounters with misrule. It was not the excess of local energy, but its exclusiveness, which ultimately called for what was perhaps the only remedy—centralization. But the centralizing principle which came into operation on that occasion, was not the genuine action of the community itself; it came not from within, but from without, and it came accompanied from the first by its own evil genius—despotism. The result was its own speedy annihilation,

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and the destruction of the Grecian world. Had the two principles been in operation from the first, or had the latter come to the aid of the former, whilst it was still capable of resuscitation, the results might have been very different. Now, all this is plain enough in the far past; but for those who have grown up under the exclusive dominion of one principle to fix on the point at which it stands in need of aid from the other, is a very difficult matter, and it is not surprising that it puzzled our fathers. Who, for example, amongst them or amongst us, has ever been able to say with certainty whether the Germans, by giving greater prominence to central power, would be restoring or destroying the balance between principles which, in Germany and everywhere, are as indispensable to social organic existence as the centrifugal and centripetal forces are to physical nature?

Experience has at length enabled us to assert with confidence, that, far from being irreconcileable enemies, these principles are inseparable friends and indispensable coadjutors; that the highest attainable degree of activity in each is that in which it aids the other most effectually; and conversely, that the point at which it is most helpful is the highest to which its own action can reach in the circumstances. But though we are thus enabled to deduce, chiefly from the Scottish and the kindred instance of the Irish Union (for they are the leading historical precedents on the point), what seems very much to resemble an universal political law, it is doubtful whether, in similar circumstances, we should feel more secure than did those who, on these two memorable occasions, dealt with what must be at all times one of the nicest and most delicate questions of political adjustment. By the help of that practical sagacity, which has so often supplied to our countrymen the place of deeper insight, and by the blessing which God rarely withholds from honest intention, we know that they were marvellously successful on both occasions.

Of the extent to which this was the case in the former instance we shall have proof enough, if we glance at the results which may fairly be attributed to the arrangements which they made.

It was not till the dynastic question which had been pending since the Revolution was finally set at rest by the suppression of the second Rebellion, that the Union began to bear its fruits to Scotland. When that event occurred, it was not the central government alone that was strengthened, though to most persons at the time the gain probably appeared to be wholly on that side. The policy of those who had opposed the Union seemed now for the first time to be placed beyond all further hope of success; and yet, strangely enough, at that very moment, the substance of what they had contended for was attained, and this not as a direct result of the principles of the victorious party, but as a consequence of increased life and energy in those local influences, the partial diminution of which perhaps all parties had anticipated. As coincidences, far too remarkable to be accounted for on any other principles than those of cause and effect, we may mention that simultaneously with the consolidation of the central power, the trade, manufactures, and commerce of Scotland increased beyond all former precedent, agriculture was developed, the capital of the kingdom swelled to twice its former dimensions, a fresh impulse was communicated to literature, an indigenous school of philosophy arose, the medical schools of the country for the first time attained to the position which they have since maintained, and the Church and the Bar were adorned with more distinguished names than either of them could have boasted during the previous century.

Even the accession, which was in itself a sort of imperfect union, effected a decided improvement in the manners, and gave a sensible impulse to the industry of Scotland. The condition of society during Queen Mary's time, and the part of her son's reign which was spent in Scotland, as exhibited in the unquestionably authentic documents collected by Mr. Chambers,* was scarcely in any respect, except in the seeds of future energy which it contained, superior to that of Spain or Mexico at the present day. Cromwell's rule was noted as a period of further advance, and Dr. Johnson was not altogether in error when, after his own peculiar fashion, he asserted that "Cromwell civilised the Scotch by conquest, and introduced by useful violence the arts of peace." Whether he had sufficient data for maintaining that amongst the arts thus acquired the making of shoes and the planting of "kail" fail to be included, may be more of a question; but there is little doubt that the prevailing notions regarding the dispensation of justice must have been rendered more precise by this means. On this subject Mr. Chambers relates a well-known anecdote, too characteristic to be omitted. "Some one in a subsequent age," he tells us, "was lauding to the Lord President Gilmore the remarkable impartiality of Cromwell's judges, and the general equity of their proceedings, when the Scottish judge answered, in his

* Domestic Annals of Scotland.

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rough way, 'Deil thank them, *they* had neither kith nor kin!'" Even at present, there is reason to believe that we derive far more benefit morally, than we do intellectually, or even materially, from our connection with England. But for English influences, but for the salutary check which the appeal to the House of Lords, and still more to the columns of the *Times* exerts, many of the peculiarities of earlier days might not impossibly reappear amongst us. The Scotchman has not the Englishman's love of fair play; his newspapers, except those of the extremest political shades, are habitually silent before authority; and such a publication as *Punch*, even if we possessed the wit, would be impossible in Scotland, from mere want of moral courage.

It is by no means inappropriate, even at the present day, that we should call to mind the actual features of the society of independent Scotland; for it is forgetfulness of our real condition in former times, and of the besetting sins which still cleave to us, which lies at the bottom of all such manifestations of mistaken national enthusiasm as have for their object a partial repeal of the political union, by the creation of a separate department of State for Scotland, presided over by a separate secretary; and which leads to those childish disputes about lions and unicorns, whereby Scotland is made ridiculous every half-century. It is true that such proposals receive no support in Scotland that is at all likely to endanger the entirely cordial relations of the united kingdoms; but it does not follow that they are entirely innoxious to Scotland itself. Those by whom they are advocated, if they possess little wisdom, are by no means deficient in generous sentiments, and in energies which, if directed to saner ends, would be productive of substantial benefits to their country.

But it is not so much by misdirecting the enthusiasm which still shows itself from time to time in favour of Scottish nationality, as by extinguishing it in some minds, and preventing it from developing itself in others, that these false views of our national history and character, and, consequently, of what ought to be the objects of our national life, are injurious to the best interests of Scotland. When the only arguments ever used in favour of Scottish nationality are based upon assumptions as to the advantages which we enjoyed as a separate nation, which can easily be shown to be destitute of historical support; and when the only object which those who use them have in view is the restoration of some modified form of political independence, which can with equal facility be demonstrated to be both undesirable and impossible; it is not surprising that the opinion should have gained ground, that to all intents and purposes, and in every sense, it is a mere piece of antiquarian sentimentalism, which those who have anything in the shape of serious occupation had better banish from their minds at once and for ever. The two nations, it is said, if two nations they can still be called, did not differ, at the period at which our authentic history begins, in blood, in language, or in manners. With the exception of a few outlying counties, which in each were peopled by the earlier race, they were kindred offshoots from the great Teutonic stem. For a time they were separated by an unhappy war, which has long since been forgotten. A political amalgamation has led, or is daily leading, to its natural result, a complete social assimilation. The stream is thus all in one direction, and that the right direction, and why should any of us set our faces against it? Now, that there is much in this view which meets with our cordial assent, is plain, we trust, from what we have said already, and will be plainer from what we have yet to say. But the question which it is our present object to discuss is, whether this view exhausts the whole subject of the relations in which we stand, and ought to stand, to our southern fellow-countrymen. Are there, or are there not, peculiarities in the institutions of Scotland, but still more in the social, and most of all in the intellectual character of Scotchmen, which have not been as yet, and which need not necessarily be, affected by the political union of the countries, and which it is for the mutual advantage of both that we should consciously and designedly perpetuate?

Nothing is so lifeless as uniformity; and should it appear that our national peculiarities are neither discreditable to ourselves nor injurious to our neighbors, the additional variety which they give to the colouring of our insular existence might in itself be a sufficient argument for their preservation. The merest Cockney, when he crosses the Tweed, is pleased to feel that the moral as well as the physical landscape has changed, and that he has really done something more than pass over a bridge. But, for reasons which we shall presently explain, we believe that these peculiarities have a very much higher value than this, and that, if we can succeed in drawing a line of demarcation between the living and the dead amongst Scottish national characteristics, and in pointing to substantial interests for which Scotchmen may still legitimately contend, we shall confer a benefit on both nations, and a ben-

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efit which Englishmen will not be slow to appreciate.

Now, though the Scotch of Dr. Johnson's time may scarcely have realized the possibility of separating the social and intellectual from the political nationality of Scotland, or of preserving the former without a tinge of the jealous and hostile feeling out of which both had arisen, it was, we believe, very much less to the loss of their autonomy than of their individuality that they objected. The Scotchmen of that day were by no means insensible to the benefits, at least to the material benefits, of the Union. But though they were willing to acknowledge that the prosperity of Scotland had been increased, its distinctive character, they feared, had been destroyed for ever. It had become a better land, but not a better Scotland; for its improvement had consisted, not in a development of its native qualities, but in an imitation of those of England. That such was the only avenue to prosperity and progress for the future, was insultingly asserted by Dr. Johnson, and the other English writers of whom he was the type; and their own belief in the truth of the assertion formed the grievance of his Scottish contemporaries, and more or less of all the grumblers who have followed them. Sir Walter Scott was not a grumbler indeed, chiefly, perhaps, because he was not a politician; but there can be little doubt that he too entertained the same misgivings as to the possibility of a separate social and intellectual, apart from a separate political life; and that from a romantic, picturesque, and, it may be, somewhat antiquarian point of view, he mourned over it all his days. That he, in what he considered his more sober mood, believed all the disadvantages attendant on the loss of a separate national life to have been counterbalanced by far greater benefits, is probable. We know that from English antipathies he was as free, and that he appreciated the great and good qualities of Englishmen as fully, as any non-Englishman that ever existed. He was one of those who established a classical school on the English model in Edinburgh, and he sent his most promising son to be educated in England. Still all this was done under a sort of secret protest. There was at the bottom of the whole a feeling that he was conforming to what, to a person of his condition, had become a triste necessity. If he had thought it possible that, without prejudice to their interests and their prospects as British subjects, his children could have retained the special character of Scottish in combination with the general character of European gentlefolks, there is very little doubt that he would have preferred it to their becoming Englishmen "with a difference." Was he right in believing this to be impossible?

There is one very common assumption which has much to do with the prevalence of this belief, and which we regard as altogether erroneous. It is generally taken for granted that the existence of a separate national character in Scotland depends on the preservation of the peculiar form in which the common language of Britain has been, and still to a considerable extent is, there spoken. To this view Lord Brougham's very interesting note will no doubt tend to give increased currency (*Note* vii., p. 63 of Brougham's Installation Address). But though we entirely concur with Lord Brougham in holding the dialect of Scotland to be a sister, not a daughter, of that of England,* and are glad to find that so competent a judge entertains so high an opinion of its value, we must confess to the gravest misgivings as to the possibility of its preservation as a national speech. That it has been gradually and steadily, though very slowly, disappearing, and has existed less and less in each successive generation since the Union, seems to us incontestable. At that period, probably, no Scotchman ever spoke English, except for the purpose of communicating with an Englishman, or with a view to the publication of his sentiments in England.† Some fifty years later we find Smollet, in the character of honest Matthew Bramble, expressing his sense of the inconveniences attending the use of the Scottish dialect, and suggesting the propriety of "employing a few natives of England to teach the pronunciation of our vernacular tongue," by whose instrumentality, he was persuaded, that in "twenty years there would be no difference in point of dialect between the youth of Edinburgh and of London." Thirty years afterwards, Dr. Johnson regarded this change as already in course of being effected. "The conversation of the Scots grows every day less unpleasing to the English; their peculiarities wear fast away; their dialect is likely to become, in half a century, provincial and rustic even to themselves. The great, the learned, the ambitious, and the vain, all cultivate the English phrase and the English

* It is not unimportant to remark that this view has Mr. Latham's authority in its favour. He mentions it as proved to a certain degree to his satisfaction, that "in lowland Scotch a number of words, though Teutonic, were never Anglo-Saxon; and that of the numerous Scottish Gallicisms, a large portion were introduced directly from France."—*English Language* p. 101.

† All the speeches against the Union, as well as in favour of it, were delivered in very fair, some of them in very elegant and accurate English.

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pronunciation, and in splendid companies Scotch is not much heard, except now and then from an old lady." At first it seems as if this were only a somewhat bombastical account of our daily experience, but such is by no means the case; for, however general the use of English may have been, there can be no doubt that, at the time of Johnson's visit, Scotch was the household tongue even of the higher middle classes when no Englishman was present. In the generation which followed, and to which Sir Walter Scott belonged, a much more important innovation took place. It was then for the first time that Scotch ceased to form the substance of the national speech, and came to be used as a sort of Doric salt to give pungency and variety to English, which, though still spoken with a very marked accentuation, was the sole language of business, and of graver social communication. At this period, however, Scotch, with all the characteristics of a separate dialect, was still usually spoken to servants, invariably by them; and, as a necessary consequence, very frequently by children of the higher classes. Within the last thirty years even this has been changed; the lowland Scotch have ceased to be a bi-lingual people, and the language of Burns, when spoken by the upper classes at all, is spoken, not spontaneously, but as a small *tour de force*. No Scotchman, as a general rule, speaks to servants otherwise in Edinburgh than he would do in London; and the speech of the lower classes, in the capital at all events, is distinguished from that of England chiefly by a stronger colouring of the accent, which still retains its hold on the whole people. Lord Brougham's statement, then, that Scotch is "a national language, used by the whole people in their early years, and by many learned and gifted persons throughout life," is a tradition of the past. The tone of voice of a Scotchman and an Englishman is still strikingly dissimilar, but the words which they employ, and, in a great degree, the pronunciation, are identical. The English of Edinburgh now stands to the English of London, very much in the same relation that the French of Geneva does to the French of Paris.

But is it correct to assume that all these changes have resulted from the political union, or even from the increased intercourse between the two nations? Did the speech of any people ever remain unchanged for a century and a half? and is there any reason to suppose that an older and ruder spoken dialect would not have assimilated itself to a later and more accurate written dialect, in Scotland itself, during that period of time, without the intervention of any foreign cause? That some change would have occurred is certain; and that it would have been a change in the same direction, if not perhaps quite to the same extent, is scarcely more doubtful. The accent, which is influenced less by education than by habit, is what one would have expected to be chiefly affected by the increased intercourse with England, and it is the accent alone which has remained nearly unchanged. But even the accent has undergone modification, and it is not unlikely that, in the course of another generation, it also will, in a great degree, disappear from the speech of the educated classes. Already there is one unequivocal indication of the insecurity of its hold, viz., that it is frequently exaggerated for a purpose. From a belief that it is popular with the lower orders, almost all Presbyterian clergymen use it in the pulpit more broadly than in their habitual speech; and several of the grand old Scottish lawyers who have recently disappeared, certainly gave themselves some trouble to preserve it on the bench,—perhaps from a feeling that, as patriarchs and old-fashioned grandees, the tones of a former generation became them better than those of the present. In the mouths of the late Lord Mackenzie and the late Lord Cockburn, it certainly had a striking, and by no means unpleasing effect; and no one who has had the privilege of hearing the brief admonitions with which it was their custom to preface their sentences of transportation and of death, will lightly forget the masculine pathos which they thus contrived to communicate to the tidings. These two eminent persons were, perhaps, the last who positively added to the grandeur of their demeanour by their use of the Scottish accent; for even in their case it was accent merely,—what they said, when written down, being, in point of language, nothing but very simple and terse, if sometimes quaint English.

Making all due allowance, then, for the accidents of individual influence and for the caprices of fashion,—taking into account the possibility of another Scottish poet, the probability of another gifted judge or two with antiquarian leanings, and the still greater likelihood of a Scoto mania which, in place of kilts and Skye terriers, shall have the dialect of Scotland for its object,—we may still, without much rashness, assume that, in less than a century, there will be neither dialect nor accent by which to distinguish an educated Scotchman from an educated Englishman. There will still be Cockneys in London, and the lower class of Edinburghers will be distinguished from Londoners, and from Englishmen in general, by what will still be called Scotch, but which in reality

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will resemble the standard dialect of the whole people quite as closely as the speech of the inhabitants of any of the provincial towns of England. Now, when this occurrence takes place, will every other characteristic by which Scotchmen are known likewise disappear; or will they, by being at length put fully in possession of what we must pay our neighbours the compliment of assuming to be a more finished language, be only enabled thereby to give fuller and freer expression to intellectual and moral peculiarities by which they are, and will continue to be, distinguished from the inhabitants of South Britain?

An answer to this question involves, to a certain extent, an anticipation of the future, and we are fully aware of the risk of error that attends all attempts at predicting the course of national events. Other assimilating influences besides identity of speech may intervene, and these influences may be not only of a kind which we should least of all expect in the particular instance, but, in an age and a country so progressive, they may be of a kind of which mankind hitherto has had no experience anywhere. All the length to which we can go with safety is to assert that, if there be a radical and essential distinction between the genius of Scotchmen and of Englishmen, that distinction lies deeper than differences either of institutions or of speech, is their cause more probably than their effect, and in all likelihood will survive their total disappearance.

Is there, then, such a distinction as we here speak of between the inhabitants of the two divisions of this island? We reply in the affirmative, without hesitation and without reluctance, because, for reasons which will be presently apparent, *we believe the difference to be of such a kind as to render the one national character the complement of the other.* How far this diversity of type may have arisen from original or pre-historic diversity of blood,* and how far it has been the result of the different circumstances of the two nations, and the different relations in which they have stood to other nations during the course of centuries which are within the range of authentic history, it would perhaps be impossible, and it is not very important for our purpose, to determine. Its existing characteristics are what concern us here, and we shall endeavour to state them, not from preconceived notions of what might be anticipated, but from actual observation of what is.

It appears to us, then, that the Scottish intellect is more intense, more generally active, but in its highest manifestations less complete, than the English. This latter feature is usually attributed to certain imperfections in the higher educational institutions of Scotland, which are at present in the way of being removed. We believe that it is not wholly attributable to this cause, because we think we have observed that it is not greatly affected by an education almost exclusively English.

But, if less perfect in degree, Scottish intellect is more frequently high in kind. There is a greater number of Scotchmen than of Englishmen, in proportion, who get beyond the condition of being mere recipients of knowledge. The tendency to generalize and form new combinations of thought is less the exception in Scotland. Speculation thus lies nearer to Scotchmen; they are more apt to betake themselves to the region of principle, and consequently they begin more and finish less than Englishmen. The germ of a discovery is, and will probably continue to be, very often Scotch, its completed form English; and in this respect the two nations seem destined, as it were, to play into each other's hands.

Many illustrations might be mentioned, and many consequences pointed out, of this more general thoughtfulness of the Scotch as a nation. The Scotchman is more conscious and less spontaneous than the Englishman; and this peculiarity frequently exhibits itself in a species of *mauvaise honte*, which sometimes betrays him into awkwardness, and which, at other times, he conceals by an affectation of indifference, which exceeds even that for which the English are proverbial.

But a more important consequence is a tendency to run into logical extremes, and carry out principles with a rigour and exclusiveness which shut out many of the

* The difference between the Scottish lowlander and the Englishman in this respect is probably very trifling. Gothic and Celtic elements exist in both, and perhaps nearly in the same proportions. In the former, however, there is reason to believe that the Scandinavian variety of the Goth, and the Gaelic variety of the Celt preponderate; while the other has drawn chiefly from the Saxon variety of the Goth, and the Cymbric variety of the Celt. The greater amount of Scandinavian blood in Scotland during the Saxon period was pretty well counterbalanced in England by the Norman conquest, which scarcely extended to Scotland. The English connection with France during this period, and for centuries after, must have had the effect of increasing the Celtic element, and supplying the other Gaelic elements which Scotland in time derived from a later connection with that country. On the whole, we may probably assume, that, avoiding persons of Highland descent on the one hand, and of Welsh or Cornish descent on the other, an individual Englishman and an individual Scotchman, taken at random, will very frequently be as homogeneous in blood as any two individual Scotchmen or Englishmen selected in the same manner.

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incidental considerations which come to be important in shaping a course of action. This tendency, which is thoroughly un-English, constituted the chief point of resemblance between the Scotch and their ancient allies the French. It exhibits itself both in politics and religion. A Scotchman's political creed is more finished, more logically worked out and rounded off, more scientific, than an Englishman's; but on that very account, perhaps, it is frequently less suited to the multifarious and contradictory requirements of human affairs. The "freedom" which

> "Broadens slowly down
> From precedent to precedent,"

and which aims at no greater symmetry in its ultimate form than it exhibited at the various stages of its formation, has been an English conception from the first. The Scotchman has always some political theory however imperfect; there is always a trace of thinking, and, as the result of it, the outline of some sort of scheme at the bottom of his views of life; and he never can get rid of the expectation that something like an ideal state of matters is to come about at last. According to him, political arrangements are to be fitted to social requirements—society is to be brought into harmony with ethical conceptions; and these, as they spring up in the natural man, are to be purified and elevated by Christian influences. The life of the ordinary Englishman, even the educated Englishman, is the reverse of all this. He lives *de jour en jour*, does his duty, eats his dinner, reads his Greek chorus and scans it, all with great relish and respectability, and never troubles himself about the end at all. And really, if men are to be but men at the end, as they were at the beginning, perhaps he is right. Still, an extreme is possible on his side also: it is possible to exclude the influences of human reason from human affairs to an extent that God never designed, and that He will not bless: and if this is a contingency worth guarding against, it will be averted, we believe, more effectually by the intervention of a section of the same community, whose tendencies run in the opposite direction, than by any other means. The manner in which the genius of the one people supplements that of the other in this respect, is very apparent. The Scotchman brings back politics from a blind groping after the expedient to the region of principle; he urges the necessity of taking an observation, ascertaining our course, and looking at the chart which human possibilities has marked out, lest we heedlessly run our heads against some universal principle of nature, or some unalterable law of social life. The Englishman, though somewhat averse to the proceeding in the first instance, ultimately acquiesces in its propriety, and comes to the aid of the Scotchman with his precedents drawn from the rich treasury of a "land of old and just renown," precisely at the point where his interposition is wanted. He points out to the Scotchman numberless sources of error, which his more limited experience might never have suggested; or, perhaps, availing himself of the hint which his neighbour's too hasty generalization afforded, takes the task of observation into his own hands, and performs it with far greater completeness than he could have done.

In proof of the correctness of the view which we have taken of the political tendencies of Scotchmen, it may be mentioned that their representatives in Parliament are, as a body, less conservative than the English. From being more abstract, the Scotch are likewise, we fear, less loyal. Cousin has remarked, as a consequence of their more thoughtful temper, that they remained unaffected by the intoxication of loyalty which succeeded the Restoration; and it is certain that, whatever may have been the devotion of the Highlanders, the Lowland Scotch exhibited all along very little attachment to, or reverence for, the persons of their native princes. This cause, unquestionably, was no want either in veneration or imagination, but a greater facility in separating the person from the office, which their habit of abstraction had given them.

We have said that the tendency of which we speak exhibits itself in the religious as well as the political peculiarities of the Scotch. Their adoption of, and unswerving adherence to, the most logical of all the reformed creeds might be mentioned, and often has been mentioned, as an instance. Another occurs to us which we do not remember to have seen noticed, but which is not less in point. There are thousands of Englishmen who believe in the real presence in the Holy Sacrament, in a sense differing not in degree only, but in kind, from the presence of Christ in prayer; and still they do not believe in transubstantiation or consubstantiation, and are in no danger of being led into any express or definite statement of what they do believe. They are perfectly contented to rest in an indefinite belief in something mysterious. With Scotchmen this is never the case; and consequently, the moment that a Scotchman abandons the theory of a mere commemorative rite, his soul can find no rest till it arrives at a theory

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equally definite. He strides on boldly and fearlessly in the direction of transubstantiation.

Another peculiarity of the Scotch, in some degree, perhaps, attributable to the same tendency in the direction of the abstract, but far more, no doubt, to their historical antecedents, is, that they are less insular than the English,—that is to say, they differ less from the general type of Europeans. Much of the Scottish national character has all along been negative; it has consisted in an adaptability to the habits and modes of thought of other nations. On the Continent, the Scotch mark themselves far less strongly, and conform to foreign ways more easily and naturally, than the English. A continentalized Scotchman is a character with whom every one who has resided on the Continent is familiar; a continentalized Englishman, if not an unknown, is a very unusual phenomenon. The historical cause to which we have mainly ascribed this peculiarity is one which acts not as a tradition merely, but as a present influence. The Scotchman is not thrown back, like the Englishman, to seek for his continental sympathies in shadowy recollections of a connection, the traces of which have been obliterated by centuries of hostility and intentional divergence. He finds, on his arrival on the Continent, that his religion does not differ in essentials from that of a very large body, perhaps the largest body, of continental Protestants; that he has been accustomed to a legal system, in which a common origin with the systems of most of the continental nations is readily distinguishable, which for centuries had a common development with that of France, and which still has terminology and nomenclature closely resembling it.* The philosophical speculation of France in the beginning of last century was that which led to, and the philosophical speculation of Germany of the end of last and beginning of the present century was that which resulted from, the native school of speculative thought, in which if he is an educated man, he has been trained, and if he is an uneducated man, he has unconsciously imbibed. Even in minor matters he is less a stranger than the Englishman. He has been educated at a University constituted after the continental model, and he has been taught to pronounce the learned languages in a manner not essentially differing from that in which they are pronounced by continentals; nay, more, his mode of doing so, and even of speaking English, is such as to facilitate his acquisition both of the Romanic and the Teutonic languages of the Continent. The consequence of all this is, that when a Scotchman has acquired the language either of France or of Germany, he is no longer a stranger, either in his own eyes or in those of the people with whom he comes in contact. The national meaning of it, as it seems to us, is, that he should act as a connecting link between England, of which he is an integral part, and the nations thus allied to him in spirit.

For this purpose it is desirable that we should not attempt to eradicate, but rather to preserve and foster, those ancient ties of kindred and association by which Scotland is bound to the Continent of Europe. Let the legal system of Scotland go on perfecting itself, not by an exclusive imitation of that of England, but by a development of its own original principles, keeping an open eye to the progress of those systems from which it was derived, and to which it still bears many features of resemblance. It will thus continue to have something to teach, as well as much to learn from, the wider experience of England. Let the schools and universities of Scotland, throwing off their imperfections, and, if possible, their poverty, still continue to lean in form, as they have done hitherto, more towards the general European than the exceptional English type. In this case, in place of rivalling, certainly unsuccessfully, the ancient and wealthy establishments of England, they will come to supplement them by representing phases of mental activity with which they cannot deal so conveniently, and with which probably most Englishmen would not think it desirable that they should intermeddle. What is best and soundest in continental thought will thus be prepared to amalgamate with that of England, by passing through an intermediate process of gradual nationalization; and those of the youth of England who desire to become acquainted with it will have a mode of access more easy than direct contact opened to them by the schools and universities of the sister kingdom. Lord Brougham mentioned the great resort of foreigners to the University of Edinburgh as one of the leading characteristics of the institution.* When, in addition to the fact that Edinburgh has all along been a sort of educational *commune forum* of the nations, we bear in mind that the Scotch themselves have by no means abandoned their ancient custom of visiting foreign schools of learning for purposes of study,†

*In Scotland we have advocates and procurators, provosts and bailies, etc., as in France, corresponding to the barristers and solicitors, the mayors and aldermen of England.

* Inaugural Address, p. 8.

† In the comparatively small brotherhood of the

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we shall have in view the two chief causes of such peculiarities of intellectual character as they still exhibit, and the two chief grounds of hope, that, notwithstanding the levelling effects of the Union, they may retain their distinctive features unchanged.

Very much in the same manner as in her educational institutions, we can see, in the peculiar development which Protestantism has taken in Scotland, a source of benefit to England; and to that far greater nation throughout the world which speaks the tongue, owns the traditions, and in some degree responds to the influence of England. The Scotch are, and, as a nation, certainly will continue to be, Calvinists and Presbyterians. To whatever extent the highest class, from English sympathies, from convenience, or other motives, may be now, or may hereafter become Episcopalians, let us not commit so egregious a blunder as to expect that the body of the people will abandon, however greatly they may modify, forms of belief and Church government which theyadopted deliberately, to which they have adhered so stoutly, and which, in so many ways, are in harmony with their national genius. But even this peculiarity, which High Churchmen of course must regard, if not as a fault, at the very least as an unalloyed misfortune, may possibly present itself in a very different light to English Episcopalians of more moderate and more liberal tendencies. To them it may not seem a matter of regret, that, at the other end of the island, there should be those who, by principle and practice, in form and in substance, keep alive a perpetual protest against the errors to which their own creed, and, still more, their own form of Church government, is unquestionably prone. However little they may relish Presbyterianism themselves, they may not be sorry that others should like it better, when they find it protecting the Church of England from dangers from within far more serious than any with which it menaces her from without.

But let us return to the educational institutions of Scotland, for it is on them that Scottish nationality, if it is to be intellectual, must be mainly dependent for its life. The time has not yet arrived for criticising the proceedings of the subsisting University Commission. All that can be said of it at present is, that, by giving a freer constitution to the universities, it has done something to attract public attention to the exceedingly defective condition of all the faculties which they contain, excepting only the medical faculty in Edinburgh, and, perhaps, in Glasgow. If the Commissioners fail to supply deficiencies of the existence of which the public must now gradually become aware, and to place the faculties of arts and theology in all the universities, and of law in Edinburgh, on something like a footing of equality with the corresponding faculties in the other European universities which are organized on the professional system, it is, we should hope, by no means improbable that the influence of public opinion will ultimately supplement their labours. In so far again, as they may withdraw the universities of Scotland from the general European type, and assimilate them to the great insular establishments of the sister kingdom, they will, if the view which we have taken of the character of Scottish national life be the correct one, commit a blunder which it may not be so easy to rectify. The immediate effect of such a proceeding will be to set the Scottish universities in rivalry with institutions with which, *on their own ground*, they cannot hope to contend on equal terms, and to deprive them of the distinctive character to which, in so great a measure, they have hitherto been indebted for their prosperity. In so far as this tendency goes (and we grieve to say there are indications of its going far), it will simply rob Scotland of a portion of what still remains to her of her national life, and deprive England of the supplementary intellectual life, which the distinctive character of the educational institutions of her neighbour at present affords her. The object which Englishmen have hitherto had in frequenting our Scottish seats of learning will be taken away and foreigners will, naturally and properly, prefer the genuine indigenous institutions of England, to such spurious and attenuated imitations of them as alone we can possibly hope to produce in Scotland. But we must not anticipate disasters.

There are two subjects which we regard as of very great importance in their bearings on the higher instruction, and, as such, on the intellectual nationality of Scotland, which are left untouched by the University Bill, and which will probably remain for discussion when the Commissioners have terminated their labours. The one is the question as to the expediency of introducing, or rather of resuscitating, the system of collegiate residence in connection with the universities of Scotland; the other, an examination into the condition of the grammar schools, both in themselves and in their effects on the universities. The latter subject, which clearly fell beyond the scope of the University Bill, will, we hope, at no distant period, secure

Scottish bar, the writer can count twenty-four of his own acquaintances who have studied on the Continent.

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the attention of the Legislature. It is our belief that, in the matter of accurate scholarship at all events, the defects of Scottish education are rooted, not in the universities, but in the schools. Scholarship, in that sense, is a commodity which cannot be manufactured at a university either in Scotland or anywhere else; but there is no good and sufficient reason why it should not be, though many obvious and adequate explanations why it is not, produced in the schools of Scotland as it is in those of England and Germany. As regards the grammar schools, just as in the case of the universities of Scotland, no revolution is called for, and no institutions that are new or alien to those with which the country is familiar are requisite. There is no necessity for calling into existence an Eton or Harrow, a German Gymnasium, or even an Edinburgh Academy, in every provincial town. In all the country towns, and in a good many others, there are Grammar Schools already, where the learned languages and the mathematics are taught. Far from being novelties, some of them are the very oldest educational institutions of the whole country. They exist, however, in very various states of efficiency, some of them being already very respectable classical schools, others differing in little else than in size from the ordinary parish schools of Scotland. Let these grammar schools, then, be brought under some sort of system, and let a function be assigned to them permanently distinct from that of the parish schools, so that they shall come to be recognised as stepping stones between the latter and the universities; let the salaries of their rectors be increased, either by a grant from the imperial treasury or from the corporations of the towns in which they are situated, or partly from the one source and partly from the other, but as to secure, in every case, the services of at least one highly-educated and cultivated man, and where the extent of the school is such as to call for it, let him be furnished with one or more duly qualified and adequately remunerated assistants. Scarcely anything more is needed for the attainment of what we believe will be admitted to be for Scotland, and if for Scotland, then for the whole empire, an object of the very highest importance. In three or four of the larger towns, collegiate schools of a more complete description would inevitably arise out of, even if they did not form part of, such an arrangement.

The other subject to which we referred, that of collegiate or common residence for students, is one which might, though we scarcely hope that it will, be dealt with by the existing Commissioners, under the general powers which are granted to them to "make rules for the management and ordering of the universities, and the manner of teaching therein." It was less discussed during the University Reform agitation in Scotland than many other subjects of far inferior importance, not from insensibility to its significance on the part of the leaders of the movement, but chiefly, we believe, from a fear of dividing the suffrages of the general public, who were apparently agreed as to the propriety of the other measures of reform which were proposed. But now that the adoption of these measures must in the meantime be supposed to be secured, it may not be premature to commence the consideration of a question which, though possibly not calling for immediate decision, certainly merits that we should spare no pains in order ultimately to decide it with adequate forethought and information. We have no disposition to disagree with Lord Brougham as to the "great benefits that attend our plan of home instead of college residence," as regards students whose parents are inhabitants of the town in which they study. But it is not between the advantages of home and of college residence that the question arises, but between those of college residence and of totally different arrangements which still less possess the characteristics of home.

It is probably known to most of our readers even in England, that the students at the Scottish universities, when not living with their parents, usually reside either in furnished lodgings or are boarded in private families, generally the former, and in either case entirely beyond the cognisance of the university authorities. From the hour at which their last lecture terminates in the afternoon, till that at which their first lecture commences the following morning, nay, even between the hours of lecture, if they quit the college walls, these lads, commonly far younger than undergraduates at Oxford, have no more connection either with university or college than the other citizens of the town. The arrangement belongs, no doubt, to the continental university system, which has been adopted in Scotland with so much advantage in so many other particulars. But in all the universities of Scotland, with the exception of Edinburgh, and in some of those of the Continent, it is a modern innovation; and the question to be determined is, whether it is an improvement on the ancient system of residence, or the reverse? We believe it to be the latter, for the following reasons:—

It destroys the corporate feeling which exists so strongly in the English universities, and in so many ways conduces to the *education*

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(we use the word as opposed to *instruction*) which they communicate. In this respect, no meetings of General Councils, election of Lord Rectors, or the like, can possibly supply the place of the daily and intimate social intercourse of years. Again, if it be possible to distinguish between moral and social training, the abolition of the collegiate system has deprived the student of the latter in even a greater degree than of the former, and is no doubt the cause of so many youths quitting the universities of Scotland without carrying along with them qualities which are as indispensable as positive knowledge, or even moral worth, to a becoming and successful performance of the duties which, in old and refined societies, devolve on members of the professional class. Then, as regards knowledge itself,—from not becoming acquainted with each other, Scottish students are deprived of one of the most efficient means of intellectual training, viz., that sharpening of the wits which, under more favourable circumstances, young men seldom fail to communicate to each other. No direct teaching machinery can adequately supply this defect, for the simple reason that no teacher, whether professor or tutor, can enter into the difficulties and seize the points of view which are possible to his students, so easily and so fully as they can do for each other. An interchange of thought between the more and less advanced or capable, in different departments, thus becomes a positive means of progress. Solitude, moreover, which exercises a depressing effect on the spirits of most men at all periods of life, has a particularly baneful influence on those of the young, and often acts on the more thoughtful students in a manner which is prejudicial both to mental and bodily health.

Several of these objections do not apply to the same extent in the case of the smaller universities either of Scotland or of Germany ; but in Edinburgh and Berlin they reach a height which warrants us in regarding them as very serious evils. The same, probably, is the case wherever universities are situated in great cities, for of all solitudes that of a crowd is the saddest. The present writer knows the students of the University of London only by external observation on one single occasion; but if appearances then were not very deceptive, his observations are by no means inapplicable to their case. By youths of a more masculine and hopeful temper, the woes of solitude are warded off too frequently at the expense of running into dissipation. When lads of this description reside in lodgings, and no restraint is placed on their youthful propensities, the consequences are often very deplorable. Nor is the case mended when they live in families where, from the purest and worthiest motives, their habits are often injudiciously interfered with. There is a period of life between boyhood and manhood, when the individual character is forming itself, during which the restraints of family life are distasteful to most young men, when they conflict with habits and interrupt occupations, which, though not very orderly, are not necessarily vicious, and lead to disagreeable occurrences for which nobody is altogether to blame, and which every one regrets. For this reason we believe that, of the two arrangements which alone are open to them in Scotland at present, that of furnished lodgings is generally to be preferred to family boarding.

The evils which we have enumerated, as it seems to us, can be avoided only by that judicious and moderate restraint which collegiate residence renders it easy to combine with social intercourse, and individual freedom and independence of action.

The objection which is commonly made to the adoption of the residence system in Scotland is the difficulty of adapting it to the circumstances of the very poor; and the objection is strengthened by referring to the still recent experience of St. Andrews, where a certain old building, in which the poor students were permitted to reside, is remembered, not as a centre of frugal comfort and refined enjoyment, but as a scene of very deplorable slovenliness, degenerating at last, it is said, into a positive "pauper warren."* The force of the objection, as it seems to us, would be at once avoided if a style of living were adopted and *adhered to*, which, though perfectly simple and unpretending, was still comfortable and gentlemanly, and if residence were then declared to be altogether voluntary,—an advantage which was offered to those whose circumstances permitted them to avail themselves of it, but by no means a regulation which was enforced on all. No greater indignity would be inflicted on the poorer students by a portion of their fellow-students living in common in style slightly, it might be, beyond their means, than by the same person living separately in private houses to which they have no access, and, in Edinburgh, even in a part of the town which they rarely visit. In

* This fact, which we derive from a less questionable source, explains the latter part at least of Dr. Johnson's statement:—"A student of the highest class," he says, "may keep his annual session, or, as the English call it, his term, which lasts seven months, for about fifteen pounds, and one of lower rank for less than ten, in which *board, lodgings,* and instruction are included."

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the former case, some bond of union would exist in the fact of the place of residence being open to all who could afford to avail themselves of it; and by permitting the non-resident students to dine at the common table, as in Dublin, either regularly or occasionally; by compelling the use of an academic dress (if possible, *not* that of the English universities); attendance on the college chapel on Sundays; and similar arrangements,—this bond might very easily be strengthened and drawn closer.

It is worthy of consideration, moreover, that there is at all times a large class, probably the majority, of students at the Scottish universities whose circumstances place them between the extremes of riches and poverty. As Defoe said of their country

> "Poor compared to rich, and rich compared to poor."

To this class, collegiate residence, besides offering the advantages we have enumerated, would be a positive saving of money. The style of living would be pretty nearly that which they at present adopt, and, other things being equal, it has been established by the widest experience in all conditions from London clubs to sailors' homes, that men can live more economically in bodies than as isolated individuals. By the courtesy of the superintendents of some of the Dissenting colleges in England, and also of the more recent establishments in connection with the Church, we have been able to ascertain the expense of living in these institutions; and we can assert with confidence, that it is generally greatly under that for which the same amount of personal comfort can be procured by the solitary student in Edinburgh. For sums ranging between fifty and seventy pounds a-year, it has been found possible to furnish, even in London, all the comforts to which youths of this class are generally accustomed. If we state the expenses of a student of the same class in Edinburgh, under the present arrangements, at between seventy and a hundred pounds, we believe we shall be rather under than over the experience of their parents.

Finally, it seems to us that there are external defects in the national character of the Scotch, which, in a rather special manner, call for the mitigating influences of early and familiar intercourse with persons of refinement. Just as in the weightier matters to which we previously referred, so there is in trifles a national tendency to run into extremes. A high-bred Scotchman perhaps exhibits in manner more of *positive* politeness than an Englishman, and there is a more finished, but at the same time a more conscious, elegance about his personal equipments and domestic belongings. The whole thing is often very exquisite. But the great body of the nation, those to whom the character of the "canny Scots"* is more peculiarly applicable, do not willingly sacrifice to the graces. There are a thousand little arrangements by which ordinary life is brightened and beautified in England and on the Continent, which, as a general rule, one misses north of the Tweed. In Scotland there is a bareness of all beyond what is dictated by absolute utility, which is not pleasant, and, perhaps, not wise; and, corresponding to this, there is a singular hardness and angularity of manner,—

> "A manly surliness, with temper mix'd,
> Is on their meanest countenances fix'd." †

In their anxiety to leave no mistake about the *fortiter in re*, the *suaviter in modo* is too frequently forgotten; and we can imagine nothing which would be more likely to convince them of the propriety, or more suited to habituate them to the practice of their union, than the custom of seating themselves daily during those years when the external manifestations, as well as the internal essence, of character are formed, at a table presided over by those whose occupation it was to teach, and surrounded by those whose object it was to learn, "the humanities."

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* It often appears to one almost as if there were two distinct races of Scotchmen,—the one represented by the "canny Scot", the other by the possessor of the "perfervidum ingenium;" and there is notoing in which the distinction appears more than in external manner. The Scotchman of the first class is undemonstrative beyond any other European. The ordinary expressions and tokens of affection which mark the intercourse of friends and relatives in other countries, and amongst his own countrymen of the other class, seem to him foolish, if not wicked. In his intercourse with the external world, even when he is neither shy nor awkward he is remarkable for an absence of manner and gesticulation. His leading characteristics seem to be, and to some extent are, caution, moderation, and an aversion to whatever he has not been accustomed to under the paternal roof. The Scot of the second class is the reverse of all this. He exhibits his feelings more freely than an Englishman, and is less reserved in his general intercourse with the world; he has more manner and gesticulation, and so far from being averse to foreign usages, has even an affinity for them, or, at all events, a very decided facility in acquiring them. The first is the general character of the Scot in Scotland; the second, of the Scot *extra Scotiam agens.* They are not the result of any diversity of blood, lineage, or even altogether of social position, but partly of the diversities of individual temperament, and the accidents of education; and still more, of the tendency to carry matters to extremes, which we have already noted as an intellectual peculiarity of the whole people.

† Defoe's *Caledonia.*

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ART. IV.—*Colonial Constitutions: an Outline of the Constitutional History and Existing Government of the British Dependencies, with Schedules of the Orders in Council, Statutes and Parliamentary Documents, relating to each Dependency.* By ARTHUR MILLS, Esq., of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law. London, 1856.

2. *The Reports made for the year* 1857 *to the Secretary of State having the Department of the Colonies, in Continuation of the Reports annually made by the Governors of the British Colonies, with a view to exhibit generally the Past and Present State of her Majesty's Colonial Possessions.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of her Majesty, 9th August, 1859.

3. *Canada*—1849 *to* 1859. By the Hon. A. T. GALT, Finance Minister of Canada. London, 1860.

4. *The New Zealand Constitution Act; together with Correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor-in-Chief of New Zealand, in explanation thereof.* Wellington, New Zealand, 1853.

5. *Copy of Report of the Committee on Expense of Military Defences in the Colonies.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 4th May 1860.

OUR Colonial System may be said to be composed of a number of political bodies, revolving round Great Britain as a centre planet, partaking of her progress, yet with motions peculiarly their own. The phases which they present, and the phenomena which they exhibit, cannot be objects of indifference to the inhabitants of that central orb, in the destinies of which they must in a great degree participate, and to which they are linked not less by moral affinities than by material relations; for there is a principle of political gravitation which binds them together, regulates their movements, keeps them steady in their orbits, and to which even any irregularities in their apparent course are subordinate, and can be made accountable.

It cannot, however, be denied that much apathy has long existed in considerable portions of the community in regard to our colonial possessions. It does not, happily, characterise the governing classes; nor is it found in that section of our people which originates and organizes philanthropic schemes, and which aspires to extend the blessings of civilization and of a pure religion to the benighted regions of the earth. Colonies have ever been regarded by these zealous labourers as advanced outposts, from which they may send forth their missions to subdue the vast outlying regions of heathanism. The indifference to which we have referred, has, however, of late years considerably diminished; and the more frequent discussion of colonial subjects, the progress of emigration, but more especially the wonderful development of the great Australian dependencies, have resulted in creating a general interest in these distant possessions of the Crown, which at an earlier period of their career, it seems difficult to believe that they would ever possess. Regarded simply in a commercial sense, there is now a disposition to attach that value to our colonies that was long denied them by some eminent political economists. It was frequently affirmed by the professors of this school, that the colonies would still send their productions to this country, and in return consume its manufactures, whether they continued to be British dependencies or not. But the problem ought never to have been regarded in the light of an abstract speculation, in which facts were assumed for the mere purpose of philosophical investigation. Our colonies are, in fact dependencies of the crown; and they cannot cease to be so prematurely without Great Britain suffering an enormous loss of prestige and power: and who can measure the influence of such events on her trade and commerce? Nor is it an answer to say that the colonies may now buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest, and that they resort to Great Britain as to the m t -vantageous market. The inhabitants of the British colonies are British subjects; they carry with them, or adopt English manners, English tastes, and English sympathies; they imitate English habits, and they like English things; their correspondents are generally in England; hence the demand is almost necessarily for English manufactured goods. Even if these should be a little dearer than foreign articles, they would still be bought; and the taste for these things yearly extends into new and more distant countries as the English race spreads over the world, keeping British commerce in the channels it has already entered, and constantly pouring it into new. It would be a bold assertion, and one very difficult to support, that if the colonies now occupied by people of the British race were occupied by another people, they would be the consumers of British commodities to the same extent as at present; and that those who would otherwise occupy them would not prefer the articles of that country of which they might be citizens, to those of another to which they were no way related. These

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propositions may be illustrated by a reference to figures:—

Population of the under-mentioned Countries, and Exports to them from the United Kingdom, in the year 1857.

	Population.	Imports from Great Britain.
British America, .	8,014,051	L 4,668,860
Australia . . .	1,107,537	13,175,125
United States, . .	27,797,408	20,076,895

Here the United States exhibits a return in proportion to its vast population, which contrasts most unfavourably with the two colonies above specified; and it is impossible to doubt that the independence of the country has had much influence in restricting its trade with Great Britain, large as it is, and that it might, and probably would, have been a much greater consumer of British commodities had it remained an integral part of our colonial empire. Nor is there any ground for supposing that its wonderful material development would not have proceeded at an equally rapid rate if it had not separated itself from the parent state.

But the retention of the dependencies of the British Crown is sometimes objected, for special reasons, not without a certain degree of plausibility. An extensive colonial empire, it is said, is a source rather of weakness than of strength; the cost is considerable, and the profit at least problematical. Those countries it is moreover affirmed, which, in ancient or modern times, have indulged the vanity or ambition of acquiring distant and extensive settlements, derived neither wealth in the days of their prosperity, nor assistance in those of adversity, from their thankless and indifferent offspring. The Greek colonies were peculiar to their age and race. Groups of emigrants, driven by necessity or impelled by the love of adventure left their homes and renounced their allegiance, fixed their new domicile where they pleased, were bound to the parent state by no political tie, and were indeed wholly unconnected with it except by moral sympathies and traditionary associations. The colonial system of Carthage was founded on a strict monopoly, resembling in many respects that of England in an early stage of her commercial career; and she fell without having experienced, in the hour of her extremity, either aid or sympathy. Roman settlements were merely distant garrisons. Spain and Portugal, in recent times, justly forfeited the allegiance of their colonists, and lost their extended empires, by a combined policy of selfishness and ignorance; and the magnificent countries which they misgoverned took the earliest opportunity of trampling the symbols of their subjection in the dust and proclaiming their independence.

Great Britain alone among modern states has retained a large portion of her colonial empire. The policy on which it was originally founded differed, as we have remarked, but little from that of other countries; but the enlightened liberality of her leading politicians, has given a totally different development to the system from any that had been conceived possible to the less advanced states which have aspired to distant dominion. The rise and progress of the colonial empire of Great Britain, from the first attempt to plant settlements in North America to the last "annexation" in India, embraces only a period of three centuries, during which a political fabric has been erected, composed of fragments of almost every extinct and every existing nation of the habitable world; and a power has been created to which, in the words of an eminent American statesman, "Rome in the height of her glory was not to be compared—a power which has dotted over the whole surface of the globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth daily with one continuous and unbroken strain of martial music."

Whatever objects may have been contemplated in her first settlements, Great Britain has not, certainly, since the unhappy quarrel with her North American colonists in the last century, attempted to obtain a tribute for her support in peace, nor does she hope to enlist troops for her defence in war,* nor to increase her ordinary revenue from any of the natural resources or productions of the colonies; for even the untold wealth of the Australian gold-field, the indisputable property of the Crown, was abandoned with scarcely an effort for its retention, nor does she now seek in them an exclusive market for her goods, or any longer make them receptacles for her delinquent population. In truth, the colonial empire of England costs the Imperial Government and the British people rather more than L.3,000,000 sterling per annum. For what purpose, then, is it maintained? To those who look wholly to material results and a pecuniary balance, the question itself involves a paradox; but to those who regard a vast empire as founded for some higher purpose than the creation and development of wealth, the wilful dismemberment of such an empire seems nothing less than the breaking up of some vast

* The regiment recently raised in Canada is an exception, but the experiment is not likely to be repeated; in fact, the cost was far greater than that of a regiment of the line at home. During the last Russian war, Great Britain, as is well known, had recourse to German mercenaries.

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and complex machinery for the progressive civilization of the human race, and an impious rejection of an instrument put into our hands by Providence for working out some great purpose of His government.

Even the most material of our political economists, Mr. Mill, while not overlooking inferior objects, recognises colonization, although originating in the enterprise of individuals, as involving consequences extending indefinitely beyond the present. "The question of Government intervention in the work of colonization," he says, "involves the future and permanent interests of civilization itself, and far outstretches the comparatively narrow limits of purely economical considerations. To appreciate the benefits of colonization, it should be considered in its relation, not to a single country, but to the collective economical interests of the human race. It is also a question of production, and of the most efficient application of the resources of the world. The exportation of labourers and capital from old to new countries, from a place where their productive power is less to a place where it is greater, increases by so much the aggregate produce of the labour and capital of the world. It adds to the joint wealth of the old and the new countries what amounts, in a short period, to many times the mere cost of effecting the transport. There needs be no hesitation in affirming that colonization, in the present state of the world, is the very best affair of business in which the capital of an old and wealthy country can possibly engage."*

Colonial self-government is only another term for an extension of the principle of freedom and the blessing of liberty over vast areas of the civilized world. This we believe to be the noble "mission" of Great Britain; and her colonies are nobly fulfilling the great purpose for which they were called into political existence. It has been well to rule them with firmness during their infancy, and to control their inexperienced youth; but the highest duty is to teach them how to rule themselves. Emancipation from a wholesome restraint may undoubtedly be conferred too soon; for these young communities ought not to be left to themselves until they acquire a maturity at which the capacity of self-government may be legitimately and safely presumed. Mistakes have undoubtedly been made both as to the moral fitness of some of our dependencies for the freedom conferred, as in the institutions which have been framed for them. These we shall have occasion to point out as we pass in review the various colonies of the British Empire, which we shall now proceed to do; taking, in the first place, as the most ancient and not the least interesting of our possessions, those noble North American provinces whose loyalty to the British Crown is only exceeded by the rapid development of their wonderful resources, and the space that they must occupy in the history of the British Empire, and of the great American continent, the civilization of which is scarcely now more than two centuries old.

The possession of CANADA by the Crown of England dates from 1759, when it was conquered from the French by General Wolfe. It was ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Paris in 1763. In 1791, Upper and Lower Canada were divided, and constituted two provinces. Houses of Assembly were at the same time formed, consisting of 50 members in Lower and 16 in Upper Canada. In 1840, Upper and Lower Canada were reunited, and a Legislative Council formed for the two provinces. This Council was to consist of not less than 20 members, but as many as 45 were appointed for life by the Crown. The Legislative Assembly consisted of 84 members. Municipal institutions were established in 1840. The present constitution of Canada is the result of a Reform Act passed in 1853, enlarging and reconstructing the constituency, the result of which was the return of 130 members to the Legislative Assembly.

In Canada the attempt was first made to place the Executive Council on the same footing of responsibility to the Representative Assembly as the British Ministry stands in reference to the House of Commons—removable, that is to say, by a vote of censure or want of confidence. It is curious and instructive to observe how reluctantly this undoubted constitutional right, as it is understood in the mother country, was conceded to the colonies. Even the most advanced of our constitutional statesmen, Lord John Russell, resolutely set his face at first against the concession. In a despatch addressed to Lord Sydenham in 1839, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, he thus expressed himself:—

"It appears from Sir George Arthur's despatches, that you may encounter much difficulty in subduing the excitement which prevails on the question of what is called 'responsible government.' I have to instruct you, however, to refuse any explanation which may be construed to imply an acquiescence in the petitions and addresses on this subject. The power for which a Minister is responsible in England is not his own power, but that of the Crown, of which he

* Principles of Political Economy, Book 5, chapter 11.

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is, for the time, the organ. It is obvious that the executive councillor of a colony is in a situation totally different. The Governor under whom he serves receives his orders from the Crown of England. But can the Colonial Council be the advisers of the Crown of England? Evidently not; for the Crown has other advisers for the same functions, and with superior authority. It may happen, therefore, that the Governor receives, at one and the same time, instructions from the Queen and advice from his Executive Council totally at variance with each other. If he is to obey his instructions from England, the parallel of constitutional responsibility entirely fails; if, on the other hand, he is to follow the advice of his Council, he is no longer a subordinate officer, but an independent sovereign."

This despatch, however was almost immediately followed by another, in which the Secretary of State instructs the Governor-General of Canada, that hereafter the tenure of certain enumerated colonial functionaries, being members of Council and heads of administrative departments, holding office during her Majesty's pleasure, would not be regarded as equivalent to a tenure during good behaviour, but that such officers would be called upon to retire from the public service "as often as any sufficient motives of public policy might suggest the expediency of that measure." This despatch has been regarded as the charter of "responsible government," which, only a few days before, Lord John Russell had peremptorily forbidden the Governor-General to grant.

Next to the great principle of ministerial responsibility, without which representative institutions would have been a delusion, the composition of the Legislative Council was a most important consideration for the people of Canada. In most of the colonies this Council was nominated by the Crown, and consisted of a certain number of civil functionaries and private colonists—called respectively the official and non-official members; and it formed the "second estate" in our colonial constitutions—and was intended, in theory and practice, to exercise functions analogous to those of the House of Lords. No greater mistake has been committed by the mother country, in her dealings with her dependencies, than in thus attempting to invest with legislative power a few individuals who can never bear the faintest resemblance to our hereditary peers. The elements of such an institution do not exist in the colonies; and the abortive attempt to plant a species of artificial aristocracy in a soil entirely uncongenial to its production, is a remarkable illustration of the force of inveterate prejudice, and of the predominance of theory over practical wisdom. A time-honoured institution like our House of Lords can only exist in a country where the aristocratic element is highly developed, and interwoven with the whole of our social and political life. The high education and intelligence of our peerage reconciles the country to the existence of a legislative power not immediately responsible to the people; and the conviction is universal, that it cannot be extensively abused, and will only be exercised in conformity with public opinion, and for the general good. But if there is any one institution which, more than another, tends to bring the Home Government into disrepute, to disturb the action of the constitutional system, to throw discredit upon public men, and to introduce discord into the colonial councils, it is the institution of Crown nominees. Legislative Councils composed of members appointed by the Crown have, in general, very little influence over public opinion; while, where they have been introduced, they have made the General Assembly less efficient, by withdrawing from it individuals whose services would have been more valuable in the popular branch of the Legislature. The number of men in a small colonial society qualified to discharge with ability the duties of a legislator is necessarily limited; and it must be, therefore, impolitic to take them away from that Assembly which must always exercise the greatest influence and possess the largest share of power. Thus, it has sometimes been suggested that a single Legislative Chamber is best adapted for a colony; but experience has shown, particularly in New South Wales, that a second Chamber, composed partly of elected members and partly of Crown nominees, although it cannot defeat measures strongly supported by public opinion, can insure their being fully discussed, and not passed without a previous consideration of just objections to what may be the mistaken demands of an excited and ill-informed popular feeling.

The fallacy of expecting an independent and influential second Assembly, composed solely of Crown nominees, has been so admirably exposed by a gentlemen who possesses a large colonial experience, together with great administrative ability—we allude to Mr. Lowe—that we gladly quote his authority. "These members," he says, "represent nobody; they have not the slightest affinity to an aristocratic institution; they are the scapegoats of the constitution, the target for every attack, the butt of every jest. Ignominy and obloquy rain thick upon them; and when it is asked whether the colonies

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have materials for a second Chamber, the question may, I think, with more propriety be put, can they have materials for nominees? can they have people so paramount in talent, so independent in property, so conciliatory in manner, so combining all sorts of contradictory attributes, that they can hold this invidious office without exposing themselves to the sort of treatment to which I have alluded? That is, I think, impossible; and it is not my opinion alone, but that of almost every person throughout the colonies."*

An elective Senate is not without its disadvantages; but no rank or dignity emanating from the Crown can possibly compensate for the deficiencies of a parliamentary body that does not enjoy the confidence of the colonial population. The Provincial Legislature of Canada was empowered by an Act of the Imperial Legislature, passed in 1854, to constitute the Legislative Council an elective body, the existing nominated members retaining their seats for life. The province has been divided into 48 electoral divisions, each returning one member. Twelve are elected every two years, and they go out of office after eight years' service. The House is not subject to dissolution; and in the opinion of Mr. Galt, the able Finance Minister of Canada, "the result will be to establish a body in a great degree secured from the ordinary excitement of politics, and able to take a calm and dispassionate review of the acts of the Lower House, which is elected for four years, and may be dissolved by the Governor-General."

Canada has passed through several severe commercial and financial crises; but the progress that she has recently made, morally, socially, and financially, are directly due to the perfect liberty of action which has been given her in the management of her own affairs, and to the ability of the public men whom her free institutions have called forth.

Following the guidance of Mr. Galt, one of the ablest of her ministers, we shall notice a few of the most prominent internal improvements which place Canada high among the dependencies of Great Britain, and have made her an example worthy of being followed by those that have not yet attained her political maturity.

Municipal institutions are justly held to be valuable accessories of every free constitution. The Supreme Legislature can never deal in a satisfactory way with subjects devoid of general interest, however locally important; and their introduction into the national Senate tends only to divert it from its special duties, impair its dignity, and diminish its usefulness. All the laws relating to municipalities in Upper Canada were revised and consolidated into one statute in 1858, and a similar measure is in preparation for Lower Canada. The inhabitants of every county, city, town and township are constituted corporations on an elective principle; and the powers of these provincial bodies embrace everything of a local nature, including schools, courts of justice, gaols, with rates for their support, licenses, local improvements, the care of public morals, police, together with a great number of minor matters essential to the welfare of small communities. Generally, the institutions of England have been taken as a guide; and the result has been to secure to each local district the most complete management of its own affairs, the evils of improper centralization have been avoided, and every citizen finds a centre of interest and a sphere of exertion in his own immediate neighbourhood.

In one most important department of public economy the people of Canada have advanced far beyond that of the mother country. In the provision of schools for general instruction of the population, Canada ranks conspicuously high. The Government has solved a problem which still perplexes and divides England. In Canada the principle is established, that every child in the country is entitled to education; and a rate for that purpose is struck by each municipality, in addition to a grant of L.90,000 from the public exchequer. Each school district is under the management of local trustees chosen by the people. A Superintendent of Education is established for each county, and he is assisted by a Council of Instruction chosen from among the leading men of the province. The school-books are selected by the Council and Superintendent. The result of the system is, that in Upper Canada alone there were, in 1858, 3866 schools and 263,683 scholars. It has been found to work satisfactorily; and even in Lower Canada, where, until recently, education had been totally neglected, the schools number 2800, and the scholars 130,940.

Another problem presenting great difficulties has also been solved in Canada. The feudal tenures, which operated as a great obstruction to progress and material improvement of any kind in Lower Canada, have been recently extinguished by a plan of compensation to the lords and others interested in, and affected by, the change, and

* Speech of Mr. Lowe, at a meeting of the Society for the Reform of Colonial Government, held June 1, 1850.

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an indemnity from the province of L.650,-000. A complete social revolution has thus been effected at a cost trifling as compared with its importance; and it has been accomplished quietly, without giving rise to any violence or producing even excitement, and in a manner which satisfies all parties by its justice and liberality.

In legal reform, again, Canada has outstripped her parent state in the race of improvement. The whole statute law of the country has been consolidated into three volumes; and a commission is now sitting, charged with the duty of codification, in Lower Canada, after the manner of the Code Napoleon.

Unfortunately, the finances of the years 1857, 1858, and 1859 show marks of a temporary embarrassment. The diminution of revenue from various causes, together with very large undertakings in public works, to which, at the time they were commenced, Canada was financially unequal, will tax the energies of the country severely to meet the crisis and its consequences. But of the result there can be no doubt; and the development of a vast system of internal communication, together with the inexhaustible resources of the land, all point to a very brilliant future. In a despatch from the Governor-General, Sir Edmund Head, to the Secretary of State in 1858, he states, both as his own conviction and that of subjects of the United States settled in those districts, that the whole of the trade of the north-western regions of America must ultimately look to Montreal as its port, and the St. Lawrence as its highway to the ocean; and he adds, "I believe that no man can at present estimate the volume of the tide of commerce which, twenty years hence, will pour down this channel."

The river St. Lawrence drains a vast extent of the great continent, and forms the natural channel to the ocean not merely for Canada, but also for the states of Western New York, Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana. This great district is that wherein the principal cereal crop of America is produced—bulky in its nature, comparatively low in its value, and requiring therefore the cheapest transport. Canada now possesses the most magnificent canals in the world, but without, at the present time, any trade to support them except her own; but she has now combined with her unrivalled inland navigation a railroad system, the most extensive in America. The Grand Trunk Railway, with its marvellous engineering work, the Victoria tubular bridge, has a length of 1112 miles, and is designed to provide for the winter trade of the province, and of the great district before described, by the transport of goods to the city and harbour of Portland, U.S., being the port nearest to the river St. Lawrence. It is to be regretted that the point of departure and arrival for shipping should be in a foreign territory; but great efforts were made, as well by Canada as by New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, to induce the Imperial Government to promote the extension of the Grand Trunk Railway to some colonial winter port, but without success. The American cities on the great lakes are now, it is said, opening a direct trade through the Canadian waters with Europe; and the time is believed to be not far distant when the full advantages of the St. Lawrence, as the great route from the interior of the continent to the ocean, will be fully recognised.

In connection with this grand scheme of international communication, a proposition of a very startling character has recently been submitted by a committee of the Legislative Assembly of Canada, and most favourably received in England, for the establishment of a *daily line* of screw steamers, of not less than 2000 tons burthen, with a speed of from ten to twelve miles per hour, between Liverpool and Quebec, to be connected with another line of steamers of 1000 tons burthen, of the same speed, to the Welland Canal and Railway, Toronto, or Hamilton, intersecting a line of similar steamers on Lakes Erie or Huron to Chicago. By this connection it is calculated that first-class passengers could reach Chicago, from Liverpool over the Grand Trunk Railway by Quebec, in twelve days. To those who are not familiar with the magnitude of the trade of the Western States of America, the idea of a daily line of steamers to England may appear preposterous; but the scheme is founded on the soundest data, and has been considered in all its bearings; and, by creating an identity of feeling and interests between the people of Canada and the citizens of the Western States of the Union, cannot fail to produce the most important commercial and political results, and may be truly considered to be one of national importance.

In Canada, we seem to have solved the problem, so long deemed insoluble, how to retain a colonial dependency under the dominion of the mother country without violence and without coercion, by the mere strength of mutual interests and mutual benefits. That a country of such magnitude, with a population augmented, as it must be in no great length of time, to an equality with that of the parent state, can remain

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a permanent dependency of the Crown, is scarcely to be supposed; but whatever may be its destiny, its people will always value as their most precious inheritance the free institutions they enjoy, and cherish an attachment to the country from which they received them. "The future," says Mr. Galt, "may change our political relations; but I feel sure the day will never arrive when Canada will withhold her support, however feeble it may be, from Great Britain, in any contest for the maintenance of her own position, as the foremost champion of civil and religious liberty." In the meantime, that a perfectly free community, with institutions far more democratic than our own, and conscious that it requires only an expression of its will to effect a separation, should cling closely to our side, rival us in loyalty to our common Sovereign, and anticipate with enthusiasm the advent of the heir apparent of the British Empire, is a spectacle so impressive and so gratifying, that the heart of England may well beat with emotion and swell with justifiable pride. Can the Canada of to-day be really the same Canada, the land of endless discontents and miseries, that, a quarter of a century since, broke out into armed rebellion, and was prevented only by the presence of an overwhelming military force from following the example of America in 1776? Can the progressive Canada of to-day be the Canada of 1830,—poor, desert, and neglected, without capital and without credit, but with a population so hostile, it required an army to coerce it? The land is the same, and the race is the same; but Canada has acquired the conviction, that England has at length learned how to deal justly with her colonies; that she has cast away the illiberal and antiquated theories that formerly guided her conduct; that she will abstain even from interference; and that the only sentiment she feels is that of an attached parent, rejoicing in the approaching maturity of her political offspring.

The other North American dependencies of the Crown will not occupy much of our space. They are all in a state of progressive prosperity, and entire contentment both with their institutions and the mother country. The system of responsible government was fully recognised in NOVA SCOTIA by the resignation of the Executive Council, in pursuance of a vote of the Provincial Parliament in January 1848. The public statutes have been revised and consolidated, and now form the code of the province. The value of the exports and imports is steadily rising, and the revenue of the province increasing. Agriculture was long almost entirely neglected in this colony, as other pursuits afforded a more immediate return. The cultivation of the soil was looked upon rather as a degrading employment, and ranked below that of a petty shopkeeper or intinerant pedlar. A Board of Agriculture was established in 1817, which gave to this department of industry its just value; and the progress of improvement has since been rapid and satisfactory, and it has been found that all the agricultural productions of England ripen in great perfection. The great article of trade is fish, which has given a great development to the shipping interests of the colony. In the year 1807 the shipping of Nova Scotia amounted to only 25,000 tons; in 1857 it had risen to 183,697 tons; the number of vessels owned in the colony was, in that year, 1994, and their estimated value L.1,041,772.

NEW BRUNSWICK and PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND, although distinct dependencies, with separate Legislatures, possess interests in common. The first of these two colonies was severed from Nova Scotia in 1784, and the constitution which it now enjoys was granted. It consists of a Lieutenant-Governor, aided by an Executive Council of 8 members, a Legislative Council of 17 members, and a House of Assembly of 39 representatives. The system of "responsible government" was formally recognised by a vote of the Provincial Legislature in 1848. In PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND the breadth of land under cultivation is gradually on the increase; but a desire to emigrate to New Zealand has been for some time prevalent in this island, which has kept the population stationary as to number. Immigrants arrived from Scotland in the course of the year 1858 to the number of 300, chiefly composed of the friends and relatives of old settlers, and they are likely, it is said, permanently to remain; but emigration from this island to other colonies, and to the United States, fully equals, if it does not exceed, any immigration which has yet taken place. In this dependency, also, the system of responsible government was introduced in 1851. In Prince Edward's Island the remarkable peculiarity is found, that the system of education adopted by the State, and which has been in operation for some years, is supported at a cost of nearly one-third of the whole revenue of the colony, and it gives such general satisfaction, that no disposition has been evinced to economise in that direction, notwithstanding the disproportion which so heavy a charge bears to the resources of the island.

In NEWFOUNDLAND the Legislative and

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Executive Councils were separated in 1854; and in the same year the system of responsible government was established, the displaced public officers being compensated for the loss of their official incomes.

We turn now to the West Indies, where we are compelled to admit representative government has signally failed. It has certainly not produced those results of which free institutions in other parts of the world have hitherto been abundantly prolific. The West Indies have palpably and notoriously retrograded, both in prosperity and civilization, since the passing of the great act of justice, the emancipation of the negro slave. In Jamaica especially, where self government has been in existence more than two centuries, the constitutional system of England is not popular with the white aristocracy, who would infinitely prefer being governed from Downing Street, notwithstanding all the losses they accuse the mother country of having inflicted upon them. They are willing to confide in the justice and wisdom of the statesmen of England, but they are most unwilling to trust the Creole statesmen of Jamaica with protection of their interests and the expenditure of the public funds. The coloured people of Jamaica are now the governing class; and that class is equally unpopular with the white man and the negro. The one looks upon them as having supplanted the old governing caste; the other, as a *parvenu* aristocracy, without the intelligence, dignity, or generosity of their old masters. The public debt of this colony has been greatly increased by the Assembly, and now stands at the large sum, for so small a dependency, of L.852,808. And when we consider the state of the population, it is difficult to conceive how the elements of a good constitutional government can be found in so circumscribed a community. At the last census the population amounted to 377,433, of whom only 15,776 were Europeans, the remainder being of the African or Creole races. It is, we fear, a fact incapable of being denied, that this, the oldest colony of England, is considerably misgoverned, as it has confessedly fallen into a state of almost helpless moral and political prostration. However it may be regretted by the economist and philanthropist, the broad fact stands out plainly to the world, that the African will not labour. He never promised that he would. He declared on the contrary, that he would be idle as often and as long as he could. Nor have we any right to blame him, however we may deplore the consequences to himself and his employers. He can live with little labour, and he has no ambition to do more than live,

> "With that majestic indolence so dear
> To native man,"

he prefers eating his banana under the shade of the tree which grows beside his cottage, and moistening it with the juice of the milky nut which hangs from its bough, to toiling in the sugar-fields of a master, whatever remuneration may be offered him. He enjoys existence in his own way; and he has a right so to enjoy it. He even hails the arrival of the Bengal Coolie with satisfaction, and regards him, not as a competitor in the labour-market, but as the instrument destined to relieve him eventually altogether from the necessity of toil. Even in the least fertile parts of the island he can exist almost entirely without labouring for hire; and he is satisfied with this almost aboriginal condition, so long as he can remain in his hereditary haunts. There is, therefore, no reason to expect, notwithstanding the favourable condition of soil and climate, that the colonists of the West Indies will ever regain the commercial position they once held.

There is a difficulty in the working of free constitutions in small dependencies which does not exist, at least not in the same degree, in the larger,—namely, the absence of a class willing to devote their time to the discharge of those duties which are most erroneously regarded as secondary or inferior. Those who are in the pursuit of wealth are too busy; those who are not, have neither the capacity nor the information requisite for taking a useful part in public life; and in a country where money-making is the absorbing pursuit, all are generally immersed in their private affairs. Misgovernment is the natural result of ignorance, indifference, or neglect. "It is with the greatest difficulty," writes the Governor of Grenada to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, "that the members of the several committees can be brought together when their services are required. They are scattered over the island in all directions, and, with few exceptions, do not consider themselves bound to give up their time, and to sacrifice their convenience, to perform public duties for which they receive no remuneration. The inevitable consequence is, that the business of the colony is retarded, the public accounts remain unaudited, and the credit of the colony falls in proportion to the delay which takes place in liquidating its liabilities." On the House of Assembly the Governor is even more severe. "A considerable portion," he adds, "of what I have said with reference to the joint committees, applies also to the House of Assembly. It is composed principally of planters, who will not absent themselves from their houses

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for more than two days at a time to attend to their legislative duties. The business of the House generally commences late on the *first* day, and by two or three o'clock on the following day most of the country members are anxious to return home; and little time being left for the consideration of important measures, they are either hurried through, or unavoidably postponed until another session of similar duration." In fact, there is no class in these dependencies sufficiently exempted from the cares and struggles of life to devote itself to the discharge of public duties.

The comparative progress which one or two of these islands have made, notwithstanding the severe blow which the planters and capitalists sustained in their material interests by the abolition of slavery, is attributable, in a great measure, to the steadiness with which certain principles have been adhered to, and which their form of government enabled them consistently to carry out. In Trinidad, for example, which possesses no representative institutions, there has been exhibited a unity of purpose and action which has told with remarkable effect upon the prosperity of the island. While in most of the other West India islands the exports have either retrograded, remained at a stationary point, or very slightly increased, in Trinidad they have increased from the year 1855, when they were valued at L.387,999, to L.1,013,414 in 1859. The policy of the Government has been to congregate population round certain centres of civilization, and to check, as far as moral compulsion could do it, its spread into distant and unsettled districts by territorial and administrative arrangements having for their object the instruction and well-being of the people generally, and their frequent communication with each other.

But it is not our intention to discuss the condition of those British dependencies that have not yet reached the stage of development which is thought by the Imperial Government to qualify them for free institutions. We shall therefore pass them over, and proceed to the important and highly interesting colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and its kindred settlement, Natal, in South Africa.

Here we are again able to indulge the feeling, so gratifying to British pride, of admiration for a people cautiously, but firmly and securely, treading in the footsteps of their forefathers, working out for themselves the problem of representative government in the most satisfactory manner, and deriving from it, year after year, increasing wealth, importance, and respectability. The colony of the Cape stands in a peculiarly interesting relation, not only to Great Britain but to the continent of Africa; and it would be difficult to estimate the importance of its political position, and the influence it may ultimately have over the future of the African race. It is therefore with peculiar gratification that we find ourselves able to dwell upon its moral, political, and financial well-being. Few colonies have had to struggle with greater difficulties, and none have more successfully surmounted them. There was, in the first place, a population alien in race, and differing in language and in manners from the British settlers, with which they could not readily amalgamate. The old Dutch colonists were not soon reconciled to a change of masters; and many years elapsed before they acquiesced, with sullen submission, in a change of dominion, and transferred their allegiance to the Crown of England. Numbers, in fact, threw off the nominal allegiance they professed, and, under a sense of real or imaginary wrongs, crossed the colonial frontier and erected an independent government for themselves, in a country where they determined to be free from British interference. This Dutch republic of the southern hemisphere is now a thriving state; but, situated on the confines of barbarism, it is believed to be not very scrupulous in its transactions with its neighbours, or to have made much progress in the arts of social life. The colony of the Cape has undergone several extensions within the last quarter of a century, in consequence of the Kaffir wars, and the necessity of advancing its military frontier for the purpose of self defence. It now possesses 269,000 inhabitants. A constitution was conferred on it in 1850. The Government is composed of two elective Chambers, a Legislative Council, and a House of Assembly. The electoral qualification is the possession of a house or land of the annual value of L.25, or the receipt of a salary of L.50 per annum. A most remarkable development of prosperity commenced with the introduction of free institutions. Before that period the public revenue was declining; since representative government and ministerial responsibility have been introduced, it has increased from L.247,369, in 1849, to L.469,075, in 1859,—a remarkable proof of the influence of a constitutional government in stimulating commercial activity, and increasing both public and private wealth, in a colony morally fitted for it, and with a population sufficiently numerous to supply good legislators and an efficient executive. It must be added, that one of the effects of a liberal government is to attach permanently to a colony many of those merchants and

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speculators who would otherwise have only regarded it as a place of business, looking forward to a return to England, at the end of their temporary expatriation, to enjoy the fruits of their success. The gentlemen of the Cape now find a career of public usefulness and importance opened for them in the colony; they make it the land of their adoption, regard it as their ultimate home, and bestow upon its political interests that time and those exertions which in England would probably be absorbed by the details of a parish, or, as the object of supreme ambition, perhaps the judicial business of the Petty Sessions.

The governors of our dependencies have often found themselves in a state of antagonism to the local Parliaments. It required no slight degree of discretion and forbearance on the part of the Queen's representative, in those colonies that have been entrusted with the duties of self-government, to avoid, at first, sharp collisions with Legislatures just brought into existence, and with, perhaps, somewhat exaggerated ideas of their importance, and inclined to carry their pretensions to the extreme limits of discretion. It was some time before a statesman of ability, and with, perhaps, a policy of his own, could realize the true character of his position, and be impressed with a conviction, that, while he was deputed by his Sovereign to "govern" her dependency, he was in effect only a passive instrument for carrying out the ideas of a local Senate, without reference to his individual convictions or his views of Imperial interests. Such, nevertheless, was ultimately found to be the necessity of his position. A struggle was at first made by several vigorous governors to emancipate themselves from what they thought an unconstitutional thraldom to a colonial Parliament. Lord Metcalfe, in Canada, firmly resisted the pressure put upon him by the Legislature, but he was obliged to succumb. The power of the purse was there found, as in the British constitution, to be the real power of the State; and it has now become a settled maxim, that the ministry selected for carrying on the business of the colonial government must possess the confidence of the Legislature, and be chosen from the majority of the Assembly. As in the Imperial Government, the Sovereign is merely an impersonation of the State, and may be said to reign, but not to govern; so, in a free colony, the Governor may be said to preside over, but not control, the body politic of which he is the honorary head. In the early stage of a colony, the government is an absolute monarchy, and such is alone adapted to its infant state; but when it has attained manhood, and received a constitution, it possesses not only the power of making the laws, but the equally indispensable one to a free government, of watching over their administration.

At the Cape, the unusual spectacle has been exhibited, of a colonial Parliament continuing undissolved for the whole period of its legal existence; and Sir George Grey, who from the first has recognised his true constitutional position, bestowed upon it, at its expiration, the following well-deserved eulogy:—"The wisdom and moderation evinced by the members of this Parliament have conclusively shown that the people of this colony were in every way fitted to use well and wisely the liberal constitution which her Majesty, in her gracious care for the advancement of themselves and their descendants, was pleased to bestow on them."

The highly promising colony of Natal, next to the Cape the most advanced of our African possessions, has, although comparatively in its infancy, received a constitution somewhat similar to that of the Cape, and also municipal institutions. It is a favourable feature in this new and rising colony, that, although the European population is small, a Superintendent of Education has been appointed. and a sum of L.2022 voted by the Legislature for educational purposes for the year 1860. But there is another feature in this colony on which we are unable to comment so favourably. The charter conferring the constitution makes no exception of the natives as to electoral rights, if otherwise qualified by property. The present population of the colony consists of about 4000 Europeans, 4000 Dutch boers, and 130,000 Kaffirs;—the latter have not yet learned the value of landed property, and therefore few are qualified to vote. Hitherto their great ambition has been to possess herds of cattle; but the most active and prominent of the natives are gradually becoming sensible of the importance of other descriptions of property. As a race of people, they are intelligent, great observers, and keen politicians in connection with their own customs and form of government. A very small advance in the present social position of the native population would give them a numerical superiority of votes over the white inhabitants. At no distant day, therefore, a question, involving most important considerations, is not unlikely to arise in Natal. "*The mass of the white population,*" writes the Lieutenant-Governor, "*will probably seek its solution in an arbitrary prohibition of electoral rights to the native; and already the expediency of such a measure is not unmooted.*"

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We are thus brought to the consideration of a very serious and perplexing question, the solution of which must greatly affect, not only the colony of Natal, but another more interesting dependency in the southern hemisphere,—New Zealand, to the political and social condition of which we shall shortly advert,—namely, how far the grant of constitutional governments may be reconcilable with the natural rights and personal welfare of the aborigines in those countries where they exist in a state of temporary social inferiority, but with the germs of a higher civilization implanted in their nature, and with aspirations and a probable future that may bring them into a state of moral antagonism, and possibly of political collision, with the Europeans settled in their country, and who arrogate to themselves, and are prepared to contend for and assert, a superiority of caste, and an unmitigated political predominancy.

We may assume, as an incontrovertible axiom, that one of the most important objects of all free governments is political content; but if any constitution should be found, on experience, irreconcilable with the happiness and social progress of the governed, that form of polity, in whatever part of the world it may exist, fails in the most essential of its conditions. Applying this principle to the constitutional system of some of our dependencies, we fear there is much reason to apprehend that there is an imminent danger of their transformation into oppressive oligarchies in relation to the aboriginal populations. But nothing can be clearer than the course of the Imperial Government under such circumstances. It would forfeit its character as a moral state if it did not interpose to correct injustice, which it could neither have contemplated nor foreseen. It would be its paramonnt duty to crush with the strong hand of power institutions which have been perverted and misused, and to resume its direct sway over a colony which has thus abused its freedom, and made it an instrument for the subjugation of a native race.

The grand group of colonies which has acquired such extraordinary importance, and recently burst into a sudden blaze of splendour and prosperity, is the last which will occupy our attention. The Australian dependencies constitute one of the wonders of modern civilization. In them some of the great questions of modern politics are being worked out on a colossal scale, and the magnitude of the interests involved is only equalled by their complexity. We shall consider New Zealand first, together with the workings of its constitution, inasmuch as it contains a large aboriginal population nominally invested with the political franchise. The natives of these fine islands are quite capable of understanding their own interests, and, by their own energy, of making their opinions known and respected. The Act for conferring a constitutional government on New Zealand, passed the British Legislature during the short administration of Lord Derby in 1853. The constitution consists of a Governor, a nominated Legislative Council composed of fifteen members, and a House of Representatives consisting of thirty-six members elected every five years. The franchise is conferred upon every adult colonist or native owner of a freehold worth L.50, or leaseholder of an estate of L.10 a-year, or county tenant householder of L.5 a-year. An attempt had been made a few years previously to erect New Zealand into a constitutional government; but it was successfully opposed by Sir George Grey, the then Governor, as premature and unfair to the native inhabitants. In an energetic and eloquent protest he declared that the Crown, by its charter, would be conferring not, as was intended, a free government on the country, but, in reality, giving to a portion of the people, and that exclusively European, the power of governing according to its pleasure the people of another race, and of appropriating at its discretion the whole of a large revenue raised indiscriminately from both. The constitution, moreover, as defined by the charter, virtually excluded the native population from the franchise by conferring it upon those only who could read and write the English language, while the great mass of the native population could read and write their own language. Although the objectionable feature does not appear in the existing constitution, the share which the natives possess in the government of their country is altogether an illusory one. They cannot generally acquire the necessary qualification by reason of their peculiar customs in reference to property. The land which the native proprietors possess forms a tribal domain, is held in common, and therefore individual rights are incapable of being defined so as to be made a qualification for the elective franchise. Nor, if they could, are the native inhabitants of New Zealand yet sufficiently advanced in civilization to avail themselves of it for acquiring political weight. As it affects the native race, the constitution has undoubtedly, so far from conciliating, given rise to a great amount of distrust and discontent. They are, as is well known, an exceedingly intelligent people; and their sagacity, combined with

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great boldness and determination of character, makes them the least likely people in the world to sit down quietly under a sense of injustice. "If," they have been heard to say, "our affairs are to be put into the hands of any assembly, let them be placed in the hands of an assembly of our own race." They feel that the general animus of the colonists is not favourable to them, and they would prefer being under the direct authority of a Governor representing the Sovereign to whom they first yielded their allegiance. In their treaty with the British Government they looked to the Crown or its representative as their ruler; and little could they have supposed that, within a period of twenty years from the surrender of their independence as a people, the practical government of their country would pass from the crown into the hands of a popular assembly, representing, and responsible to, only a few thousand Englishmen who have settled in their native land. They are beginning to understand the full consequences of this change, and an amount of discontent has been engendered which it may now be very difficult to appease. The disturbances which have recently broken out in the country, the details of which reach us while we write, although ostensibly arising from a question relating to land, have, we are persuaded, a deeper source than territorial disputes, and originate in a firmly rooted conviction that they are now practically governed by an alien race, to which they consider themselves in no respect inferior, but from which they have reason to apprehend oppression, and by which they have been but too often treated with a disregard of feeling which must be peculiarly galling to a proud and sensitive people. Under the peculiar circumstances of that country, perhaps the wisest course that the Imperial Government could pursue, would be to annul the constitution of New Zealand, with a view to restoring it at a future day. A deadly and inveterate feud between the two races might be thus avoided, and possibly a war, opposed to the moral sense of the British nation, which could stop short only of the complete subjection or extermination of the native race. Under the direct government of the Crown, we believe the Maories would be contented and loyal, and time would certainly bring about the fusion of the two peoples. A practical remedy is about to be applied which may give them temporary satisfaction. A separate department for the regulation of native affairs, consisting of members *nominated by the Crown*, and presided over by the Governor, is to be established; and it may avert for a time any evil consequences arising from their present anomalous political position. In the peculiar state of New Zealand, it was, we apprehend, a mistake to establish a constitutional government there. The gift should have been deferred until the two races had made a nearer approach towards amalgamation, and the natives had advanced in knowledge and civilization so far as to be able to appreciate and take their fair share in the working of free institutions.

The great Australian Continent, with its neighbouring island, Tasmania, is now the seat of six popular governments, in several of which the democratic principle has been carried almost to its extreme limits. It is impossible not to regard with the utmost anxiety and interest the working of these institutions in a country so peculiarly circumstanced as Australia. In one important respect it is free from the difficulties that beset the governments of some of our other dependencies in the Southern hemisphere. The aboriginal inhabitants are so feeble and degenerate a branch of the human family, that they may be altogether excluded from political consideration. They are not susceptible of improvement beyond a very limited degree, and there is no probability that they will ever be further raised in the scale of existence. In fact, they are rather retrograding than advancing in the presence of the white settler; and are probably destined, like the North American Indians (a far higher race), to disappear with the advance of civilisation. The great continent, therefore, may be considered, for all practical purposes, as an indefinite field, not only for material progress, but for practical politics, and the development of popular institutions. In Australia, however, there has been presented one of the most remarkable and sudden developments of society that ever before occurred in the world. For more than half a century the great continent manifested only a torpid social life, and was little regarded in England except as a convenient receptacle for convicts, and as a country from which a large quantity of tallow and wool was annually exported. On the brilliant discoveries of gold in New South Wales and Victoria, the attention of the whole civilised world was fixed on the Australian continent, and, in the course of a few months, it received from England, from several of the European states, and from America, not only a vast addition to its labouring population, but representatives of almost every order of society except the highest. All the elements of an old and settled country were transferred at once to a new one. In the year 1851 the province

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of Victoria possessed a population of only 77,345 persons; it now numbers considerably more than 500,000, and contains 211 post towns.

The effect of this vast influx of a population, carrying with it the habits, knowledge, experience, developed intellect, and, we may add, the vices of an old society, necessarily was to cause a very rapid political growth in the country to which it rushed, in the expectation of boundless wealth. Politics as well as other passions of human nature soon acquired a fever heat; and it was found that institutions which had satisfied the country during its dull and monotonous existence, were quite unsuited to the new society which had sprung up, with its vast commercial interests and vehement excitements. In 1850, the province of Victoria had been separated from New South Wales, and a power was granted by the charter to alter and modify the constitution, and enlarge its basis. In 1857, accordingly, the Prime Minister of the day carried through the local Parliament a Reform Bill, the essence of which was manhood suffrage. The new law placed not less than 160,000 names on the register, —an enormous number in proportion to the adult population. Property qualification was at the same time abolished; but the wise restriction was admitted, that no person should be registered as an elector unless he was able to read and write.

It will be extremely interesting to watch the working of this extremely democratic government in Victoria, where an aristocracy of the landed interest has grown up with the earlier progress of the colony, with which the new political element which has been introduced will with difficulty combine. The land question is likely to test not only the character of parties, but the very stability of the Australian institutions. The great national domain, extensive enough to satisfy the wants of all classes, is now being fought and scrambled for, by parties representing supposed conflicting interests; and is made a cause of contention and nucleus of faction, that is shaking these young governments to their foundations. An Executive, possessing a longer duration than a few weeks, has become almost a political impossibility. A vote of want of confidence immediately follows the inauguration of a new ministry; another is formed from the opposition, and is immediately ejected by a similar vote, in which two sections of the House of Representatives are always ready to combine against a third. The machinery of government arrives at a dead lock,—legislation is suspended, and the Governor is obliged to extricate the country from the embarrassments created by hostile factions as he best can, and to resort to temporary expedients for carrying on the government. A democratic government that renders the existence of a durable ministry impossible, is one that cannot long endure without some material modification. In New South Wales the same irreconcilable factions agitate the Legislature. "Amid the discordant opinions and confused clamour of a general election," recently wrote an able correspondent from Sydney, "it is impossible to foresee what sort of land law will pass; it is even doubtful whether any will be passed, and whether public opinion is yet sufficiently matured, and whether any possible ministry can propose any bill that shall enlist the support of a majority of both Houses."* In South Australia, three consecutive administrations were overthrown in two months. Western Australia is not yet sufficiently advanced for a representative government. The new colony of Queensland, formerly Moreton Bay, is only in its infancy as an offset from its parent state, Sydney; but it has carried with it the institutions of the first planted of the Australian settlements. Tasmania was declared by proclamation independent of New South Wales in 1825, and in 1854 an elective Legislative Council and House of Assembly were constituted. The country is peaceable and orderly; and its Legislature is free from the disquieting factions of the larger Australian states, and is successfully directing its attention to the great resources and capabilities of the island, and the adoption of the improvements essential to social progress. There is a great probability that this fertile and beautiful island will eventually become the most attractive of the Australian settlements. The time must, however, necessarily arrive, when these great colonies, rich in all the elements of wealth, and filled with industrious and energetic populations, will cease to be dependencies of England. Of the time of their separation from the parent state they will judge for themselves, as well as of the institutions which may supersede the mixed government under which they have grown to maturity. We trust that their political education will have so prepared them for independence, that the sagacity and moderation which distinguish the Anglo-Saxon race will so guide their counsels, that their future career will not disgrace the people from which they sprung, and that some form of federation will bind them together in a generous alliance, and give them a political unity and a national history worthy of the

* Letter from the *Times*' Correspondent.

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country from which they sprung, and of the empire of which they once formed such an important and valuable part.

In the preceding sketch of our numerous dependencies and their constitutions, no notice has been taken of those colonies which do not possess a representative form of government, are not yet masters of their own destiny, and do not possess any effective control over their own affairs. It has been our purpose to exhibit the present state of such of our possessions as enjoy free institutions, and to show the use they have made and are making of their practical independence. That in some cases the capability of a colony for self-government has been miscalculated, is, we think, but too clear; in some the mixed character of the population rendered the experiment hazardous or unjust;—in others, where the territory is too limited for the satisfactory development of the system, the forms of government present but a poor parody of their great prototype, the British Constitution. In others, again, we recognize the true spirit of liberty combined with that steadiness of principle and vigour of administration which distinguishes states essentially free,—free not only from arbitrary and irresponsible power, but from the dominion of those passions and prejudices that are not only irreconcilable with self-government but constitute in themselves the most servile and degrading of yokes. Of our great North American dependencies the fairest hopes may be entertained. They are doubtless destined to run a course of great material prosperity, and to attain a very high degree of political importance. Under the guidance of the able public men whom the institutions of the country are producing. and by the patriotism of the people, a power may be created in America, not only capable of maintaining its independence, but possibly of balancing the great neighbouring democratic republic, and checking its tendency to a dangerous predominance. Africa can hardly fail to receive great benefits from the prosperous colony at its southern extremity, which seems destined to give a civilising impulse to the countries which border on it, and in time to impart to the benighted millions of a great continent the blessings of a regenerating faith. New Zealand, with its noble native race, civilized and Christianized, and gradually prepared for self-government, will impart to the multitudinous islands of the Pacific a renovated existence; and the colonies of the Australian continent will, it is to be hoped, eventually work their way, through many trials, perhaps, and after much perplexity, to the dignity of a great and enlightened confederation; and Great Britain, in the day of her decrepitude, whenever it shall arrive, may have the satisfaction of seeing her political offspring at the antipodes emulating her virtues, and animated by her noble example and history; perhaps rivalling her great historic actions, and eclipsing her ancient splendour and renown.

Of the fifty British dependencies, constituting the empire "on which the sun never sets," there are many, by reason of minuteness, and there is one by reason of its vast proportions and peculiar social condition, manifestly unfitted for the reception of constitutional government. The case of India is peculiar and exceptional, and no change that we can reasonably imagine, as within the bounds of probability, is likely to affect the people of Hindostan, so far as to bring them into the category of those populations qualified to exercise political rights. But while we cannot concede the privileges of freedom to a people so manifestly unqualified for their enjoyment, neither can we ever justly delegate the power of ruling them to the British residents in India. An agitation, it may be remembered, was commenced in Calcutta, and in one or both of the other presidencies, a few years since, for obtaining from the Imperial Government a constitution for India, somewhat similar to those which had been granted to other dependencies; and a demand was made for an elective legislature, open discussion, and "ministerial responsibility." The plan of these gentlemen for the future government of India appeared to be based on this assumption, namely, that they and the other British inhabitants who had resorted thither for the improvement of their fortunes and the exercise of their professions, should be invested with the power, not merely of governing themselves, but with dominion over one hundred and fifty millions of Asiatics, including tributary and protected sovereigns, a proud nobility, ancient priesthoods, and populations arrived at a high degree of civilisation, with laws of an antiquity which no European nation can claim, and customs to which none of the usages of our modern civilization bear the slightest resemblance. This unparalleled demand involved the right of taxation, and the exercise of all the civil and military functions that are now possessed by the Governor-General in Council under direct responsibility to the Crown. The policy of investing a body of Englishmen, even in a comparatively limited territory, where there exists a large native population, with irresponsible power, may, as we have before suggested, be very

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strongly objected to; but to entrust the future of India and the interests of its people to a few thousand British subjects, with strong European prejudices and manifold temptations to abuse their delegated trust, would be a policy so preposterous, that we can only wonder at the folly of the men who could publicly meet to discuss such a proposition, and embody the demand in a petition addressed to the Legislature of Great Britain.

In one very important respect the colonial system of Great Britain differs from any now existing in Europe, and it may be said has no parallel in history. Our dependencies have been, generally speaking, free from the obligation of contributing, either by personal service or by money payment, towards their own defence. As a contrast to the extreme liberality with which this country treats her colonies, it may be stated that the only two European nations which, in addition to England, possess colonies of any importance, derive considerable revenues from their dependencies. In 1857 the surplus revenue paid by the Dutch colonies into the metropolitan exchequer, after defraying all their military and naval expenses, was 31,858,421 florins, or about L.2,600,000; and the estimated surplus revenue from the Spanish colonies for the last year was 115,000,000 reals, or about L.1,150,000. The dependencies of England, on the other hand, are maintained at a cost which very seriously taxes the purses of our people. That there may be considerable indirect pecuniary advantages resulting from our extended colonial possessions we have, in a previous part of this essay, endeavoured to demonstrate; nor is it any answer to that economical view of the question, to say that the trade would exist independently of the relation. The exports received from Great Britain by Australia are, as compared with its population, at the rate of twelve pounds per head, while the exports received by the United States are at the rate of less than one; and these figures show conclusively how much larger is the commerce with countries which remain part of the empire, than with those which have separated from it. The pecuniary relations of the colonies to the mother country, in the matter of their military defence, cannot nevertheless be regarded otherwise than as a gigantic anomaly, which it is incumbent upon us to take the earliest opportunity to remove, and to place the numerous dependencies of the country upon that just footing, in regard to cost of their protection, which policy points out, and public opinion now appears imperatively to demand.

In reference to this important question, the report, the title of which we have prefixed to this article, supplies many valuable details and suggestions, which, as embodying the opinions of several individuals of great official and colonial experience, are well worthy of attention. To this document we shall advert in some detail, presenting in the first instance a statement of the nature and amount of the liabilities incurred by Great Britain in providing for the defence of her colonies.

Including, then, the cost of the German Legion established at the Cape of Good Hope, the whole military expenditure connected with the colonies amounted, for the year 1858, to L.3,968,599, of which sum only L.378,253 was contributed by the colonies, being one-tenth only of the whole; and of that contribution two-thirds were paid by Victoria and Ceylon; and it is remarkable that no other colony but Canada, and, to a small extent, Victoria, the Cape, New Zealand, and one or two of the West India colonies, have even organized a militia, or established a volunteer force for their protection. "We consider," justly say the the Commissioners in their report, "that this immunity, throwing as it does the defence of the colonies almost entirely on the mother country, is open to two main objections. In the first place, it imposes an enormous burden and inconvenience on the people of England, not only by the addition it makes to their taxes, but by calling off to remote stations a large proportion of their troops and ships, and thereby weakens their means of defence at home. But a still more important objection is the tendency which this system must necessarily have, to prevent the development of a proper spirit of self-reliance among our colonists, and to enfeeble their national character. By the gift of political self-government, we have bestowed upon our colonies a most important element of national education; but the habit of self-defence constitutes a part hardly less important of the training of a free people, and it will never be acquired by our colonists if we assume exclusively the task of defending them."

The number of British troops of all arms and ranks stationed in the colonies during the year 1858, was 47,251. Now, the first impression suggested by this return is the enormous waste of force which the dispersion of such an army over a considerable portion of the globe implies. To scatter the land forces of the empire over the outlying possessions of a great maritime state, such as Great Britain, is rather to court disaster than to ensure security. The colonial

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dominion of Great Britain rests entirely on her naval supremacy. "The mistress of the seas," in the emphatic language of the report to which we have referred, "is the mistress of whatever colonies she pleases to hold or to take; and if ever she ceases to be mistress of the seas, it is not ports or garrisons that will save her colonies." All history proves that the maintenance of dominion over scattered and distant territories depends either upon the character and power of the countries themselves and their populations, or upon the command of the sea. Colonial garrisons, when not very large, and in first-class fortresses, such as Malta and Gibraltar (exceptional cases, where large garrisons are maintained exclusively for imperial interests), have, as is most justly said, always found themselves in traps, and at the mercy of naval expeditions; and we should infallibly lose all our colonies, which do not possess natural and efficient internal means of defence, if we had for our antagonist a power, or a combination of powers, able to command the sea, and desirous of taking them.

"Deducting the garrisons of the Mediterranean stations, and the other colonial possessions, which are simply military ports; in 1858 about 27,000 regular troops were employed, and more than L.2,000,000 of money was spent on the military defence of the rest of the colonies; and we cannot but feel convinced that these troops and that money might be much more usefully employed—indeed more usefully for the colonies themselves, because in a manner more conducive to the general welfare and security of the empire. There are four or five thousand men, for example, scattered in detachments of a few companies each in the West Indies; and yet there is not a port in the whole command which they could hold for a week against a hostile expedition. It seems to us clear, that the same number of soldiers would be far more serviceable to the empire if stationed in England; and that the cost of them spent on our fleet would contribute more effectually to the protection of the West Indies themselves, than the present arrangement."

Such is the decisive opinion of two of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject. The question is undoubtedly beset with difficulties, which have indeed caused some difference of opinion between the three members of the commission. There is, however, one plain indisputable ground on which Great Britain ought to contribute liberally towards the defence of her colonies; and that is, that the Imperial Government has the absolute control of peace and war, and is therefore bound, on the ordinary principles of justice, to defend them against the consequences of its foreign policy. It would be to evade one of the highest of its obligations, and to ignore one of the first of its duties, were it to omit to protect its dependencies from the consequences of any war in which it might be involved. This security, to which the colonists have a moral claim, can, as we have seen, be only obtained by such a maritime preponderance as shall put even the possibility of any hostile attack altogether out of the question. The maintenance of a navy sufficiently numerous and powerful to command *at all times* the dominion of the seas, is therefore not only a matter of ordinary self-preservation, but a positive duty which this country owes to its colonies while they continue in a state of dependence. Regarded in this point of view, the attempt of any European power to bring British naval preponderance into question, by systematically increasing its maritime force, involves questions of the most serious international importance. The hostile mind implied in any such attempted competition cannot and ought not to be ignored. The peace and prosperity of our numerous dependencies are at stake; and however we may affect to overlook or slight dangers remotely threatening ourselves, there is an obligation which the state cannot in honour evade. There was a time when any unusual activity in the ports and arsenals of France would have been held to justify an energetic remonstrance; and the preparation of vast armaments without any plausible pretext or legitimate aim, constitutes in itself a ground for categorical demands. It was an evil omen for England and her colonies, when her Foreign Minister recently rose in his place in the House of Commons, and, "with bated breath and whispering humbleness," said that it was *natural* that France should desire to possess a strong navy; and that *he* saw no ground for complaint on the part of Great Britain if our "ally" chose to augment his fleets in any proportion he might think fit. England once possessed ministers who would have spoken in tones of thunder, followed by swift and corresponding action, on the first indication of such a portentous naval development as that which has recently manifested itself within sixty miles of our shores.*

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* Thomson, who was as good a patriot as poet, has some noble lines in his "Britannia' on the importance of maintaining an indisputable naval pre-eminence:—

"For, oh! it much imports you, 'tis your all,
To keep your trade entire, entire the force

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While protecting the colonies, as we are bound to do, from any possible consequences of a rupture with a maritime power, it is but just that the whole of their internal police, and, as far as possible, the force requisite for controlling warlike neighbours or savage or semi-civilised tribes, should be provided exclusively by themselves. The Cape of Good Hope, in consequence of its scanty population in proportion to its extent, must be a temporary exception to this rule. It admits unhappily of no doubt, that the Cape colony, which absorbs almost an army for its defence, is quite incapable of keeping in check the vast hordes of barbarians that are constantly pressing on the colonial frontier; and that without an imposing force of British troops it would probably be speedily overrun by the Kaffir race, and every vestige of civilisation effaced in a few months of exterminating warfare. With this exception, the colonies should be left to provide for their internal defences, and every effort should be used to promote the growth of their military strength and the cultivation of that martial spirit which is the characteristic of their race.

But to measure the importance of our colonies merely by the standard of finance, would be to form a very false estimate of their value. The time has long passed when these magnificent possessions were regarded chiefly as the convenient but costly appurtenances of a corrupt government, supplying the means for rewarding political services, and buying off troublesome opposition. They are now the homes of virtuous and happy but once depressed and suffering multitudes, who fled to them as a refuge from distress, and found in the fertile regions beyond the seas a comfort and an independence they had sought in vain amidst the crowd and competition of their native land. They still present boundless fields for the employment of our redundant population. Nor can there be a doubt that the world at large has greatly benefited by the activity of British emigration. The colonists carried the arts, sciences, language, and religion of the old world to lands previously occupied only by a few miserable savages; the empire of civilization has been immeasurably enlarged; England has been enriched by a vast variety of new products, and by a commerce which overwhelms the imagination by its immensity; and her numerous settlements have served to stimulate the inventive powers of genius, and to call forth some of the highest qualities of human nature, while they have abundantly rewarded, and will long continue to reward, the patient industry of man.

And honour of your fleets; o'er that to watch,
Even with a hand severe, and jealous eye.
In intercourse be gentle, generous, just,
By wisdom polished, and of manners fair;
But on the sea be terrible, untamed,
Unconquerable still: let none escape,
Who shall but aim to touch your glory there."

Art. V.—1. *Poems and Essays.* By the late William Caldwell Roscoe. Edited, with a Prefatory Memoir, by his Brother-in-law, Richard Holt Hutton. Two vols. 1860.
2. *Io in Egypt, and Other Poems.* By Richard Garnett. 1859.
3. *Lucile.* By Owen Meredith. 1860.
4. *Blanche Lisle, and other Poems.* By Cecil Home. 1860.
5. *Poems.* By Thomas Ashe. 1859.

During the last year or two a considerable number of volumes of poetry have appeared, some of which have perhaps as good a claim to our notice as some in the above list; and nearly all of them indicate a decided improvement of tone and intention as compared with the class which was most abundantly issued some seven years ago. There is much less straining after effect,—the effect strained after being as worthless as the power to produce it was usually inefficient. The fundamental poetical rule, "Look in thy heart, and write," has been much more commonly adhered to; and the consequence is, that a good deal of the most recent poetry, if it does not exhibit any extraordinary ability, is at least not a nuisance; if it does not give its authors a right to abiding stations in the halls of fame, it at least, as a rule, does no discredit to their intelligence and feelings as men and women.

We have already noticed and given emphatic praise to the late Mr. W. C. Roscoe's powers as a dramatist, though we in common with the rest of the world, were ignorant at the time we reviewed the tragedy of "Violenzia," of the name of the author. Had this work—by much the most important piece in the two volumes just published by Mr. Hutton—not been noticed by us before, we should have endeavored to devote a separate article to this collection, which, with Mr. Hutton's charmingly written biography of his brother-in-law at the beginning, constitutes one of the most graceful and readable of the season's contributions to literature. In all that Mr. Roscoe has written there is a sound knowledge of, and hearty

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sympathy with humanity, which is oftener pretended to than really possessed by poets whom the world has pronounced much greater. Of all poetic qualities, the most essential, yet, strange to say, the most rare, are these. They are the very foundation of poetry, without which, whatever proud and painted superstructure is raised, and for the present applauded, no work can abide the patient test of time. On this truth we have over and over again insisted in this *Review*, and in the light of it we have ventured at times to give opinions upon the value of poetic works which were strongly at variance with the popular faith of the moment, but which even a very few years have already in some instances, done much to establish. Judging what Mr. Roscoe has written by this truth we do not hesitate to declare our impression that if he has not won an abiding place among English poets, it is entirely because he did not see fit to give himself with the necessary *abandon* to the cultivation of his fully sufficient powers. The peculiar circumstances and moral conditions of the time render the production of thoroughly good poetry so extremely difficult; they demand so commanding and tender an intellect to see through the prosaic fallacies of society, and its flippant cynicisms, without despising it; a philosophy at once so subtle and so real,—so courageously, nay more, unconcernedly opposed to fashionable dogmas; so clear a vision of truths which men have ceased to see clearly, or have never learned to see, and withal so patient a devotion to the completeness of verbal expression, in a time which endeavours to make up for its substantial deficiencies by demanding an unprecedented beauty of surface, that a man who feels the power, must, in settling with himself and his conscience whether he has the *right* to make himself a poet, consider whether he is justified in abandoning all other kinds of success. Mr. Roscoe appears to have weighed the matter thoughtfully, and answered it conscientiously in the negative; and there is something very touching in the sonnet printed at the end of "Violenzia," in which he conveys this conclusion:—

The bubble of the silver-springing waves,
 Castalian music, and that flattering sound,
Low rustling of the loved Apollian leaves,
 With which my youthful hair was to be crown'd,
Grow dimmer in my ears, while Beauty grieves
 Over her votary, less frequent found,
And, not untouch'd by storms, my life-boat heaves
 Through the splash'd ocean-waters, outward bound.
And as the leaning mariner, his hand
 Clasp'd on his oar, strives trembling to reclaim
Some loved, lost echo from the strand,
So lean I back to the poetic land;
And in my heart a sound, a voice, a name,
Hangs, as above the lamp hangs the expiring flame.

Referring our readers to our recent article on the "Modern Dramatists" for fuller proof of our assertion of Mr. Roscoe's high natural powers, we must content ourselves in this place with a passage or two from the minor poems, now for the first time published by Mr. Hutton. We have plenty of poets who can paint clouds, and hills, and waters, but how few who can write so well of a woman as this:

On many an English lady's face
Fair Fortune grants these eyes to gaze;
Not fair alone in form and hue
But gracious, guileless, tender, true.
I do not say, you shall not find
A fairer face or loftier mind;
But none where Love's deep fervour lies
More deep in secret-keeping eyes;
None where fair Truth from more sincere
Unstained windows gazes clear,
Or consecrated duty made
Eyes more abash'd, yet less afraid;
Where pain so quietly hath hid
Beneath an unrevealing lid;
Or quick-accepted comfort smiled,
With all the freshness of a child.
None whence shyer, sweeter laughter
Shot, the sweet voice following after.

Or as this:—

When I ask'd her, "Wilt thou kiss me?"
 Nought she said, but hung her cheek so,
As if she were thinking, thinking
 Whether she might do't or no.

Then her fair, kind face upturning.
 One sweet touch I here did win;
As if she were a thinking, thinking
 Such small graces are no sin.

She therein lost no composure,
 Nor ashamed did she seem;
Truly chaste may grant such favour,
 And therein lose no esteem.

In a graver style, the following poem, called "Opportunity," is fine, though not complete; indeed none of these smaller poems appear to have been more than the easily thrown off expressions of the thoughts and feelings of the moment. In "Violenzia" alone does Mr. Roscoe appear to have put forth anything like his true power.

O opportunity, thou gull of the world!
 That, being present, winnest but disdain,
So small thou seem'st; but once behind us whirl'd,
 A grim phantasma, shadowest all the plain.

Thou Parthian, that shoot'st thine arrows back,
 Meeting our front with terror-feigning doles;
But often, turning on the flying track,
 With memory-winged shafts dost wound our souls.

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Thou air, which breathing we do scarce perceive,
  And think it little to enjoy the light;
But when the unvalued sun hath taken leave,
  Darkly thou showest in the expanse of night.

Thou all men's torment, no man's comforter,
  Lost opportunity! that shut'st the door
On all unwork'd intentions, and dost stir
  Their fretting ghosts to plague our heart's deep
    core.

Thou sword of sharp Remorse, and sting of time!
  Passionate empoisoner of mortal tears!
Thou blaster of fresh Hope's recurring prime!
  Crutch of despair, and sustenance of fears!

But oh, to those who have the wit to use thee,
  Thou glorious angel, clasp'd with golden wings;
Whereon he climbing that did rightly choose thee,
  Sees wondrous sights of unexpected things.

Thou instrument of never-dying fame,
  To those that snatch thy often proffer'd hilt;
To those that on the door can read thy name,
  Thou residence of glory ready built.

Used opportunity! thou torch of act,
  And planted ladder to a high desire;
Thou one thing needful, making nothing lack'd;
  Thou spark unto a laid, unlighted fire.

Richard Garnett, the author of "Io in Egypt, and other Poems," is a young man who has only to do his own powers justice, in order to make himself a name among modern poets. It is not often that a first volume contains so much not only of promise, but of performance, as that before us. Mr. Garnett, in this volume, tries his hand at two kinds of poetry,—one descriptive, and the other lyric. In the first, he seems to us to have written vividly, but not originally; in the last, when we say that he has written well, we say that he has shown originality; for there never was a good lyric produced which had not some unprecedented musical movement; and unprecedented musical movement is perhaps the most absolute of all tests of originality in poetry. We like the poem which stands first, and gives its name to the volume, as little as anything in it. The prominent place given to this piece seems to show, that Mr. Garnett has not yet acquired that very necessary element of a considerable success in any art—a knowledge of the peculiarities of his own strength—which unquestionably lies in the lyric. "The Pope's Daughter," is a very intensely rendered sketch of Lucretia Borgia; but the intensity, besides having the fault of making the portrait frightful, reminds us much too strongly of Mr. Browning's verse, and of a certain picture by Mr. Gabriel Rossetti, which obviously suggested this poem. In proportion as Mr. Garnett's verses approach the lyric, they improve. Here is a piece, half-descriptive, half lyric, which, though not perfect, is, on the whole, beautiful and impressive:—

BEFORE THE STORM.

    O majesty of night!
    The constant moon and stars
    Pursued their westward path
In cold tranquillity, nor ever turn'd
    One sidelong glance, to scan
Their spotless beauty tremulously glass'd
In the eternal mirror of the main.
    Faint, unsubstantial clouds,
Rapid as Panic, white as ghosts, sped on;
Like guilty thoughts of night, unmeet to brave
The awful splendour of the moon's pure eye.

    The restless sea rock'd on
Like a child's cradle, like a nurse the while
She croon'd her endless, soft, irregular lay.
    Now to the rugged cliff
The delicate foam with humid hisses clung,
    And now retreated coy;
    As saying, "Kiss me not
Before the virgin moon and quiet stars.
    What do they know of love?
The silent, the immutable, who pace
The self-same path forever, as they shed
The self-same splendours from the self-same skies!
    What do they know of love?
    How shall they comprehend
    The tempest of my heart,
    The magic of my smile,
My stormy passions and my sudden calms?
    Wait, patient Rock, but wait
    For nights without a moon,
    For skies without a star,
    For hurricanes unchain'd!
Wait for the sea-bird shrieking in the gust,
The sailor battling with the deep, and then,
    I shake my briny locks,
    I soar up from my bed,
And, thrilling with my multitude of waves,
    I fall upon thy neck!"

We must confess that the last four lines seem to us sadly to diminish the effect of what is otherwise a striking and beautifully expressed thought. Mr. Garnett appears to be a scholar in several modern languages, and we fancy we trace an unfortunate partiality for the worst of all schools for a lyric poet, the modern German, in which such mixed and discordant images as those in the four lines in question are very common, even with poets of name. For purity and dignity of style, an English poet has such high models in his own language, that he can scarcely turn his eye to the verse of any other country, unless he goes back some four or five centuries, without risk of some corruption of taste.

From several equally beautiful and significant lyrics, we select

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THE BALLAD OF THE BOAT.

The stream was smooth as glass : we said, "Arise, and let's away ;"
The Siren sang beside the boat that in the rushes lay ;
And spread the sail and strong the oar, we gaily took our way.
When shall the sandy bar be cross'd ? when shall we find the bay ?

The broadening flood swells slowly out o'er cattle-dotted plains,
The stream is strong and turbulent, and dark with heavy rains,
The labourer looks up to see our shallop speed away.
When shall the sandy bar be cross'd ? when shall we find the bay ?

Now are the clouds like fiery shrouds ; the sun, superbly large,
Slow as an oak to woodman's stroke sinks flaming at their marge.
The waves are bright with mirror'd light, as jacinths on our way.
When shall the sandy bar be cross'd ? when shall we find the bay ?

The moon is high up in the sky, and now no more we see
The spreading river's either bank, and surging distantly,
There booms a sullen thunder, as of breakers far away.
Now shall the sandy bar be cross'd, now shall we find the bay !

The seagull shrieks high overhead, and dimly to our sight
The moonlit crests of foaming waves gleam towering through the night.
We steal upon the mermaid soon, and start her from her lay,
When once the sandy bar is cross'd, and we are in the bay.

What rises white and awful as a shroud-enfolded ghost ?
What roar of rampant tumult bursts in clangour on the coast ?
Pull back ! Pull back ! the raging flood sweeps every oar away.
O, stream, is this thy bar of sand ? O, boat, is this the bay ?

There is a fine moral symbolism in this and some other of Mr. Garnett's lyrics, which will probably, sooner or later, place them among the popular classics. In several others we can detect no human purpose whatever ; they are mere plays of fancy, which have no reason to show for their existence, and are not sufficiently beautiful to have a right to exist without reason. It may be, however, that these apparently meaningless poems have a sense too subtle for our finding. We do not say this ironically ; for Mr. Garnett's inner meaning is often veiled very deeply. His best lyrics, like much of the finest poetry which has been written, have two meanings,— one exoteric, and satisfactory enough in itself ; the other esoteric, which does not appear till you look for it, as in

OUR CROCODILE.

Our crocodile, (Psammarathis,
A priest at Ombi told me this.)
Our crocodile is good and dear,
And eats a damsel once a year.

To me unworthy hath he done
This favour three times—one by one
Three daughters ate ! I praise, therefore,
And honour him for evermore.

Each spring there is an exhibition
Of maidens, and a competition.
The baffled fair are blank and spiteful,
The victor's triumph most delightful.

Three months secluded doth she dwell
With the high pontiff in his cell,
Due-worshipping each deity,
And Venus more especially.

Then, on an island in the Nile,
They take her to our crocodile ;
He wags his tail, the great jaws stir,
And make a happy end of her.

B, a, bo ! O you brainless child !
(My fourth, sir,) dirty, rude, and wild !
You'll break my heart ! you'll ne'er be meet
For any crocodile to eat.

Are we mistaken in fancying that this very humorous little piece is meant to bear an application to modern views of the end and aim of damsels, and the main object of their education ?

We trust that many of our readers will send at once for Mr. Garnett's volume, when we assure them that we could easily fill the whole space to be devoted to this article with extracts as good, or very nearly as good, as the three we have given. It will be Mr. Garnett's own fault if he does not, before long, come before us with an irresistible claim to a fuller notice than we are now able to award him.

"Owen Meredith," whose earlier productions have been noticed in this *Review* with praise, comes before the world for the third time, in the poem called "Lucile." This young poet writes much too fast. It is scarcely a year ago that we were reviewing "The Wanderer," and here is a new work as long or longer than "Paradise Lost," and—we have the poet's word for it—almost as ambitious. "Owen Meredith," in his "Dedication," lays much stress upon the novelty of this effort. "In this poem," he

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says, "I have abandoned those forms of verse with which I had most familiarised my thoughts, and have endeavoured to follow a path on which I could discover no foot-print before me, either to guide or to warn." We take it for granted that "Owen Meredith" refers to English literature only; for in French literature, with which he is obviously very well acquainted, there is certainly much that strongly reminds us both of the versification and of the poetic tone and quality of "Lucile." Indeed, its most remarkable characteristic is the extraordinary, and, as far as we can remember, unprecedented spectacle, of a really vital reproduction, in the English language, of those qualities of the modern French novel which are most unlike the ordinary characteristics of our own literature. The moral point of view from which the author of "Lucile" regards man and society is quite startlingly unlike anything we have hitherto witnessed in any English writer of similar poetic pretensions; and his ideas of such matters as virtue, genius, love, marriage, and the like, are certainly wholly original, if regard be had only to what has hitherto appeared in the verse of any English poet, or indeed in the prose of any English writer of consideration. The poem opens with a letter from the Countess de Nevers (Lucile) to Lord Alfred Vargrave. We give the commencing lines as a fair average specimen of the verse and pitch of the style:—

I hear from Bigorre you are there. I am told
You are going to marry Miss Darcy. Of old,
So long since you may have forgotten it now
(When we parted as friends, soon mere strangers
to grow),
Your last words recorded a pledge—what you
will—
A promise—the time is now come to fulfil.
The letters I ask you, my lord, to return,
I desire to receive from your hand. You discern
My reasons, which, therefore, I need not explain.

The lady who writes thus to Lord Vargrave is one of those combinations of almost inconceivable virtue and extreme indiscretion which are seldom met with except in the modern French romance. She and Lord Vargrave were formerly lovers, but, to quote the words of the English gentleman in relating the affair to "Cousin John,"

She bored me. I showed it. She saw it. What
next?
She reproach'd. I retorted. Of course she was
vex'd.

For the ten years intervening between the separation which naturally followed, Lucile had endeavoured to assuage her sorrow by dressing, and dancing, and fascinating the society of Paris and the German baths, travelling about "unprotected," and doing her dancing without any defence against a slanderous world but that of her incomparable virtue and "genius," which seem to have consisted, up to this period, in leading a very gay life from a very grave motive, namely, the necessity of keeping in abeyance her passion for the unworthy young coxcomb whom she knew that she had "bored." This lady, on hearing that Lord Vargrave is going to be married, writes, as we have seen, without the remotest intention of disturbing his matrimonial arrangements, or of reviving old feelings. She says that "he discerns her reasons, which therefore she need not explain;" but we think she gives him credit for uncommonly quick perfection, if she supposes that he could have discerned that she bids him come to her, as she says afterwards, only in order that, by seeing him altered by ten years of additional age and intercourse with the world, she may have her early impression of him, and with that, her passion for him, removed. "Cousin John," who is a curiously French representation of a bluff and honest Englishman, on being shown the summons of Lucile, and told her story, comes to the not unnatural, but quite erroneous conclusion, that she is a mischief-making coquette. He advises his cousin not to go, for

Who knows what may hap?
This letter—to *me*—is a palpable trap.

Lord Vargrave, however, does go, without even bidding adieu to his betrothed, with whom he is, at the time, travelling in the company of a female relative. The result is, of course, what every one but the hero and the heroine could have foreseen. They find each other a thousand times more charming than ever, and the passion of their early youth was nothing to that which is at once produced, on either side, by this interview. We can give only the main features of Lord Vargrave as he is described in his attractive maturity:—

His classical reading is great: he can quote
Horace, Juvenal, Ovid, and Martial by rote.
He has read metaphysics,—Spinoza and Kant;
And theology too: I have heard him descant
Upon Basil and Jerome. Antiquities, art,
He is fond of. He knows the old masters by
heart,
And his taste is refined. I must own in this place
He is scarcely good-looking; and yet in his face
There is something that makes you gaze at it
again.
You single him out from a room full of men,
And feel curious to know him. There's that in
his look
Which draws you to read in it as in a book

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Of some cabalist, character'd curiously o'er
With incomprehensible legended lore.
Relentless, and patient, and resolute, cold,
Unimpassion'd, and callous, and silently bold.

"Owen Meredith," we see by the above, very properly chooses a "representative man" for his hero, and with a delight in difficulties which is not uncommon in young poets, renders him the type of a class which is, of all others, perhaps the hardest to make anything of in poetry,—namely, the "fast man" of the higher orders; the sort of man who, being, as St. Paul says, "past feeling," pursues the pleasures of vanity and the senses "with greediness." Our readers will observe the irony of his "classical reading," being so "great" that he cannot only quote, but quote "by rote," from certain very generally known Latin poets. We imagine, indeed, that we detect a continued under-current of irony in the description—hundreds of lines long—which is given of Lord Vargrave, in the early part of the poem. The description is probably meant to contain the hero's views of himself, rather than the views of his historian, who no doubt despises him as thoroughly as he deserves to be despised, and who means to show, by the course of his narrative, that the most contemptible and the most hateful characters—severally represented by Lord Vargrave and the Duke de Luvois—can be raised into the region of poetic interest by human passion. We are not sure that Owen Meredith has succeeded in showing this, or, indeed, that any poet could have so succeeded. A career of fashionable profligacy denaturalizes men beyond power of recovery by any such cures as those which are administered by the poet to his two heroes.

On his road to Serchon, Lord Vargrave overtakes a stranger—the Duke de Luvois—with whom he has a great deal of conversation. And here we must mention that the poem is half epic, half drama. Let us give a few lines from this conversation, as a specimen of the mode in which the poet faces the well-known difficulty of saying common things in serious verse:—

Stranger. I wish to enjoy what I can,
A sunset, if only a sunset be near;
A moon such as this, if the weather be clear;
A good dinner, if hunger come with it; good wine
If I'm thirsty; a fire if I'm cold; and, in fine,
If a woman is pretty, to me 'tis no matter,
Be she *blonde* or *brunette*, so she lets me look at her.
Lord Alfred. I suspect that, at Serchon, if rumour speak true,
Your choice is not limited.
Stranger. Yes. One or two
Of our young Paris ladies remain there, but yet
The season is over.
Lord Alfred. I almost forget
The place; but remember when last I was there,
I thought the best part of it then was the air
And the mountains.
Stranger. No doubt! All these baths are the same,
One wonders for what upon earth the world came
To seek, under all sorts of difficulties,
The very same things in the far Pyrenees
Which it fled from at Paris. Health, which is, no doubt,
The true object of all, not a soul talks about.

We find, from the close of this dialogue, that the Duke de Luvois is himself in love with Lucile; and it appears to be, in great part, owing to the discovery of this circumstance, that Lord Vargrave's affection is so passionately revived for the eccentric Countess, who seems to be on the point of accepting the proposals of the Duke, when her own heart also recurs to its early passion. The Countess's apartment, into which Lord Vargrave is shown on his reaching Serchon, is thus described:—

This white, little, fragrant apartment, 'tis true,
Seemed unconsciously fashioned for some rendezvous;
But you felt, by the sense of its beauty reposed,
'Twas the shrine of a life chaste and calm. Half unclosed
In the light slept the flowers; all was pure and at rest;
All peaceful; all modest; all seemed self-possess'd
And aware of the silence. No vestige or trace,
Of a young woman's coquetry troubled the place;
Not a scarf, not a shawl.

Into this apartment Lucile enters, and her demeanour, though declared by the poet to be everything that is circumspect and proper towards the hero, does seem to us to justify "Cousin John's" worst suspicions concerning the lady's true character.

Her figure, though slight, had revived everywhere
The luxurious proportions of youth; and her hair—
Once shorn as an offering to passionate love—
Now floated or rested redundant above
Her airy pure forehead and throat; gathered loose
Under which, by one violet knot, the profuse
Milk-white folds of a cool modest garment reposed,
Rippled faint by the breast they half hid, half disclosed;
And her simple attire thus in all things reveal'd
The fine art which so artfully all things conceal'd.

These last lines contain certainly a somewhat French representation of the nature of modesty, but we perhaps ought to judge "Owen Meredith" by his own ideal rather than ours; and there is no denying that this and many similar descriptions in "Lucile" are very pretty and French-life-like,—as no

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doubt they ought to be, when a French woman is the subject. This praise, of course, we give with a reservation in favour of the Scotch and English lasses, whose object in dress is not that "all things should be reveal'd." The poet goes on to tell us that

Lord Alfred, who never conceived that Lucile
Could have look'd so enchanting, felt tempted to kneel
At her feet,—

a state of mind which could not, of course, have been foreseen by the discreet heroine, in summoning her former lover to her side just before his marriage with "Miss Darcy." The lady at first keeps him at a proper distance by a great deal of talk, in the manner of La Rochefoucauld; nevertheless, in the midst of it "she tenderly laid her light hand on his own," and behaved so amiably, on the whole, that

He felt all his plausible theories posed;
And thrill'd by the beauty of nature disclosed
In the pathos of all he had witness'd, his head
And his knee he bow'd humbly, and faltering said,
"Ah, madam, I feel that I never till now
Comprehended you—never! I blush to avow
That I have not deserved you."

Lucile replies in a manner which makes Lord Alfred say to himself, "Is this an advance?" and, at the thought, he

Raised with a passionate glance
The hand of Lucile to his lips,

unrebuked; and, of course,

The more that he look'd, that he listen'd, the more
He discover'd perfections unnoticed before.

. . . . .

Less salient than once, less poetic perchance,
This woman, who thus had survived the romance
That had made him its hero, and breathed him its sighs
Seemed more charming a thousand times o'er to his eyes.

Lucile, however,

Question'd much, with the interest a sister might feel,
Of Lord Alfred's new life,—of Miss Darcy—her face,
Her temper, accomplishments—pausing to trace,
The advantage derived from a Hymen so fit.

. . . . .

Unobserved by Lord Alfred, the time fleeted by.
To each novel sensation spontaneously
He abandoned himself,

Until

From the hall, on a sudden, a sharp ring was heard.

It was the Duke de Luvois, in whom Lucile seems to have been in the habit of showing the same sort of sisterly interest.

There came
O'er Lord Alfred at once, at the sound of that name,
An invincible sense of vexation,

which was not diminished by observing, when he turned towards Lucile "an indefinite look of confusion."

Lord Vargrave goes out at the garden-casement as the Duke enters the door; but

The Duke's visit goaded, and vex'd,
And disturb'd him. At length he resolved to remain
In the garden, and call on the Countess again
As soon as the Duke went. In short, he would stay,
Were it only to know when the Duke went away.

By this needlessly clandestine exit, the young English Lord places himself in a position which English gentlemen are usually careful to avoid, namely, one which compels him to further concealment, during which he is obliged to over-hear an offer made and equivocally received.

And here we must remark that the poet seems to us to be not quite aware of the great difficulties he has undertaken in adopting the "colloquial style" of conversation and modern manners. When Mr. Tennyson makes Arthur, Lancelot, and Guinevere talk and act, we accept their conversations and conduct without being very critical as to the exact resemblance of what they say and do, to what such persons really would have said and done; and this we do chiefly because we are not in a position to do otherwise. It is not likely they talked and acted quite in that way, but we can suggest nothing much likelier; so we take Mr. Tennyson's view of the matter. But of modern men and women, Mr Meredith's readers know probably as much as he does; and unless an English gentleman is made to "behave as such," the reader is affected with a sense of incongruity. All Mr. Meredith's characters talk in a very talented way, and their conversation is probably quite as much like the conversation of living fashionables, as Mr. Tennyson's Idylls are like the talk of the court of King Arthur; but the younger poet will do well to consider the above difference in the position of his readers. There is also another difficulty in the "colloquial" style, especially in the present day. The conversational style of every age has an element of slang peculiar to the age, and passing away with it; but never was our English mode of talk so loaded and debased with a transitory slang as in the present day. Now, this element must be entirely eliminated before "colloquial" English can be "poetical" English. When it is thus eliminated, there is no style of language more beautiful; but the

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task is one of the greatest difficulty, and requires the finest taste, and an *habitual* acquaintance with the models of pure English in all times. The quotations we have had occasion to make must have convinced our readers that Mr. Meredith has not met this difficulty. His style, in the conversational parts of this poem, though unlike what is really talked by living men and women, abounds in the slang and slipshod in which living men and women, especially in the higher classes, indulge. To say that a mistress "bores" her lover; to call a letter a "palpable trap;" to speak of a man as having "read" metaphysics and theology in the sense of having studied them; to affirm of another that he never "conceived" that a lady would have looked so enchanting; to talk of theories being "posed;" and to speak of a woman as "less salient" than she used to be, is not wrong because such expressions are "colloquial" English, but because they are not English at all. Our readers will easily detect other examples of what we deprecate in the lines we have quoted; and we do not exaggerate when we say that almost every one of Mr. Meredith's three hundred and sixty pages contains as many examples of the fault in question as we have instanced. It is only when Mr. Meredith is describing external nature that we are reminded of the force and delicacy of language which commanded our admiration in his first publication, "The Earl's Return." The most unexceptionable passage of equal length, in the present volume, is the following description of a storm:—

After noontide, the clouds, which had traversed the east
Half the day, gather'd closer, and rose, and increased.
The air changed and chill'd, as though out of the ground
There ran up the trees a compressed, hissing sound;
And the wind rose,—the guides sniff'd, like chamois, the air,
And looked at each other, and halted, and there
Unbuckled the cloaks from the saddles,—the white
Aspens rustled, and turned up their frail leaves in fright.
All announced the approach of the tempest. Ere long,
Thick darkness descended the mountains among;
And a vivid, vindictive, and serpentine flash
Gored the darkness, and shore it across with a gash.
The rain fell in large, heavy drops, and, anon,
Broke the thunder. . . . .
And the storm is abroad in the mountains!—he fills
The crouch'd hollows and all the oracular hills
With dread voices of power. A roused million or more
Of wild echoes reluctantly rise from their hoar
Immemorial ambush, and roll in the wake
Of the cloud, whose reflection leaves livid the lake;
And the wind, that wild robber, for plunder descends
From invisible lands, o'er those black mountain ends.
He howls as he bounds down his prey, and his lash
Tears the hair of the timorous wild mountain ash,
That clings to the rocks, with her garments all torn,
Like a woman in fear; then he blows his hoarse horn,
And is off, the fierce guide of destruction and terror,
Up the desolate heights, 'mid an intricate error
Of mountain and mist.

The last part of this description is slovenly; but, upon the whole, the picture has a breadth that reminds us of Lord Byron, and here and there a subtility of touch which is like Keats or Mr. Browning. Of course, we can scarcely expect Owen Meredith to act upon the opinion, which we therefore address to our readers rather than to him, that his power lies in the representation of nature, and his weakness in his desire to represent men and women; and that the kind of poem in which he is really fitted to succeed is the descriptive idyll, in which an incident, requiring no more than very simple treatment, may be adorned abundantly with natural description.

We have followed the story of "Lucile" only as far as was necessary to enable our readers to judge for themselves of Owen Meredith's mode of viewing and relating events. We cannot go through all the elaborate sequel, from which it appears that the heroine is one of those saints, found chiefly in the modern French calendar, who, abjuring all recognised grounds of goodness, are virtuous, with a virtue as unequalled in degree as unprecedented in kind; and that the hero, Lord Vargrave, is one of those sinners, who, in their process of amendment and restoration, are *not* as the shining light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day, but rather as the sun bursting from an eclipse,—the latter being certainly the most novelesque, though not, we fear, the most lifelike idea of repentance. Owen Meredith, possibly, is as well aware of this as we are, but chooses to modify human nature to suit artistic effect. If so, we think the choice is wrong even in an artistic point of view,—an opinion which we are compelled to extend to other means of "effect" adopted by this poet. For example, we think that, when Lord Vargrave's friend, Sir Ridley Macnab, calls on him, and sends in his card, an effect more "striking" than artistic is obtained by the typographical device of inserting the name in a large quadrilateral blank space, bounded with lines, by way of showing the

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size and general appearance of the card in question, especially as the volume contains no other pictorial adornments. Surely such modes of originality are beneath the dignity of a writer who claims to be judged by so high a standard as, it seems, Owen Meredith does, when he invokes the

Sole fountain of song, and sole source of such lays,
As Time cannot quench in the dust of his days,
Muse or Spirit that inspireth, since nature began
The great epic of Life, the deep drama of man.

To this "Muse or Spirit" Owen Meredith appeals,

From the prattle of pedants, the battle of fools,
From the falsehood and forms of conventional schools.
. . . . . Unto thee,
Mother Nature, that badest me sing what I feel,
And canst feel what I sing, unto thee I appeal.
For the poets pour wine; and, when 'tis new, all deny it;
But once let it be old, every trifler must try it;
And Polonius

[*i. e.*, the *North British* or other Reviewer]

Complains of my verse, that my verse is not classic.

We conclude our notice of "Lucile" by stating our impression that its author has talents which, if he understood them, might lead to substantial distinction, but that this poem indicates that he at present does not understand them; a verdict which we deliver with the less compunction, inasmuch as "Owen Meredith" assures us—

As for you, O Polonius, you vex me but slightly.

"Poems by Thomas Ashe," have a vein of true quality in them, though its development is considerably marred by a profusion of Leigh Hunt-isms and Keats-isms of the most profligate order. Those great corrupters of English would themselves scarcely have ventured upon such a line as

Mellowly, low-lutedly.

When Mr. Thomas Ashe is himself, he is very pleasing, as in these two sonnets:—

A CUCKOO.

O cuckoo, cuckoo, on a summer's day,
Should melancholy in sweet music dwell?
Why did it thus float unto me, who lay
In shadowy flickering of beechen dell,
With sorrowful, sad cadence; as a knell
For crimson cloud far-faded; with a stress
That would melt all things into tearfulness,
And hang dew-tears on leaf and lily-bell?
O say not unto us, "Your earth is sad,
Its beauty very fickle, did ye know!"
We know it, bird, and so we would forget it:
Sing it not to us when all seemeth glad,
But in the deepness of thy spirit set it;
And say to us, "Smile in the summer's glow."

THE BROOK.

Brook, happy brook, that glidest through my dell,
That trippest with soft feet across the mead;
That, laughing on, a mazy course dost lead,
O'er pebble beds, and reeds and rushy swell;
Go by that cottage where my love doth dwell.
Ripple thy sweetest ripple, sing the best
Of melodies thou hast; lull her to rest
With such sweet tales as thou dost love to tell.
Say, "One is sitting in your wood to-night,
O maiden rare, to catch a glimpse of you;
A shadow fleet, or but a window-light,
Shall make him glad, and thrill his spirit through."
Brook, happy brook, I pray, go lingering;
And underneath the rosy lattice sing.

The following lyrical statement of the nature and difficulty of lyrical poetry is very prettily expressed, and reminds us strongly of some of Goethe's small pieces on similar subjects:—

THE FETTERLESS SONG.

There is a little song
That flutters over me,
Like a gay lark hung
In the ether free,
Waiting to be sung
With quaintest melody.

Faint, and sweet, and airy,
And with cadence light,
Like to foot of fairy
At the fall of night,
Or undulant white feather
Doubting to alight.

It is wild and sweet,
And for cage unfitted;
It were all unmeet
To give it wings wire-fretted;
Or e'en to chain its feet
With cords daisy knitted.

Yet I would win it down
From the airy skies,
With no gloomy frown,
But with pleaded sighs;
Sick my heart has grown
With its melodies.

It will not drop to me
Through the gold sunshine;
It flits fair and free
With the cloudlets fine;
It cares not to be
Shut in cage of mine.

Mr. Ashe appears to know the limits of his power, and to avoid attempting more than he can do. The result is, that his

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verses are always unpretentious and inoffensive, and often pleasing; and if he is conscious, as he justly may be, of abilities equal or superior to some of the various poets whose reputations have lately gone up like rockets, he may console himself for the modest height to which his own is likely to attain, by reflecting that, at least, he will escape the fate which has usually befallen those sudden splendours, namely, that of coming down like sticks. The same remark applies to the verses of "Cecil Home," in whom, however, we do not find the vein of originality which distinguishes Mr. Ashe's poems. "Cecil Home" shows refined thought and feeling, and considerable skill in expressing them; and these are qualities which have made extensive and useful popularities in our own day, so that we by no means imply worthlessness by this assertion of absence of poetic novelty. The following stanzas, from a piece addressed "To one whom I would forget," might have been written by Longfellow or Miss Proctor:—

> I wrong mine honour to descend
> To scorn of thee.
> It is not thine to comprehend
> Aught that has birth or life in me;
> And if my spirit will not bend
> To stoop beneath the low-arched vault
> Wherein thy puny soul is penn'd,
> Not thine the fault.
>
> Not thine the fault thou canst not feel
> The pride of truth;
> That self's dull armour clogs with steel
> The soaring impulse of thy youth,
> And thou, poor slave to thine own weal,
> Hast dreamed it blended with deceit,
> And offer'd what thou hast of zeal
> At shrine unmeet.
>
> There is a veil before thine eyes
> That dims God's light,
> And shapes small things in giant guise,
> And nothing noble shapes aright,
> As, when the night fog shrouds the skies,
> The glimmering lamps that cheer the haze,
> More glorious to dull gazers rise
> Than Heaven's rays.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Pass on; I somewhat soil my mind
> In thy contempt,
> Yet were I scornless I were blind;
> And I am bitterer that I dreamed
> Some hidden spark in thee to find
> That might awake to truth and good,
> And that my hopes spake as the wind
> Not understood.
>
> Go, and such happiness attend
> As thou canst know;
> No envying ear my thought shall lend
> To learn how whirrs thy fortune's wheel;
> Be glad, but never seek to blend
> One thread of life with mine; for me,
> I pray thee never call me friend—
> That could not be.

"Cecil Home," we see, is somewhat of a Pagan, and has a little too much of "the pride of truth,"—a fault which often attends the habit of putting one's thought into verse. The best piece in this writer's little volume is a narrative called "Once Lovers," but it is too long to quote.

Art. VI.—*Histoire du Consulat et de L'Empire. Faisant suite a L'Histoire de la Revolution Française.* Par M. A. Thiers. Tome XVII. Paris, 1860.

The drama of the French revolution, and of the rise and fall of the first Napoleon, is so vast, grand, and complicated, it contains such a variety of phenomena, and it suggests such a multitude of reflections, that, like that of the Reformation, it will probably never find an adequate exponent. The historian who would truly unfold it should possess a character, moral and intellectual, which is seldom found in our imperfect nature. He should be able to pass the bounds of party and country, to free himself from their prejudicing influences, and to survey a wide range of human action and passion in almost every possible phase of development, with an eye alike philosophical and sympathetic. He should not write in the interest of any state or opinion, and especially he should avoid to warp his theme into evidence of any particular theory of government or politics. He should take care to prevent the fascinations of genius, when in alliance with colossal power, from blinding him to truth, justice, and right; and he should remember the claims of honour and patriotism, although divorced from ability or good fortune. Above all, he should remove the false halo of success from events, actions, and personal qualities; and his judgment should keep firm to that standard of conscience which is the only just canon of approbation. To these moral gifts he should add a force of intellect and a mass of multifarious acquirements, which rarely unite in a single person. He should thoroughly understand and vividly reproduce the social and political condition of Europe before the convulsion of 1789. He should penetrate the inner life of the various communities which, in the strife between 1792 and 1815, became theatres for the antagonism of Democracy and Monar-

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chy. He should be able to point out how the furious energy of Revolution, after having overcome all obstacles to its progress, surrendered itself to an absorbing despotism, which gradually, through its widespread tyranny, arrayed against itself the very spirit which first gave it its evil ascendancy. He should trace out the effects which the fall of the old French monarchy and the growth and collapse of the rule of Napoleon have had upon the frame of European society, and upon its divisions, laws, and institutions. He should have the genius to portray such opposite characters as Mirabeau and Talleyrand, as Wellington and Metternich, as Napoleon and Alexander, as Pitt and Caulaincourt, and to note accurately their influence on the period. His mind should thoroughly master and assimilate not only an immense variety of facts, but also the secrets of cabinets and councils, the mysteries and intricacies of diplomacy; the correspondence of princes, generals, and statesmen; the operations of war of every kind, on sea and land, in all parts of the world; and the effects produced on European society by different principles of government or policy. And he should have the art to extract the truth on all these subjects from an enormous mass of undigested materials; to place it vividly before the mind in its natural order and significance; and, finally, so to arrange his narrative as to make it clear, harmonious, and, when necessary, eloquent.

How M. Thiers has conformed to this ideal in his "Histories of the French Revolution, and of the Consulate and First Empire," is tolerably well acknowledged by competent persons. It would be unjust to deny him the merits of industry, of much skill in composition, of occasional felicity in describing events, and in portraying individual characters, and of a style never solemn or dignified, but generally glowing, and sometimes brilliant. He has the genius of order common to his countrymen, and the faculty of hitting on incidents and details which throw light on periods and historical personages; and he has described the inner life of the French Empire with more minuteness and vividness than any of his fellow-labourers. But he is entirely wanting in several of the qualifications which are necessary to a great historian, especially as regards the subject he has chosen; and he frequently displays a deficiency of knowledge, and a hastiness and inaccuracy when dealing with details which are equally censurable and ridiculous. He has no consciousness of the awful moral tragedy which the events he describes reveal to the thinker. He has not grasped the deep and sad significance of the Reign of Terror and the rise of Napoleon; for in the one he sees only an unintelligible chaos, and in the other the growth of his country's glory. He does not perceive that the strife which preceded the Empire was a contest between contending principles; and he dwarfs it into a brilliant episode in the annals of French military history. He ascribes the sudden downfall of Napoleon to errors of policy and individual ambition; and he is too shallow to trace it to the effects of a despotism that sapped life and energy at home, and that gathered on itself the vengeance of Europe. He has a sentimental love for free government; but he is so blinded by the glory of Napoleon, that he forgets that he was the inveterate enemy of freedom, and he evidently considers her gifts less valuable than a glittering page in the national history. So long as the career of his hero is crowned with success, he can scarcely find a fault in him; he only begins to condemn Napoleon when he is obviously endangering his people's strength; and it is plain that he would have approved of all the sins of the Empire had its wild dreams of ambition been realized. And, as he thus sacrifices the truth and the lessons of history to the love of flattering national vanity, and to the exaltation of a single man, so he is quite insensible to many events which should have roused his deepest sympathies; and he defaces his narrative by a partiality which would be scandalous were it not laughable. He cannot comprehend the pious heroism of La Vendée, the nobleness of Hofer, or the patriotism of Blucher. He sees nothing to admire in the conflagration of Moscow, in the efforts of the German Togenbund, and in the insurrection of Prussia and Holland. He can appreciate the attitude of France in 1793, when she stood in arms against her tyrants; but he has no feeling for the agonies of Germany when in the grasp of French despotism. It is significant of the same spirit, that, while he magnifies Jena, Marengo, and Austerlitz beyond their natural measure and compass, he depreciates the Nile, Trafalgar, and Leipsic; and he underrates miserably the Peninsular war, and misrepresents every battle in it. Add to this, that he shows very little acquaintance with any writers but those of his own country; that he is extremely ignorant of English history, even for the period he has to deal with; that he is often greatly at fault with respect to facts of which we have complete evidence; and that in no portion of his work is he really sober, thoughtful, and candid. No grace of narrative and brilliancy of style can atone, we think, for the want of depth and feeling, for the vanity and the

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Talleyrand ethics, and for the onesidedness and the perversion of facts which are visible in every part of his History.

The most interesting part of the volume before us is an abridgment of the entire History, in the form of a sketch of the reign of Napoleon. It is characteristic of the author's political creed; of his utter insensibility to moral considerations, when inconsistent with French aggrandisement; of his pandering to the ruthless spirit of conquest, except when it is too self-destructive; of his readiness to sacrifice liberty to glory; of his gross unfairness, and of his hasty errors. His idea of the balance of power is that France is to be predominant in Europe. His standard of the merits of a government is not, whether it secures respect abroad by its good faith and regard to justice, nor whether it adds to the happiness of its subjects, but whether it succeeds in making the Continent dependent on one only of its many communities. The test he applies to any course of policy is, that it is right if it extends the authority for France to the utmost limits compatible with her safety, but that it may be wrong if it proceed further. The European settlement made at Luneville, assigned to France her true position, and to attain it again should always be her object. The policy of Napoleon, when First Consul, is the grand ideal for French statesmen, not because it staunched the wounds of anarchy, nor because it reconstrued society, but because it gave France her 'natural limits,' and, without overtasking her energies, made her arbiter of Spain, Italy, and Germany. It is true that this policy extinguished her liberties, not merely for a season, but designedly forever; and that it bound her under a grinding despotism, which, "based on force, believed itself immortal;" but it gave her the Code, the Concordat, and the conscription, it placed her under an excellent organization, and it made her formidable to all the world. The murder of the Duc d'Enghien was a mistake, because it alienated Austria, Prussia, and Russia; and the invasion of Switzerland and the plot against Turkey were wrong, because they gave umbrage to England; but, on the whole, the reign of the First Consul was a noble specimen of "power and moderation." After this, it was an error to break the peace of Amiens, for the navy of England was then too powerful, and it would have been wise to wait for a better season; and the peace of Presburg was bad policy, because it tended to combine Austria and Prussia in a league against French ambition and rapacity. There was no great harm in annexing Venice and Piedmont; but the seizure of Holland and the Illyrian Provinces, and the conceptions of the Confederation of the Rhine and of the kingdom of Westphalia were to be deprecated, because France was unequal to such an enlargement. At the same time, the Continental system, for the sake of which chiefly this enlargement was made, was a really grand and noble idea, since, although it steeped half of Europe in misery, and was a monstrous piece of tyrannical violence, it weakened the strength of "impregnable England." The Spanish war, however, was a notable fault, not because it sowed the Peninsula with ruin, but because it gave a field to a British army, and put an end to a great deal of French boasting; and the Russian expedition was a piece of madness, since even Napoleon was no match for Nature. It is also satisfactory to know that the partition of Europe, planned at Tilsit, cannot be justified in point of prudence, although it was a magnificent thought; and that the weakening and spoilation of Germany, the plunder of Rome, Madrid, and Florence, the erection of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, the destruction of the Hanse Towns, the absorption of the Duchy of Oldenburg, and the rending asunder the system of Europe, according to the fancy of a despot, were calculated to "cause a reaction" against France, and for this reason, were an "unsound policy." Finally, we are told that the Empire fell, it is true, but that it fell solely from Napoleon's "mistakes;" that he never committed an error in strategy; and that the French army, though often "unfortunate," has no equal or rival in the world.

We are at a loss to decide whether this review of the affairs of Europe between 1800 and 1814 is more calculated to excite indignation or laughter, is more morally wrong or logically absurd. M. Thiers is a statesman who held power under a dynasty whose very watchword was "Peace," and yet he coolly proclaims a policy for his country which could never succeed except at the cost of war and misery from Finland to Cadiz. When he tells us that the right of France is her status at the Peace of Luneville, he means that she should expand to the Rhine and the Alps, that she should possess Savoy and Nice, Belgium, and the Rhenish Provinces; that she should occupy Holland as a dependency, that she should hold Switzerland in mere vassalage, that she should keep Italy to the Adige in subjection, and stretch her influence from Venice to Palermo, and, finally, that she should menace Germany, and be able to dictate to Spain as she pleases! For whatever M. Thiers may say to the contrary—and, indeed, he says very little to the contrary—this was the actual position

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of France in 1801, at the close of the war which ended at Marengo. The Peace of Luneville gave her the Rhine as a boundary, with all the strong places of the Netherlands, and sanctioned the annexation of Nice and Savoy. It broke up completely the German Empire, humiliated and weakened Austria excessively, and bought the assent of Prussia to aggression. As, unfortunately, it made no stipulation for Piedmont, the Great Republic of course annexed it immediately, and thus acquired the outwork of Italy. The recognition of the Batavian Republic made France as completely the ruler of Holland as England is of the Ionian Islands. The guaranteeing of the Cisalpine, the Helvetian, and the Ligurian Republics laid Italy at the feet of the dictator, who, in a few years, converted her into an appanage to his empire. As for Spain, the Peace of Luneville "left her in such a state of disintegration, that one word sent from Paris to poor Charles IV. or to the wretched Godoy was sufficient to govern her; and it was evident that she would soon be obliged to ask from the First Consul, not only a system of policy, which she had already done, but a government, and perhaps a king." In fact, this "just and glorious" peace made France the mistress of the Continent; and yet a statesman who speaks of public right, and even of the balance of power, calls that peace a legitimate arrangement of Europe, though he must know that Europe would run to arms were France even to hint a claim to such a position!

M. Thiers next tells us that the government of the First Consul, from 1801 to 1804, was, on the whole, a model for admiration. Its foreign policy is especially to be approved of, since it secured the predominance of France in Europe without engaging her in perilous aggression. To follow up the system laid down at Luneville,—to complete the destruction of the German Empire, to degrade Austria and exalt Prussia, for the purpose of placing them in hostile equipoise, and laying them bare to French conquest,—"was a masterpiece of practical and profound policy, which placed in our hands the balance of German interests." It was very commendable to "gorge Prussia" with German prey, for this bound her over entirely to France, and made her a tool for French ambition; and France, "with the alliance of one continental state, was certain of the submission of the others, and the Continent once having been reduced, England would be obliged to devour in silence her vexation." The "beneficent dictatorship" of the First Consul was compelled to "send an army to Berne," which secured French ascendancy in Switzerland; and, although this step was perhaps ill-timed, for it "irritated Albion," and "excited a weak minister," it was really "frivolous" to protest against it. Indeed, every part of this ruthless and selfish policy was worthy of "a philosopher and a conqueror," except perhaps the "not humouring England sufficiently to induce her to forgive us her glory," and "the caring little for the rights of nations in causing the fusillade of Vincennes," which "chilled Prussia, encouraged Austria in her excesses, and induced Russia to join in the struggle with England." As for the domestic policy of the Consulate, "it did not give liberty to France, it is true," but "the only species of liberty then suited to France was the moderation of a great man;" and "no man has ever reached such a pitch of glory as the author of the Concordat, the Code, and the Recall of the Emigrants." How weak-minded is the ideologist who hints that such a foreign policy as this is exactly that denounced by international equity,—the policy of overwhelming the feeble, of dividing the strong for the sake of ruining them, and of disregarding all thoughts of justice to attain the ends of territorial aggrandizement! And while we admit that much in the government of Napoleon was really beneficial to France, and that possibly his seizing the reins of power was justifiable in 1800, we should have thought that a constitutional minister would have found some words to denounce the ruler who, on the plea of restoring order, attempted to perpetuate tyranny in his country. If the Consulate produced the Code and the Concordat, it gave birth also to the silent Senate, the emasculated Tribunate, and the venal Legislative Body; it established the odious spy system, and the complete subjugation of the intellect, which were the characteristics of the Empire; and it hastened the consummation of a plan to hand France over to an hereditary absolutism. It is singular that the tyranny of Napoleon is scarcely deprecated by M. Thiers until its fruits appear in national ruin.

It is fair to say, that after 1804 M. Thiers disapproves of the Napoleonic ideas. He does not assent to the interesting theory, that crushing war, commercial tyranny, rapacious exactions, and remorseless conquest, were a philosophic effort "to agglomerate the peoples" into obedience to "the dominion of enlightenment." The apology set forth for the uncle by the nephew finds little favour with a "positive" mind, which does not care at all for cosmopolitanism, and looks only at French interests. It is true that, when criticising the imperial system,

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M. Thiers betrays so sublime an indifference to the rights of nations, the sufferings of the world, and the mangled liberties of his country, that he reminds us of those "who were born for servitude." The agony of Prussia after Jena and Friedland, when her Queen was insulted in her own palace, when her plains were eaten up by a swarming host of military tax-gatherers and civil locusts, and when her youth were chained at the chariot-wheels of the conqueror, does not excite a word of sympathy. The havoc of Spain after the crime of Bayonne suggests merely the deep remark, that "a popular insurrection should only have been conquered by well-directed masses, and overcome by daily and obstinate battles." When thousands bled at Eylau and Friedland, and when half a million of brave soldiers were swallowed up in the snows of Russia for the mere purpose of "pursuing a prodigy," we hear simply that it is to be regretted that "Napoleon did not serry his ranks, consolidate his base of operations, and inflict a mortal blow on the Russian Colossus." So it is when Austria was crushed at Wagram, when the pious author of the Concordat carried off the head of his Church from Rome, when the operations of the Berlin and Milan decrees made half the ports of Europe desolate, and when the Hanse Towns were placed under the rule of Davoust,—the measure applied to this policy does not take into account its hideous iniquity. Nor, indeed, does the greatest crime of the Emperor—his steady sapping of the national life, his debasement of the national energy, and his enfeebling of every national institution in the interest of a single ruler—find much disapproval in the eyes of M. Thiers, who panegyrises Napoleon's "infallible system of finance, and his active, honest, and efficient administration." But though M. Thiers cares little for public justice, and is blind to the moral aspect of Imperialism, he has a keen eye to its political mistakes, and these, he says, were very abundant. It was a mistake to throw down the gauntlet to a power which had "a hundred ships and two hundred frigates wherewith she hovered around the world;" for, although the design of invading England "is an enduring monument of capabilities of resource," it ended unhappily at Trafalgar. It was a mistake, after the battle of Austerlitz, to pluck Austria to the quick, "for treating people in this way is like attempting their death, and if we do not kill them we prepare for ourselves enemies who will stab us in the back;" and "Austria should have been placed on the Danube, where she would ever have been at enmity with Russia," and, of course, have left the field open to French aggression. It was a mistake to outrage Prussia in 1806; to treat separately with England and Russia after Austerlitz,—"for an over-refined policy is only legitimate upon the conditions of success;" to mutilate Germany at Tilsit; to erect the Grand Duchy of Warsaw against Russia; and to set up the Confederation of the Rhine, and the Kingdoms of Westphalia and Holland. Above all, it was a mistake to attack Spain, "for this prepared an impregnable battle-field for the English;" to reduce Austria to despair at Wagram; to annex Bremen, Hamburg, Lubeck, and the Duchy of Oldenburg; and to attempt the subjugation of Russia "while the Spanish war seemed difficult to terminate, and even likely to be protracted." All these mistakes destroyed the Empire, "for though genius is forgiven much and long," she cannot always err with impunity; and at length, when the Empire has fallen to pieces, M. Thiers coolly turns on Napoleon, and tells us, "that in reference to international law he was only a kind of military Jacobin." The sea of glory turns into an ocean of blood, and France seems likely to be engulphed; and M. Thiers throws the Emperor over as an offering to the Nemesis of Justice, though not, it must be owned, without a lying eulogy at the last.

We entirely agree with M. Thiers that the evil policy which he denounces was calculated to destroy the Empire of Napoleon. For it was a policy which trampled on international right, which contemned every consideration of justice, which mapped out Europe in arbitrary military divisions, without reference to the laws of nature; which attempted to violate the first axioms of commerce, and the strongest feelings of self-interest; which sustained itself by a crushing tyranny, that provoked only hatred and resistance, and which, therefore, either sooner or later, was certain to combine all Europe against it. But we think that a plausible case might be made for it upon the principle announced by M. Thiers, and if his views of the politics of Europe are tenable. It is easy to be wise after the event; but if it be a maxim of French statesmanship, that France should always expand to the furthest limits consistent with her actual powers, that she should "hold the balance of Germany" in her hands, that "she should govern Spain," and in a struggle with England should attempt the Continental system—and these are the doctrines of M. Thiers—we think that Napoleon's Imperial policy, so far as regards its foreign aspect, cannot justly be open to censure. In 1805, the Emperor

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had a fair chance to develop the maritime strength of France without exposing her to much peril, for the combined fleets of France and Spain were far more powerful than that of England; and, therefore, on M. Thiers' principles, a war with England was quite justifiable. It is true that the contest ended at Trafalgar, and that the Boulogne flotilla went to pieces, but the odds were in favour of Villeneuve, far more than they were in favour of France at either Rivoli or Marengo; and if this be so, an attack on this country was surely not a fatal error. Again, if France has a right to "hold the balance of Germany," was it not wise to degrade the great German Powers, to crush Prussia, and weaken Austria, and to create a French interest beyond the Rhine in the Rhenish Confederates and the Kingdom of Westphalia? Even the idea of a Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which M. Thiers thinks so indefensible, may be vindicated on this very principle, for that duchy was a thorn in the side of Austria, and, through its nominal ruler in Saxony, it extended French influence up to the Vistula. Assuredly France never so thoroughly "held the balance of Germany" as when she sate on the neck of Prussia, kept all the fortresses on the Elbe and the Oder, and made Prussia a parade for her armies; and as then there seemed to be "no limit to her powers," the policy of "expanding" her as far as the Niemen, should hardly find in M. Thiers a censor. This maxim justifies even the Russian expedition, for all the chances were in its favour; and, had it succeeded, no doubt can exist that the Empire would have extended to Russia, and that Germany, throughout her length and breadth, would have been, for a time, at the feet of Napoleon, who, accordingly, would have "balanced" her at his pleasure. And surely, if France had a right to "govern Spain," there was no wrong in taking possession, though the attempt was followed by Baylen and Vittoria, and although the English army, which in 1809 "could not run away as fast as the Spaniards," issued from the Pyrenees in 1814, to give the *coup de grace* to the Empire.

There is one consideration, however, which, according to M. Thiers' reasoning, is decisive against his theory of the "mistakes" of the Empire. He tells us that the "Continental system," "the closing *all* European ports, both to England and to those who would submit to her maritime laws, was the most important and the most efficacious of all the designs conceived by Napoleon." He regrets exceedingly that Napoleon "committed infractions in this system by granting licenses to trade with England;" and he insinuates that "the absolute prohibition of English commerce, and the methodising of the continental blockade," would ultimately have caused England to submit; and, in the event of another war, would paralyse her resources. Now, we shall not make any observations on the facts, that the continental system did not originate with Napoleon, but was a frantic idea of the Directory, that it was one of the most monstrous attempts at wrong which was ever perpetrated by a despot, that it caused the bitterest indignation in France as well as throughout the Empire, that it filled Amsterdam, Venice, and Hamburg with paupers, and inflicted the greatest wretchedness on their merchants; that it was sustained by a code of custom-house laws to which those of Draco were mild in comparison; that if it reduced at all the opulence of England, it reduced that of France in a greater degree; that it was able to exasperate this country it is true, but entirely impotent to force it to submission; that, had it not been for our own Orders in Council, it would have been all but an utter nullity; and that the widespread poverty and ill-will which it produced were one of the many reasons for Napoleon's downfall. These facts have been established over and over again, and, indeed, rest for the most part on plain principles, since the design of closing the markets of Europe against a Power which possessed all others, in virtue of her command of the sea, and to do this in the most savage manner, was obviously, even if it had been possible, an expedient to injure the commerce of Europe, to deprive her of imports, and restrict her exports, and to inflict loss and misery on many of her inhabitants; but, in reference to England, it was sure to be a failure. But if M. Thiers be right in his theory, if the continental system was a "great thought," if the sealing up the ports of Europe against our manufactures, and against the products of our colonies, was the true method of subduing England, how can he object to any attempt of Napoleon to extend the boundaries of his Empire, and thus to secure the obedience of Europe to this system? The only means of enforcing the continental system were to make all Europe subject to France, and to place French garrisons in every port, so as to compel the exclusion of British and colonial produce, and to ensure the observance of Napoleon's decrees along the whole seaboard from Archangel to Constantinople. If a single point along this vast circumference were open to the prohibited commerce, it is obvious that commerce would find its way to it, and through this entrance would reach the interior; and thus, by the smallest

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breach in the line of restrictions, the entire design would be defeated. On M. Thiers' principles, accordingly, Napoleon was right in occupying the Illyrian provinces, in seizing on Holland and the Hanse towns, in grasping Venice, Trieste, and Italy, in entering the Peninsula, and assailing Russia. On these principles, he should never have ceased until he had established a universal empire, for the purpose of bringing England to reason, and of causing the fall of "the modern Carthage." We should like to know how M. Thiers can escape the dilemma into which his own reasoning here has seduced him.

The Empire fell, and great was the fall of it; but M. Thiers derives some solace in the thought, that "Napoleon was a miraculous commander," that those who dare "to blame the military genius of Napoleon are guilty of an error of judgment," that he never erred in point of strategy, and that the French army is something incomparable in excellence. We do no question the abilities of Napoleon as a general,—the depth and accuracy of his plans, the vigour and brilliancy of his attacks, the energy and rapidity of his movements, his great skill in pursuing an advantage, his masterly tactics when inferior in force, his prolific capacity and resoluteness of purpose. The general who conducted the campaign of 1796, who planned the strategy which led to Marengo, who conceived a scheme for invading England, in 1805, which he justly said was a model of combination, who struck that tremendous blow at Austerlitz which rent in twain the opposing armies, who annihilated the strength of Prussia at Jena, who effected the grand manœuvres of Friedland, who saved the French army in 1809, and triumphed at Eckmuhl, Ratisbon, and Wagram, who resisted half Europe in 1814 with no more than sixty thousand men at his command, and who, at the close of his great career, made that daring spring on Blucher and Wellington, must always rank as a master of strategy. But Napoleon himself would be the first to ridicule the absurd pretension of M. Thiers, that his generalship is never to be called in question. He would be the first to admit that he made mistakes, and that no commander is infallible; and we suspect that, especially in his later campaigns, he frequently sacrificed military rules, nay, the first principles of his art, to the exigencies of his political situation. All competent critics are agreed that he erred greatly at the battle of Aspern, that it was ruinous at Leipsic to venture to fight with one bridge only in his rear, that he showed indecision at the Moskwa, that he threw away a day after the battle of Ligny, and thus lost a chance of crushing Wellington, and that, on his last and most terrible field, he did not display his wonted genius. So, too, except upon political grounds—the necessity of awing Germany in his rear, and of producing a strong impression on Europe—his advance to Moscow cannot be justified; and, from a strategical point of view, his conduct of the campaign of 1813, his prolonged stand upon the Elbe, his vain demonstrations against Berlin, his detaching himself from all his lieutenants, and extending them on an immense line, while he "hung in the air" unable to protect them,—all this, if necessary for his political objects, was not in accordance with sound generalship. And as for the extravagances of M. Thiers in reference to the French army, while we admit its admirable valour and energy, its high intelligence and great achievements, that army was not the "finest in the world," which, with every rational chance in its favour, was beaten at Salamanca, Orthez, and Toulouse, and which never yet, under any general, successfully encountered an equal army of England.

For many reasons, therefore, we object to the review of the Empire contained in this volume. We think it vicious in point of morality, pervaded by a bad spirit of ambition, regardless of justice and sometimes of decency, and not seldom false in logic and assertion. To us the history of that Empire appears in a very different light from that in which M. Thiers beholds it. A nation, maddened by long misgovernment, and brutalized by wrong, neglect, and atheism, destroys its rulers, and, torn by revolution, becomes a people of ruthless soldiers. This nation has many lofty impulses, but, above all, that of military glory; and a great general appears before it, who, having secured it from foreign aggression, and raised its renown to the highest point, becomes its chief and soon its master. The position of this ruler is certainly difficult, for his title depends on his military prestige, and the spirit of war is still abroad among his subjects; but there is no reason why he should not ultimately control, and direct to peaceful and useful pursuits, the turbulent forces he has now under him. This, however, is not his real object; and he resolves to organize his people into a machine, compact, harmonious, and of giant strength, which shall make him a mighty conqueror abroad, and at home shall obey his imperious will. For this purpose he heals the wounds of revolution, and unites all Frenchmen to his government; but he flatters their vehement appetite for glory, and he binds them gradually to the yoke of despotism. His army is enormous, and his administration excellent, but the one

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requires a field for conquest, and the other rests on his single life, and has an inevitable tendency to destroy all energy in the nation, all self-reliance and patriotism. Soon he plunges into war, and forms an Empire which contemns natural right and justice, which disregards the laws of political society, which ignores national distinctions and limits, and depends solely on force for its existence, which, along its bounds from Russia to Spain, marks its presence in acts of cruelty and exaction, and which, resting ultimately on a dominant race, exhausts and degrades that race itself, and even irritates it in many particulars. That Empire, a gigantic defiance to every civilised nation in Europe, a source of universal fear and odium by reason of its grinding oppression, stands awhile upon the renown of its author; but it is beset on all sides by the hatred of the world, and it is ruined within by its palsying tyranny, and by the severity of its burdens. At length a single misfortune assails it: its sovereign loses a single army; and Europe rises at once against him, with a spirit as fierce as that of the Revolution; he is feebly seconded by his own people, who have become weak, and, at heart, dislike him; and, notwithstanding his genius and his fame, and the terror felt at his conquering sword, a few months see the end of his edifice of ill-directed power and ambition. Not in virtue of mere "political mistakes," but of his rebelling against eternal laws, of his despotism at home, and his tyranny abroad, did the great Emperor meet his doom:

> "Thus he fell; so perish all
> Who would man by man enthrall!"

We turn from the political ideas of M. Thiers to his narrative of the fall of the Empire. In 1812, when Napoleon crossed the Niemen, no power seemed capable of withstanding his arms. At the head of twelve hundred thousand men, he held the Continent in his grasp, was master of France, Italy, and the Netherlands, disposer of Germany, and spoiler of Spain; and he was about to invade the wilds of Russia, with such a host as Europe never had witnessed. If, in a distant corner of the Peninsula, his power was still resisted by England, and Massena had recoiled in defeat from Torres Vedras, the opinion of Europe had no doubt that his generals would soon drive Wellington out of Portugal. Six months passed, and the fangs of an Arctic winter and the wasting sword of an indignant nation had made a wreck of the Grand Army; while the baffled legions of Joseph and Marmont had fled in ruin from Salamanca. Then arose throughout Europe the cry for vengeance, and the hope of relief from long oppression; the youth of Prussia flew eagerly to arms, and forced their monarch to head the movement; the hordes of Russia poured into the heart of Germany to aid in the common cause against the tyrant; the forces of Austria were steadily raised to throw her weighty sword into the balance; and England, through the gates of Spain, resolved to aim a deadly blow against the enemy. That enemy, however, was not yet vanquished; and though France was already half weary of him, and her sources of strength were fast perishing, though his hold on Europe was nearly broken, and his huge armies in Germany and Spain were rapidly being cooped up in isolated garrisons, surrounded by enemies and insurrectionary levies, he hastily crossed the Rhine in 1813, at the head of three hundred and fifty thousand men, and on the fields of Lutzen and Bautzen once more saw the dreams of universal empire. But the tide had turned, and the day had past when two defeats could paralyse Europe. The alliance of Prussia and Russia against Napoleon had become a thoroughly national impulse; and the great conqueror, at the armistice of Pleiswitz, found that the Coalition was not to be shaken. At this moment peace was within his reach, but he had the fatal folly to reject it; and he soon discovered that his pride and insolence had arrayed the whole force of Austria against him. He was now exceedingly overmatched; but, instead of yielding an inch of ground, of abating a jot of his haughty demands, of concentrating his garrisons scattered over Germany, or of securing a safe retreat towards France, he placed himself astride on the Elbe, with a menacing Bavaria and Wurtemburg on his flank, with a hostile Confederation of the Rhine in his rear, and with his wings inclining towards Berlin and the Oder; and, from this position, he sought to terrify the banded armies combined against him. Although victorious wherever he appeared, his forces are on too long a line; his generals are beaten in several battles; and at length, when planning a march into Prussia, and the relieving the fortresses on the Oder, he finds that the allies are accumulating in Leipsic, and that the German races behind him have risen against him. A battle follows, in which he is overwhelmed, and loses more than half his army; and he is driven headlong out of Germany, pursued everywhere by a furious insurrection, and meeting at all points a harassing enemy. He brings back to the Rhine sixty thousand men only, with Russia, Germany, and Austria on his traces. He is cut off completely from his garrisons in the Ger-

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man rivers; and when he reaches his capital, he learns that disease, with famine and misery in its train, is preying on the shattered frame of his army. In the meantime, Holland has flung off his yoke; Illyria and Italy have been slipping from his hands, and Eugene has been driven to the Adige; his own Murat is meditating perfidy; and Wellington, rapidly issuing from Portugal, and scattering the host of Jourdan at Vittoria, has penetrated to the roots of the Pyrenees, and is gathering in strength on the French frontier. The Empire, in 1812, seemed made of adamant; within a year it is a crumbling ruin.

We leave it to M. Thiers to describe the state of France at this fearful juncture,—her resources against invasion, and the spirit of her people. We merely premise that as we shall show hereafter, he has not calculated fairly the Peninsular armies, in point either of strength or numbers; and we think that he has understated the unpopularity of Napoleon, and the destitute condition of many parts of the country. In reference to this latter particular, he has not quoted the celebrated Report of 1813, which declared that "agriculture for five years had gained nothing; that it barely existed; that the fruit of its toil was annually wasted by the Treasury, which unceasingly devoured everything to satisfy the cravings of ruined and famished armies:"—

"The situation of our armies was disheartening on every side. On the Rhine we had 50,000 or 60,000 men worn out from fatigue, followed by an equal number of stragglers and invalids, and having to contend with 300,000 men of the European Coalition; in Italy we had 36,000 men in juxtaposition with 60,000 Austrians on the Adige, and burdened with the difficult task of holding Italy in check, that was weary of our rule, and of restraining Murat, who was ready to abandon us; on the frontier of Spain we had 50,000 veterans, disheartened by misfortune, and scarcely able to hold the Western Pyrenees against 100,000 victorious soldiers under Lord Wellington; and on this same frontier we had 25,000 more old veterans, in excellent condition certainly, but called upon to defend the Eastern Pyrenees against more than 70,000 English, Sicilians, and Catalonians. Such was the exact position of our affairs correctly noted down. Napoleon had, it is true, proved a hundred times with what prodigious rapidity he could create resources, but he had never before found himself in such distress. More than 140,000 of our best troops were dispersed in different European fortresses; there remained in France only deserted depots, which even in 1813 had made an effort to drill raw recruits in two or three months, and had sent them forth, officered by the few experienced men they still possessed. Undoubtedly there were still in the regiments that returned to France trained soldiers and officers, but the authorities were now about to send to them recruits, ill-dressed and ill-drilled, in order that these old soldiers might do for the recruits what the depots had neither time nor capability to effect; in fact, they were to be constrained to employ the time they would have needed for repose, if the enemy had left them leisure for a day, in instructing these conscripts. Our fortresses, which would have served as a support to the army, were, as we have said, stripped of all means of defence. The immense amount of war material sent beyond the frontiers left our home fortresses without indispensable necessaries. We had given to Magdebourg and to Hambourg what was wanted at Strasbourg and Metz, and to Alexandria what would have been needed at Grenoble. Even a part of the Lille artillery was still at the camp of Boulogne. But it was not alone the material of war in which we were deficient. Our engineer officers, so numerous, skilful, and brave, were scattered through more than a hundred foreign cities. We had hardly time to form and despatch some cohorts of national guards to Strasbourg and Landau, to Lille and to Metz. In order to conquer the world, which was now escaping from her grasp, France had left herself defenceless. Our finances, formerly so prosperous, and managed with admirable regularity, were now as exhausted as our armies, through the chimera of universal domination. The municipal lands seized to liquidate the debt of 1811 and 1812, and to supply the deficiency of 1813, had remained unsold. It was doubtful whether purchasers could be found for ten millions. The paper which represented the anticipated price sank to from 15 to 20 per cent., although nearly the entire of what had been issued was still in the coffers of the bank, and in those of the crown itself, which had taken more than seventy millions. The moral condition of the country was, if possible, still more wretched than its circumstances. The soldiers, convinced of the folly of the policy for which they were pouring forth their blood, murmured aloud, though they were ever ready in presence of the enemy to sustain the national honour. The nation, deeply irritated that the victories of Lutzen and Bautzen had not been used to secure a peace, looked upon themselves as sacrificed to a mad ambition, now that they had experienced the serious inconveniences of an irresponsible government. Disenchanted as to the genius of Napoleon, having never believed in his prudence, but having always had faith in his invincibility, they were at once disgusted with his government, doubtful of his military capability, and terrified at the approach of enemies who were advancing in masses; the French people, in a word, were morally broken down, at the very moment when, to avert the impending danger, they would have needed all the patriotic enthusiasm with which they were animated in 1792, or at least the confiding admiration with which the First Consul had inspired them in 1800. Never, in short, was a people in a state of more profound dejection called upon to encounter a more imminent peril."*

It is not easy to pronounce with certainty upon the designs of Napoleon at this crisis.

* In justice to M. Thiers, we have quoted from "the authorised version" of his History, except where its errors of sense and grammar are unpardonable. It is a wretched performance—a bald, and unfaithful, and full of mistakes.

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It is evident, even at the eleventh hour, that he preserved his haughty and unbending attitude; that he underrated the strength of the Coalition, and, above all, its power of cohesion; that he did not comprehend the vehemence of the passions which his tyranny had excited in Europe; and that he did not appreciate fully the apathy or the rising indignation of his people. M. Thiers assures us, that at the close of 1813, the Emperor was really desirous of peace, provided it secured "the natural limits" of France, but that he viewed the Allies' overtures with distrust; that this made him elude the proposals of Frankfort; and that he girded himself up for the final struggle, for the purpose, not of regaining what he had lost, but of establishing France on the Rhine with honour. This attempt to portray Napoleon as a patriot, contending for an object dear to all Frenchmen and resolved to stake his crown on the issue, is certainly not borne out by the facts; it is merely a "scene" for the Emperor's exit. For, even assuming that the Emperor had a right to mistrust the good faith of the Allies at Frankfort, and to evade a reply to propositions which offered him the line of the Rhine as a position — an assumption which M. Thiers repudiates — it is clear that, even in December 1813, he had no notion of accepting such limits to his Empire. His instructions to Caulaincourt at this period, prove that he still insisted on a part of Holland—on retaining the great bridge-heads on the Rhine, which gave him an easy access to Germany—on occupying all the territory of Piedmont—and on governing Italy through Eugene Beauharnais. This fact is decisive against M. Thiers; and, indeed, there are several other facts which are contradictory to his theory. Had Napoleon, in November and December 1813, been satisfied with the boundary of the Rhine, yet resolved to fight to the last for this stake, would he have set on foot a fresh army of Italy—have delayed to recall Suchet from Spain—have clung tenaciously to the Spanish fortresses — and have left garrisons in Piedmont and Holland, not to speak of those blockaded in Germany —when the forces of Europe were on the Rhine, and about to commence their threatened invasion? Would such a commander have hesitated for a moment to collect his armies from the extremities of his empire, and to concentrate them in imposing strength against the hosts that touched on the very line he had resolved never to abandon, and that stretched already from Basle to Antwerp? Upon the hypothesis of M. Thiers, it is impossible to doubt what his course would have been; but as he never adopted that course, and, on the contrary, up to the last, disseminated his forces on all points of his dominions, we conceive the hypothesis is utterly groundless. We think it probable, that, till all had been staked and lost, Napoleon clung to the idea of his Empire; that, relying too much on his own genius, on the support of France, and the jealousy of the Coalition, he conceived to the last that he could retrieve his losses; and that, when he surveyed his position in December 1813, he had no real desire for peace, and was hopeful, even on the verge of ruin, of yet emerging in triumph from the struggle. Whether Europe would be convulsed in the contest—whether France would be rent and wasted by his efforts — did not enter into the thoughts of one who called his soldiers "food for cannon," and who had exclaimed to Metternich at Prague, "What are half a million of men to me!"

M. Thiers details at great length the political and military expedients of the Emperor in reference to the impending invasion. As he has a sentimental love of parliamentary institutions, he is shocked at the seizure of the Dictatorship—at the violence done to the remains of the "Constitution"—at the election of a president of the Legislative Body by the simple fiat of Napoleon—at the garbling of documents by the Imperial ministers—at the raising of taxes by Imperial decrees—and at the wrath of the Emperor at the report of Lainé. All these acts, certainly, were "great mistakes;" but we suspect that, had they achieved the result which M. Thiers believes the τὸ κάλον of politics, the securing to France "her natural limits," they would have been called "touches of genius and inspiration," in his usual style of tawdry adulation. As it was, they were certainly not more illegal than several other measures of Napoleon, which, in his hour of glory, escaped uncensured; and, really, when we reflect what a cheat the "Constitution" of the Emperor was—how completely his paid and servile Senate, and his mute Legislature of unpopular deputies, were the mere instruments of his will—we are not disposed to blame him severely, for having got rid, at a period of pressure, of the inconvenient furniture of despotism. The fault of Napoleon was, that he had made his people unfitted for real freedom, and that he had veiled his tyranny under popular forms, and in the haze of military glory. It was not that, at the eleventh hour, he exclaimed boldly, "I am the State;" and there is much truth in his stinging remark, that in 1813 France "wanted not orators, but a man." As for the diplomacy of Napoleon at this crisis, M. Thiers unravels it very fully; and his account, on the whole, is not uncandid,

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though, on some points, we think it erroneous. He admits that the Allies were in earnest at Frankfort in offering the boundary of the Rhine to Napoleon; and he blames the Emperor justly and sternly for not having at once accepted their overtures. This, indeed, is not consistent with his view, that at heart Napoleon was satisfied with these terms; but, in truth, it is not possible to reconcile the two positions of M. Thiers on this subject, that Napoleon rejected the basis of Frankfort, and yet had no other political object. M. Thiers is also right in his statement, that the insurrection of Holland in November 1813 caused a great change in the views of the Allies, and led them to insist on harsher conditions; but he is wrong in insinuating that the policy of England made the question of peace depend on Antwerp; and we think that, in his estimate of the diplomacy of the Coalition, he should not have suppressed that important document, the Allied Declaration from Frankfort. Perhaps, however, the marked contrast between the moderation of this state paper, and the arrogance of Napoleon's manifestoes, was the cause of this significant omission.

M. Thiers' account of the military measures adopted by Napoleon at this juncture is very graphic and elaborate, and is a valuable addition to the history of the period. The forces now arrayed against France, which were about to burst upon her territory, were, though separated, immense in numbers; and, for the most part, they were flushed with victory. They consisted of the Army of the North, under Bernadotte, which was marching on the frontier of Belgium; of the Grand Armies of Silesia and Bohemia, which lay along the Rhine from Cologne to Bâsle; and of the Anglo-Spanish army of Wellington, which had recently passed the Bidassoa. These forces were nearly four hundred thousand men; and in addition were the Austrian army of Italy, to be soon joined by that of Murat, the Anglo-Sicilian army of Arragon and Catalonia, large masses of reserves coming up from Russia and Prussia, and the troops blockading the French garrisons in Germany. Against this prodigious array of foes Napoleon had only the army of the Rhine, which did not exceed sixty thousand men; that of Belgium, not twenty thousand strong; that of Italy, under Eugene Beauharnais, which perhaps was of thirty thousand men; the nucleus of an army at Lyons, some regiments scattered in depôts in France, and the two armies of Soult and Suchet, which, in spite of M. Thiers' assertions, were at least a hundred and thirty thousand bayonets. His garrisons in Germany are, of course, out of the account; he had scarcely any reserves at hand, though he had recently obtained decrees from the Senate for a levy of six hundred thousand men; and his people were so exhausted and terrified, and the fortresses of France so ill provided, that a national resistance appeared chimerical. A sovereign on a revolutionary throne, and with a people rising against him, and a general with not more than two hundred and twenty thousand troops, and with no certainty of a large increase of them, he stood against a mass of banded enemies whose combined forces were nearly a million of men, who, of late, had been victorious everywhere! And yet he remained confident in himself; and, so far as his outward acts are evidence, he resolved to defend his empire on all points, not to give up a yard of territory, and to brave half the world in arms against him. Relying on a respite of four months, and that no invasion would take place till April, he calculated that his levy of six hundred thousand men would yield him three hundred thousand soldiers; and with these, added to his forces in hand, he still hoped to reconquer victory. Accordingly, his dispositions were made on this hypothesis; and his plan was to leave his armies on their stations, and to strengthen them with large reinforcements of conscripts; while he himself, at the head of his corps of Guards which he hoped to raise to one hundred thousand men, would meet the pressure wherever it was heaviest. Eugene was thus left upon the Adige, and Soult and Suchet on the Spanish frontier, while the feeble corps on the Rhine and the Meuse remained opposite to the enormous hosts that lay on the German banks of these rivers.

It seems obvious that, from a strategical point of view, this plan of Napoleon is open to censure: for he had no right to count on a delay till April; and on the assumption of M. Thiers, that he was fighting only for the boundary of the Rhine, he was absurdly wrong in dispersing his forces. But if, as we believe, he was still striking for his empire, the plan becomes intelligible and consistent; and if he erred in the important particular, that an invasion was not immediately impending, he had had many proofs in his previous campaigns of the tardiness of the allied movements. His mistake lay, not in judging the Allies from what his own experience had taught him, nor yet in calculating on divisions among them, but in not perceiving that the generals opposed to him had learned the necessity of celerity in warfare, and in not comprehending the energy of the hatred which his own conduct had aroused, and which now quickened the advance of his

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enemies. His dispositions were all unfinished: of the three hundred thousand men he had hoped to obtain, not more than a hundred thousand had been enrolled; no attempt had been made to fortify Paris; his fortresses in France were still out of order, and wanting provisions and ammunition; and his weak divisions on the Rhenish frontier had received very small reinforcements, when, at the end of December 1813, the hosts of the Allies were set in motion; and the army of Silesia having crossed the Rhine at Mayence, while that of Bohemia penetrated by Bâsle, an enormous flood of invasion poured into his dominions. The design of the Coalition was to drive before them the weak divisions arrayed against them; to march straight by any fortresses in their way, relying on their prodigious strength; and, converging towards each other after their entry into France, to concentrate themselves between Chaumont and Langres, and from thence to march directly to Paris. M. Thiers, who never praises any general but a Frenchman, of course says not a word of this strategy, but it was not the less an admirable move. It would probably have been completely successful had it been vigorously carried out at once; and, as it was, it entirely disconcerted the Emperor: it gained for the Allies a third of France in three weeks; and it reduced the ultimate issue of the war to all but a military certainty. The result of this attack was, that by 25th of January 1814 the armies of Silesia and Bohemia, under the respective commands of Blucher and Schwartzenburg, had reached the valley of the Seine and the Marne, with an open country before them to Paris, and with all the provinces in their rear in their possession; that the French corps opposed to them had been forced to fall back without having fired a shot; and that Napoleon had been compelled to hurry from Paris, to endeavour to hold the invaders in check, with a force not more than sixty thousand strong, against a host of more than two hundred thousand. In fact, his plan of war had been utterly baffled, and his strategical position appeared desperate.

The campaign which ensued is one of the most splendid of the many great achievements of Napoleon, and it proves the force of his military genius, the originality and daring of his manœuvres, the celerity of his movements, and the excellence of his soldiers. A few words will convey an idea of the brilliant and profound strategy, by means of which, for several weeks, the Emperor, with a comparatively small army,—it never exceeded sixty thousand men,—kept at bay the hosts of Blucher and Schwartzenburg, defeated them in several battles, in a military point of view was not baffled to the last, and, at length, was only overwhelmed because his people and capital abandoned him. It is scarcely indeed probable that his plan for this campaign would have given him ultimate success against the Allies, and, as we think, it was erroneous in principle; but it showed such skilful combinations, such boldness, energy, and firmness of purpose, and so few faults of detail occur in it, that it will always attract the soldier's admiration. The commencement of the struggle was disastrous, for the allied armies kept together, and, having attacked Napoleon at La Rothiere, with a very great preponderance of force, they defeated him with considerable loss, and, for a moment, compelled him to sue for terms. But, soon afterwards, from whatever cause, whether mutual jealousy or over-confidence, they separated into two divisions,—the army of Silesia, with Blucher in command, pursuing the road to Paris by the Marne, and that of Schwartzenburg marching for the same point on the nearly parallel line of the Seine. As these tactics placed Napoleon between them, and prevented them from communicating with each other, this step of the Allies was obviously imprudent; and its peril was increased by the impetuosity of Blucher, who, instead of keeping abreast with Schwartzenburg, pressed hurriedly forward in isolated columns, and thus exposed his whole flank to Napoleon. Immediately the Emperor saw the error, and, having left a few troops to observe Schwartzenburg, he fell like thunder on the Prussian's line, cut up his scattered divisions in detail, enveloped his lieutenants in a circle of fire, destroyed the corps of Sacken and Olsouvieff, killed many men, and took many prisoners, and hurled backwards the whole army of Silesia, in the battles of Champaubert, Montmirail, and Vauchamps. Having thus disposed of one of his enemies, he makes a rapid flank march on Schwartzenburg; assails the head of his advancing columns, which also were too distant from each other; wins the two battles of Nængis and Montereau; and, terrifying the Austrian by his rapidity and his renown, compels him to retreat on Troyes, and even to meditate falling back on the Rhine. For an instant the Allies hesitate and treat; the armistice of Lusigny is held; a march to the Rhine is soon talked of, and peace is nearly made at Châtillon. But the French Emperor, flushed with success, refuses to listen to reasonable terms, and even to recall a soldier from Italy: he remains stubborn, isolated, and unsupported; and at length the conferences are broken off, and Blucher inclines northward

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to the Aisne, to join the corps of Bulow and Wintzingerode, who are hurrying to his aid by Soissons, while Schwartzenburg again moves forward to operate on the Seine towards Paris. Thus the allied armies are separated once more, and Napoleon hurries to crush Blucher, who is losing time in an effort to cut off Marmont. He almost reaches him as he falls back on Soissons; but here fortune abandons Napoleon,—the place surrenders, and the army of Silesia, reinforced by those of Bulow and Wintzingerode, now exceeds in strength the force pursuing it. The Emperor hesitates, but only for an instant: he attacks Blucher with the energy of despair; wins the plateau of Craonne, but is defeated at Laon; and now, finding himself overmatched, he falls back on Rheims to rest his army. In the meantime, Schwartzenburg, who had advanced slowly, concentrates his columns and moves against him: the sanguinary battle of Arcis-sur-Aube is fought, and cuts off Napoleon's communications with Paris; and he resolves instantly to march towards the Rhine, to disengage the garrisons of the fortresses on the frontier, to add their strength to that of his army; and, falling on the rear of the allied forces, which he hoped would be kept in check before his capital, to place them thus between two fires, to surround them with a national insurrection, and to crush them in the heart of his dominions. This bold design is, however, discovered; and, while he retreats with his back to Paris, his enemies, now left free to act, march straight upon it in immense force: they overthrow all obstacles in their way, and take the capital after a brief struggle; his throne falls amidst general rejoicing; the Senate decrees his abdication; and the Empire perishes, unwept and dishonoured. At this news he hurries back with his army, and meditates fresh combinations for an instant, which still bear the stamp of his genius; but Marmont deserts him, and then his marshals; he is left desolate at Fontainebleau, and the conqueror becomes a prisoner and an exile.

Such, in a word, was the wonderful campaign of 1814, which, as a specimen of strategy in the field, is perhaps the masterpiece of Napoleon. It is impossible to admire too much the daring and vigorous swoop upon Blucher, which paralysed the army of Silesia; the flank movement on the army of Bohemia, which drove Schwartzenburg to retreat; and the bold thought of a descent on the Rhine, for the purpose of striking the rear of the enemy, and crushing him while in front of Paris. But it seems certain, that, as a general design, in the actual state of Napoleon's affairs, and in reference to the defence of France, the plan from beginning to end was a mistake; that it proceeded on false assumptions and ideas; and that its partial and brief success was due, more to the errors of the Allies, than even to the skill of their antagonist. Supposing that up to December 1813 Napoleon had still a rational prospect of being able to defend his empire at all points, what chance remained to him in January 1814, when he found himself in front of Blucher and Schwartzenburg, united in the valley of the Seine and Marne? In other words, had he any right to believe that, with sixty thousand men in his hands, he would overthrow two hundred and twenty thousand? Why, then, did he not bring up Eugene from Italy, to fall upon the rear of the army of Bohemia, summon Suchet at once from the frontier of Spain, and, according to the advice of Soult, leave a few detachments in the south of France to retard the advance of Wellington for an instant; and, uniting the two armies of Spain with his own, contend with the invaders on the base of Paris? That this would have been the true scheme of defence, that it offered several chances of success, and that, possibly, it might have repelled the Allies, and certainly would have retarded the fall of the Empire, is now admitted by most judges; and, as it is idle to suppose for a moment that Napoleon did not appreciate its advantages, we can only ascribe his rejection of it to his resolution to play for his Empire or nothing, to his overweening confidence in himself, and to an ignorance of his unpopularity in his capital. In these points, however, he was far from the truth; and, accordingly, his design of the campaign of 1814, apart from his conduct in the field, was a mistake as a plan of defence; and, in fact, but for the separation of the Allies upon the lines of the Seine and Marne,—an error on which he had no right to speculate,—it would probably have ended quickly in his ruin. When actually engaged, his skill was masterly, but the general disposition of his means of resistance was obviously faulty in the extreme; and it is difficult to doubt that, in this respect, he sacrificed his art to political considerations, or perhaps to his pride as a sovereign. We may also observe, even as regards his strategy in 1814, that while all concur in praising it as a whole, he seems to have erred in accepting battle at La Rothiere, in not striking Schwartzenburg in the flank before Montereau, instead of assailing his columns in front, and in venturing on the desperate struggle at Laon, and the still more desperate strife of Arcis-sur-Aube, with a force so inferior to that opposed to him. We shall not, however, presume to

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pronounce on the moves of such a commander as Napoleon, when guided solely by military considerations.

M. Thiers, however, true to his ideal, extols not only the strategy of Napoleon, but even his general scheme of resistance. He will not allow that any mistake was made in fighting the battle of La Rothiere; he struggles to show that Napoleon was infallible in all his movements against Schwartzenburg; he throws on Marmont the blame of the defeat of Laon, against conclusive evidence to the contrary; and, like some "vieux moustache" of the Guard, he believes Napoleon an omniscient commander. This is not the way to write history truly; and we should add, not only that his views on military affairs are sometimes marked with much ignorance, but that his accounts of battles are usually so unfair, so full of grandiloquence about the French, and of scorn and indifference towards their enemies, that scarcely one of them is really trustworthy. One of his chief delinquencies in this respect is the falsifying the numbers engaged on either side; and, as to the results of some actions, he graduates them according to a scale in his fancy. Thus he tells us that, on the field of La Rothiere, "thirty-two thousand French" were opposed to "a hundred thousand;" and that the losses of Napoleon were "about five thousand," against "eight or nine thousand" of the enemy. The truth is, that Napoleon had nearly fifty thousand men in his hands, of whom he lost about seven thousand, with more than seventy pieces of cannon, while the Allies were weakened by three thousand only. He states that, in the combats of Champaubert, Montmirail, and Vauchamps, the killed, wounded, and prisoners of the army of Silesia were at least two-and-twenty thousand; the real numbers were about one-half. At Craonne, he declares "that thirty thousand Frenchmen, without a sufficient force in guns, attacked fifty thousand Prussians and Russians, on a formidable plateau, with numerous artillery:" the actual proportion was thirty to twenty-one thousand; for, as Marshal Marmont writes expressly, the corps of Sacken did not fire a shot, and was not even in sight of their enemy. So, according to this veracious account, at Laon the losses of Napoleon were twelve thousand against fifteen, instead of sixteen thousand against ten; and, at Arcis-sur-Aube, twenty thousand are made to resist, first fifty, and afterwards ninety thousand, the real proportion being sixty to a hundred. No one doubts the excellence of the French army, or the valour it showed in this memorable campaign, not seldom against enormous odds; but is this the way to write its history? Is it fair to describe it like a Jack the Giant-Killer, or some other prodigy of a story-book?

During this desperate struggle in the plains of France, the Allies made several attempts to negotiate, and, but for the obstinate pride of Napoleon, the war would certainly have ended at Châtillon. M. Thiers enlarges on these events; but, as usual, he is unjust, and occasionally ridiculous, considering the actual condition of France: he looks at everything from a French point of view, and subject to his theory of the "natural limits;" and some of his assertions are very erroneous. He seems to think it a monstrous wrong, that, after the battle of La Rothiere, when one-third of France was in the hands of the Allies, and the gates of Paris seemed open to them, they should have abandoned the proffered terms of Frankfort, and have resolved to reduce France to her position of 1790. It is, doubtless, not a little pleasant, that an historian, who has described the treaty of Luneville, which deprived Austria of the Netherlands—the treaty of Presburg, which reft Italy and Illyria from her, and tore from her sovereign the crown of Germany—the treaty of Tilsit, which made Prussia a third-rate power, and all Germany a French dependency—and the treaty of Vienna, which sealed the bondage of Europe,—should inform us that the proposals of Châtillon were such as "never had been presented to a conquered country," and "that though Napoleon *had* abused the rights of a victor, he had never done so to such a degree as this." It is also somewhat bold to assert that Napoleon was right in scorning these terms, because, "however unfortunate France might afterwards become, no greater sacrifice *could* be demanded of her than that actually required; and, even under the Bourbons, she would be allowed the position of 1790:" as if the immediate stoppage of war and desolation were nothing; as if the Allies could never advance in their terms; and as if the events of 1815, when it was seriously proposed to partition France, and when she was ground to the dust by exactions, and by the weight of an army of occupation, did not occur as a contingency on the rejection. We must own, however, that he persists logically that France was justified in running any risks for the sake of his favourite idea, since "we do not hesitate to say, that, though even all the splendour of Paris had been destroyed in one bloody day, the Rhine frontier would be a compensation;" and that her sovereign was quite right, for this paramount object, to lure the Allies into negotiations, under

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of retreat which well nigh proved that marshal's ruin! His passage of the Bidassoa, and forcing of its lines, will always be cited as examples of quick, brilliant, and resolute generalship. The same may be said of the passage of the Nivelle; and if for an instant he was in peril on the Nive, with what prompt energy he recovered himself, and overthrew his nimble antagonist! So it was at Orthez and at Toulouse,—he invariably baffled the finest combinations, and seized the occasion to retaliate on his antagonist with a weight and force which overbore resistance. Of his army, it is enough to say, with Sir William Napier, "that what Alexander's Macedonians were at Arbela, Hannibal's Africans at Cannæ, Cæsar's Romans at Pharsalia, Napoleon's Guards at Austerlitz, such were Wellington's British soldiers at this period." And it was the work of this general and this army that the ablest marshal of France, with a force superior at first, if inferior at last, was chased out of Spain to the interior of France, defeated in every attempt he made, and completely prevented from lending his aid to Napoleon struggling against the Coalition. In fairness, however, it must be said, that probably this great result would not have been gained had Suchet acted with proper zeal, and really seconded the Duke of Dalmatia. In truth, as Sir William Napier more than hints, it was the incapacity or jealousy of this marshal which ruined Napoleon in the south of France, and, indirectly, in the north and east, and which paralysed Soult when contending against Wellington. For Suchet, with the armies of Arragon and Catalonia, had about seventy thousand men under his orders; and, allowing for those he left in the fortresses, he could have brought fifty thousand good troops to his colleague. Opposed to him was a heterogeneous force, which could scarcely have followed him over the Pyrenees, and which had been greatly weakened in efficiency by the departure of Lord W. Bentinck for Italy. Had he, therefore, in the autumn of 1813 retreated from Spain into France by Toulouse, and effected a junction with Soult at Jaca, from whence the two marshals might have fallen on Wellington, the fate of the war might have been altered; and, even in March 1814, had he joined Soult on the line of the Garonne, it is the opinion of Sir W. Napier "that the French army would have been numerous enough to bar Lord Wellington's progress altogether." From these considerations, therefore, it is evident that the Peninsular campaign of 1813–14 was of the very greatest importance; and that the French lost it not through want of numbers, nor because the Duke of Dalmatia was incompetent, but because Suchet committed great errors, and the genius of Wellington and the heroism of his troops were able to bear down everything before them.

A few lines will suffice to show how M. Thiers has dealt with this contest. He strives to depreciate its importance; and, though he cannot deny that the operations of Wellington effected a strong diversion against Napoleon, he slurs over those operations completely. He informs us that, in July 1813, the forces of Soult and Suchet together did not exceed one hundred and ten thousand men, against a hundred and seventy thousand; and that, afterwards, their antagonists kept their numbers, while they were reduced to sixty-five thousand. While he extols the excellence of the French troops, and reluctantly calls the British "good," he carefully conceals the wretched composition of the Anglo-Sicilian force in Catalonia against Suchet. He says not a word about Soult's reorganization of the army which attacked Wellington at Sauroren; but he sneers exceedingly at the Marshal's dispositions for the attack, and insists that they were entirely erroneous. On the other hand, he withholds the important fact, that Soult, when driven backward by Wellington through the passes of Dona Maria and Echallar, was nearly destroyed, with half his army; and he describes the battle of the Pyrenees "as combats where we had lost about ten or eleven thousand men, against twelve thousand of the enemy,"—the true proportion being fifteen to seven thousand, as he might have seen in the Wellington Despatches. He misrepresents the action of San Marcial, and calls the brilliant passage of the Bidassoa "the surprise of Marshal Soult at Andaya." He carps at the admirable plan of Soult to effect a junction with Suchet by Jaca; and sustains his case by exaggerating the two armies commanded respectively by Wellington and Lord William Bentinck, and by reducing falsely the numbers of Suchet. He passes over in all but silence the daring passage of the Nivelle, the able defence of Soult at Bayonne, and the interesting actions on the Nive—in attack and defence alike remarkable. He is so absurd as to blame the Duke of Dalmatia for not having thrown himself into Bordeaux; that is, engulphed himself in the Landes, and lost all chance of communicating with Suchet; and he describes the glorious victory of Orthez as "a battle where Soult killed or wounded six thousand men, and left three or four thousand on the field,"—the real number being two thousand five hundred to four! Finally, he absolves Suchet from all censure, and sneers at the

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"temporising genius" of Wellington; that is, of the general who had won the battle of of Vittoria, and who, in the campaign of 1813-14, with Soult in front and Suchet on his flank, and with mixed armies, certainly scarcely superior to those, which might have coalesced against him, not only drove the French out of Spain, but in less than six weeks, in the spring of 1814, had "forced the French from the neighbourhood of Bayonne to Toulouse, a distance of two hundred miles, had conquered the whole country between the Pyrenees and the Garonne, had passed six large and several smaller rivers," and had defeated a brave and experienced enemy on every occasion he ever encountered him. It is a fitting close "to this strange eventful history," that M. Thiers suppresses any mention of the battle of Toulouse—we presume, because it reflects great credit on Soult, and still greater on his illustrious antagonist!

In taking leave of M. Thiers, we beg to reiterate our approval of the flow and rapidity of his narrative. He has also thrown some fresh light on several of the events detailed in this volume, especially on the diplomacy of Napoleon, and on the Revolution of 1814. But we are compelled to add, that neither in this nor in any other part of his work is he at the level of his great argument, perhaps the greatest in the history of the world. He is entirely blind to the awful majesty of the drama he has attempted to delineate. He writes as if this momentous scene, in which, amidst the shock of stirring events and the sound of half the world in conflict, we can trace Providence shaping His ends, were a stage to show off one nation and its chieftain. In dealing with political questions, he is indifferent to moral rules; and, in reference to his own country, he steadily adopts the dogma of the Athenian at Melos, rebuked by the solemn irony of Thucydides, "that might is the measure of the rights of nations." Finally, he is reckless in assertion, and careless of truth, whenever it shocks his prejudices or vanity; and although he tells us solemnly, in a part of his work, "that he entertains such a respect for the mission of History, that the fear of alleging what is inaccurate fills him with confusion," we own that this sally strongly reminds us of Lady Blarney's Eulogies on Virtue. On the whole, the character of this work is this:

> Κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον
> τρίβῳ τε καὶ προσβολαῖς
> μελαμπάγης πέλει
> δικαιωθεὶς.

Art. VII.—*Imaginative Literature. The Author of Adam Bede and Nathaniel Hawthorne.*

It is expedient to examine occasionally the more striking products of our romance literature. Many of our ablest writers seem to find the dramatic form most congenial to their own tastes, and best adapted to convey their convictions on morals, politics, and theology—on arts, science, and letters, to the public. The novel is unquestionably a marked and characteristic form of the literary activity of this century. For this, if for no other reason, the critic is bound not to neglect it. But we confess that other motives induce us at intervals to undertake such a review. There are many questions of social concernment which lie apart from politics, philosophy, theology, and the larger questions of national life. These cannot be more conveniently discussed than in connection with the literature which undertakes to represent them as they work themselves out among us. To attempt to solve, or at least to adjust, some of the more subtle and knotty problems in practical ethics, which meet us at every step we take, is a task that ought not to prove unprofitable. We can all repeat the ten commandments. Few of us are sinners on a large scale; thieves and murderers will not return a parliamentary representative until "minorities" are enfranchised; but the minor moralities—the charities, and graces, and courtesies which sweeten life—are little understood, and habitually neglected.

Many people appear to suppose that the imagination is a faculty which necessarily manifests in its operations a certain falseness. One man has common sense,—another has imagination. The one sees things as they are,—the other sees things as they are not. Such is the current phraseology;—the fact being, that the man whose imagination is most intense and exalted, is the man whose impressions of things are, in general, the most truthful and exact. Doubtless, there is a grain of truth in the popular view. The imagination in different men works under different laws. The more powerful intellects keep it in subjection, but it takes the feebler captive. In the one case, it vitalizes and exalts; in the other, it discolours and exaggerates. The author of *Adam Bede* represents the first class; Nathaniel Hawthorne, the second.

The second class is, undoubtedly, the more numerous. Our planet is seldom visited by a Cervantes, a Shakespeare, or a Goethe,—men, in whom this mental equilibrium, this balance of the faculties, is perfect-

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ly preserved. The minor poet or dramatist is tyrannized over by his imagination. It draws into his vortex the shifting phases of human life, the versatile motives of human action; and when they emerge, they bear the impress of the violent but monotonous energies which have been at work upon them. Such an imagination is never at rest; as on a windy sea the shadow cannot settle unbroken upon its surface. But in the stiller and more perfect places of the imagination, such agitation is unknown. The eyes are undimmed by tears, the hand does not tremble with the weakness of passion, the serene tolerance of the intellect is not disturbed by the flood-tide of impetuous feeling.

Among such men (or women) the author of *Adam Bede* may be reckoned. She can evolve "great actions and great passions;" but she dwells with equal complacency on the most trivial events, and the most frivolous careers. Vulgar and prosaic minds do not *hurt* her,—they never sting her into indignation; she portrays their narrowness, their selfishness, their meanness, without resentment or contempt. With resolute patience, she accumulates every trait that can make the likeness more living; and when she has finished her work, she leaves it to tell its own story, pronouncing no verdict, passing no sentence, neither acquitting nor condemning. Only an artist, working in this supremely impartial spirit, could have drawn the Tullivers and Dodsons:—

"It is a sordid life, you say, this of the Tullivers and Dodsons—irradiated by no sublime principles, no romantic visions, no active, self-renouncing faith—moved by none of those wild, uncontrollable passions which create the dark shadows of misery and crime—without the primitive rough symplicity of wants, that hard submissive ill-paid toil, that child-like spelling out of what nature has written, which gives its poetry to peasant life. Here, one has conventional worldly notions and habits without instruction and without polish—surely the most prosaic form of human life: proud respectability in a gig of unfashionable build: worldliness without side-dishes. Observing these people narrowly, even when the iron hand of misfortune has shaken them from their unquestioning hold on the world, one sees little trace of religion, still less of a distinctively Christian creed. Their belief in the Unseen, so far as it manifests itself at all, seems to be rather of a pagan kind; their moral notions, though held with strong tenacity, seem to have no standard beyond hereditary custom. You could not live among such people; you are stifled for want of an outlet towards something beautiful, great, or noble; you are irritated with these dull men and women, as a kind of population out of keeping with the earth on which they live—with this rich plain where the great river flows for ever onward, and links the small pulse of the old English town with the beatings of the world's mighty heart. A vigorous superstition, that lashes its gods or lashes its own back, seems to be more congruous with the mystery of the human lot, than the mental condition of these emmet-like Dodsons and Tullivers."

Yet this subtle anatomist of the heart, whose spell evokes the most potent passions, does not hesitate to transfer literal and "painful" likenesses of those drearily prosaic people to her canvas. To be able to do this as she has done it, necessitates a very special gift. The characters are prosaic, but a prosaic artist could not render them,—the affinity would prove fatal. They would emerge from the crucible disjointed and disfigured, entirely unrecognisable. The second-rate imagination, more engrossed, feebler, and less restrained, would fail also. Yearning after the true, the beautiful, and the good,—the poetry of life in its purest aspects,—things that are neither true, nor beautiful, nor good, but only mean, and dwarfed, and sordid, stir it into sharp protest, leave it irritated and aggrieved. As soon as it has uttered its protest it quits them, and retreats to a world of its own, where every object is seen through a poetic mirage, and from which all Tullivers and Dodsons are excluded. No such sharp pain, no such keen recoil, is felt by the author of *Adam Bede*. The sun shines and the rain falls upon the just and the unjust. The silver shield reflects, with tranquil fidelity, the boors who plough the fields, and the summer clouds which fleck the heaven.

It is long since every English reader finished *Adam Bede;* upon it, therefore, we do not need to linger. The later work shows that the writer's power does not wane; and though deficient, perhaps, in the rapid interest, and untouched by the shifting lights and shadows of its predecessor, *The Mill on the Floss* is directed throughout by a finer and more consistent purpose.

The humour is as genial and true—nay, perhaps, truer,—having, so to speak, less of *glare* in it. Mrs. Poyser's sharp sayings and keen retorts were, as such, better probably than anything that the Dodsons or Tullivers utter. But the humour has become elevated and sustained, a steady and constant light, manifested more in the conception of the characters themselves than in the words which they use. This is probably the finest form of humour, implying, as it does, a profounder insight into character than the ability to say smart things does; and with this humour the book overflows. But there is no want of *point* either; at times, the pervading and informing spirit blossoms into jest. Luke, the miller's man,—"subdued

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by a general mealiness, like an auricula,"—is painted in a single line. How good the sketch of Mr. Pullet is!—

"Mr. Pullet was a small man with a high nose, small twinkling eyes, and thin lips, in a fresh-looking suit of black, and a white cravat, *that seemed to have been tied very tight on some higher principle than that of mere personal ease.* He bore about the same relation to his tall, good-looking wife, with her balloon sleeves, abundant mantle, and large be-feathered and be-ribboned bonnet, as a small fishing smack bears to a brig with all its sails spread."

or of Mr. Stelling's creed,—

"Mr. Sterling was very far from being led astray by enthusiasm, either religious or intellectual; on the other hand, he had no secret belief that everything was humbug. He thought religion was a very excellent thing, and Aristotle a great authority, and deaneries and prebends useful institutions, and Great Britain the providential bulwark of Protestantism, and faith in the Unseen a great support to afflicted minds; he believed in all these things as a Swiss hotel-keeper believes in the beauty of the scenery around him, and in the pleasure it gives to artistic visitors."

or of Tom's boyish awkwardness,—

"He stood looking at nothing in particular, with the blushing, awkward air and semi-smile which are common to shy boys when in company,—very much as if they had come into the world by mistake, and found it in a degree of undress that was quite embarrassing."

or of Bob Jakin,—

"Maggie ran to the high bank against the great holly-tree, where she could see far away towards the Floss. There was Tom; but her heart sank again as she saw how far off he was on his way to the great river; and that he had another companion besides Yap—naughty Bob Jakin, whose official, if not natural function, of frightening the birds, was just now at a standstill. Maggie felt sure that Bob was wicked, without very distinctly knowing why; unless it was because Bob's mother was a dreadfully large fat woman, who lived at a queer round house down the river; and once, when Maggie and Tom had wandered thither, there rushed out a brindled dog that wouldn't stop barking; and when Bob's mother came out after it, and screamed above the barking to tell them not to be frightened, Maggie thought she was scolding them fiercely, and her heart beat with terror. Maggie thought it very likely that the round house had snakes on the floor, and bats in the bedroom; for she had seen Bob take off his cap to show Tom a little snake that was inside it, and another time he had a handful of young bats; altogether, he was an irregular character, perhaps even slightly diabolical, judging from his intimacy with snakes and bats; and to crown all, when Tom had Bob for a companion, he didn't mind about Maggie, and would never let her go with him."

Nor has the style suffered. The author of *The Mill on the Floss* writes the clear, limpid, transparent English which charmed the world in *Adam Bede*. This is the age of "affectations," especially of "affectations" in style; and it is comforting to meet with writing so perfectly simple and natural as this is. No mannerism of any kind is visible, and there is not a trace of imitation either in language or thought,—not an echo of Carlyle, or Thackeray, or Kingsley. How simple in expression, and yet how rich in suggestion and poetic association, such passages as these are!—

CHILDHOOD.

"Tom thought people were at a disadvantage who lived on any other spot of the globe; and Maggie, when she read about Christiana passing 'the river over which there is no bridge,' always saw the Floss between the green pastures by the Great Ash.

"Life did change for Tom and Maggie; and yet they were not wrong in believing that the thoughts and loves of these first years would always make part of their lives. We could never have loved the earth so well if we had had no childhood in it,—if it were not the earth where the same flowers come up again every spring that we used to gather with our tiny fingers as we sat lisping to ourselves on the grass—the same hips and haws on the autumn hedgerows—the same redbreasts that we used to call 'God's birds,' because they did no harm to the precious crops. What novelty is worth that sweet monotony where everything is known, and *loved* because it is known?

"The wood I walk in on this mild May day, with the young yellow-brown foliage of the oaks between me and the blue sky, the white star-flowers and the blue-eyed speedwell and the ground ivy at my feet—what grove of tropic palms, what strange ferns or splendid broad petalled blossoms, could ever thrill such deep and delicate fibres within me as this home scene? These familiar flowers, these well-remembered bird-notes, this sky with its fitful brightness, these furrowed and grassy fields, each with a sort of personality given to it by the capricious hedgerows—such things as these are the mother tongue of our imagination, the language that is laden with all the subtle inextricable associations the fleeting hours of our childhood left behind them. Our delight in the sunshine on the deep-bladed grass to-day, might be no more than the faint perception of wearied souls, if it were not for the sunshine and the grass in the far-off years, which still live in us, and transform our perception into love."

WINTER TIME.

"Fine old Christmas, with the snowy hair and ruddy face, had done his duty that year in the noblest fashion, and had set off his rich gifts of warmth and colour with all the heightening contrast of frost and snow.

"Snow lay on the croft and river bank in undulations softer than the limbs of infancy; it lay with the neatliest finished border on every sloping roof, making the dark-red gables stand out with a new depth of colour; it weighed heavily

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on the laurels and fir trees till it fell from them with a shuddering sound; it clothed the rough turnip-field with whiteness, and made the sheep look like dark blotches; the gates were all blocked up with the sloping drifts, and here and there a disregarded four-footed beast stood as if petrified 'in unrecumbent sadness;' there was no gleam, no shadow, for the heavens, too, were one still, pale cloud—no sound or motion in anything but the dark river, that flowed and moaned like an unresting sorrow. But old Christmas smiled as he laid this cruel-seeming spell on the out-door world, for he meant to light up home with new brightness, to deepen all the richness of in-door colour, and give a keener edge of delight to the warm fragrance of food: he meant to prepare a sweet imprisonment that would strengthen the primitive fellowship of kindred, and make the sunshine of familiar human faces as welcome as the hidden day-star. His kindness fell but hardly on the homeless—fell but hardly on the homes where the hearth was not very warm, and where the food had little fragrance; where the human faces had no sunshine in them, but rather the leaden, blank-eyed gaze of unexpectant want. But the fine old season meant well; and if he has not learnt the secret how to bless men impartially, it is because his father Time, with ever-unrelenting purpose, still hides that secret in his own mighty, slow-beating heart."

THOMAS A KEMPIS.

"I suppose that is the reason why the small old-fashioned book, for which you need only pay sixpence at a book-stall, works miracles to this day, turning bitter waters into sweetness: while expensive sermons and treatises, newly issued, leave all things as they were before. It was written down by a hand that waited for the heart's prompting; it is the chronicle of a solitary, hidden anguish, struggle, trust and triumph—not written on velvet cushions to teach endurance to those who are treading with bleeding feet on the stones. And so it remains to all time a lasting record of human needs and human consolations: the voice of a brother who, ages ago, felt and suffered and renounced—in the cloister, perhaps, with serge gown and tonsured head, with much chaunting and long fasts, and with a fashion of speech different from ours—but under the same silent far-off heavens, and with the same passionate desires, the same strivings, the same failures, the same weariness."

Before we pass on to consider the special purpose of this book, one other personal characteristic may be noted. The first volume is devoted to the childhood of Maggie, the heroine, and of Tom, her brother; and the manner in which this is done establishes what *Adam Bede* had indicated,—that the author possesses remarkable insight into the feelings of children, and an almost unique power of expressing them. This is a very fine and a very rare gift. It is so difficult for a grown-up man or woman to enter into the heart of childhood, to follow its inarticulate logic, to recreate its simple but intense emotions, to set down in order its broken words. Wordsworth has described how the glory of childhood perishes:—

> "Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God, who is our home.
> Heaven lies about us in our infancy!
> Shades of the prison-house begin to close
> Upon the growing boy;
> But he beholds the light, and whence it flows,
> He sees it in his joy:
> The youth, who daily farther from the east
> Must travel, still is Nature's Priest,
> And by the vision splendid
> Is on his way attended;
> At length the man perceives it die away,
> And fade into the light of common day."

Most of us know how true this is. The light of infancy has died out of our hearts, and we cannot now restore even the memory of its *pain*. "We have all sobbed so piteously, standing with tiny bare legs above our little socks, when we lost sight of our mother or nurse in some strange place; but we can no longer recall the poignancy of that moment, and weep over it, as we do over the remembered sufferings of five or ten years ago. Every one of these keen moments has left its trace, and lives in us still; but such traces have blent themselves irrecoverably with the firm textures of our youth and manhood; and so it comes that we can look on the troubles of our children with a smiling disbelief in the reality of their pain." But some men and women are able to preserve, and carry with them through life, the feelings and sensations of these early years. Whether what is called "genius" arises out of, or may be identified with, this preservative faculty, is a question that we cannot stay to consider; but certain it is that only a supreme imagination can recall with fidelity the brightness or bitterness of its childhood. The attempt is sometimes made by men of inferior powers, but the counterfeit is easily detected. We see through it at once,—the representation is what a moderately clever man fancies childhood *should be*, not what our childhood *was*. It is constructed upon a plan; there is method in the madness; and the meretricious simplicity betrays the embarrassed efforts of the mature mind elaborately attempting to be immature. Other artists have sought to describe an abnormal sentimental childhood—as in the *Little Dombey* of Mr. Dickens,—a childhood where, though the finer characteristics escape, its *diseases* at least are laid hold of and put down in print. But the childhood which the author of *Adam Bede* draws is quite another thing: it is the sensational life of healthy and hungry little animals, who are not beyond

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dressing dolls, and playing at marbles, and liking jam-tarts. We cannot doubt its genuineness for a moment. "Totty" was the gem of the Poyser household; and some of the scenes in which the little lady figured were delicious:—

"'Munny, my iron's twite told; pease put it down to warm.'

"The small chirruping voice that uttered this request came from a fine sunny-haired girl between three and four, who, seated on a high chair at the end of the ironing-table, was arduously clutching the handle of a miniature iron with her tiny fat fist, and ironing rags with an assiduity that required her to put her little red tongue out as far as anatomy would allow.

"'Cold, is it, my darling? Bless your sweet face!' said Mrs. Poyser, who was remarkable for the facility with which she could relapse from her official objurgatory tone to one of fondness or of friendly converse. 'Never mind! Mother's done her ironing now. She's going to put the ironing things away.'

"'Munny, I tould 'ike to do into de barn to Tommy, to see de whittawd.'

"'No, no, no; Totty 'ud get her feet wet,' said Mrs. Poyser, carrying away her iron. 'Run into the dairy, and see cousin Hetty make the butter.'

"'I tould 'ike a bit o' pum-take,' rejoined Totty, who seemed to be provided with several relays of requests; at the same time, taking the opportunity of her momentary leisure to put her fingers into a bowl of starch, and drag it down, so as to empty the contents with tolerable completeness on to the ironing-sheet.

"'Did ever anybody see the like?' screamed Poyser, running towards the table when her eye had fallen on the blue stream. 'The child's allays i' mischief if your back's turned a minute. What shall I do to you, you naughty, naughty gell!'

"Totty, however, had descended from her chair with great swiftness, and was already in retreat towards the dairy, with a sort of waddling run, and an amount of fat on the nape of her neck, which made her look like the metamorphosis of a white sucking-pig."

Many of Tom and Maggie's experiences are quite as graphic and true to nature:—

"'O don't bother, Maggie! you're such a silly—I shall go and see my rabbits.'

"Maggie's heart began to flutter with fear. She dared not tell the sad truth at once, but she walked after Tom in trembling silence as he went out, thinking how she could tell him the news so as to soften at once his sorrow and his anger; for Maggie dreaded Tom's anger of all things—it was quite a different anger from her own.

"'Tom,' she said, timidly, when they were out of doors, 'how much money did you give for your rabbits?'

"'Two half-crowns and a sixpence,' said Tom, promptly.

"'I think I've got a great deal more than that in my steel purse up stairs. I'll ask mother to give it to you.'

"'What for?' said Tom. 'I don't want *your* money, you silly thing. I've got a great deal more money than you, because I'm a boy. I always have half-sovereigns and sovereigns for my Christmas boxes, because I shall be a man; and you have only five-shilling pieces, because you're only a girl.'

"'Well, but, Tom—if mother would let me give you two half-crowns and a sixpence out of my purse to put into your pocket and spend, you know; and buy some more rabbits with it?'

"'More rabbits? I don't want any more.'

"'O, but Tom, they're all dead.'

"Tom stopped immediately in his walk and turned round towards Maggie. 'You forgot to feed 'em, then, and Harry forgot?' he said, his colour heightening for a moment, but soon subsiding. 'I'll pitch into Harry—I'll have him turned away. And I don't love you, Maggie. You shan't go fishing with me to-morrow. I told you to go and see the rabbits every day.' He walked on again.

"'Yes, but I forgot—and I couldn't help it, indeed, Tom. I'm so very sorry,' said Maggie, while the tears rushed fast.

"'You're a naughty girl,' said Tom, severely, 'and I'm sorry I bought you the fish-line. I don't love you.'

"'O, Tom, it's very cruel,' sobbed Maggie. I'd forgive you, if *you* forgot anything—I wouldn't mind what you did—I'd forgive you and love you.'

"'Yes, you're a silly—but I never *do* forget things—I don't.'

"'O, please forgive me, Tom; my heart will break,' said Maggie, shaking with sobs, clinging to Tom's arm, and laying her wet cheek on his shoulder.

"Tom shook her off, and stopped again, saying in a peremptory tone, 'Now, Maggie, you just listen. Aren't I a good brother to you?'

"'Ye-ye-es,' sobbed Maggie, her chin rising and falling convulsedly.

"'Didn't I think about your fish-line all this quarter, and mean to buy it, and saved my money o' purpose, and wouldn't go halves in the toffee, and Spouncer fought me because I wouldn't?'

"'Ye-ye-es . . . and I . . . lo-lo-love you so, Tom.'

"'But you're a naughty girl. Last holidays you licked the paint off my lozenge-box, and the holidays before that you let the boat drag my fish-line down when I'd set you to watch it, and you pushed your head through my kite, all for nothing.'

"'But I didn't mean,' said Maggie; 'I couldn't help it.'

"'Yes, you could,' said Tom, 'if you'd minded what you were doing. And you're a naughty girl, and you shan't go fishing with me to-morrow.'

"With this terrible conclusion, Tom ran away from Maggie towards the mill, meaning to greet Luke there, and complain to him of Harry."

Maggie is the heroïne of *The Mill.* The wilful little maiden, in her early girlhood, is one of the most charming figures ever drawn in a ~~romance.~~— The petulant poetic child, with her flashing black eyes, and her dark unkempt locks, which she tosses about with the air of a small Shetland pony, wreaking stormy vengeance upon her doll, or caressing

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it in tender remorse, vain of her cleverness, defying the powers that be, and yet eager for love, flashes through that prosaic life like a sunbeam—like a verse of Homer in the Pandects. Governed by her feelings, she is continually in mischief, her fitful and vivid imagination is always leading her astray; and then she is judged as though her wrong-doing were the fruit of deliberately wicked intention, and not (as it is) of a peculiar, fine, and highly strung nature. She feels keenly, but blindly, the coarse injustice of the verdict; she protests against it in bitterness of soul, or appeals mutely to the gods (for Maggie is a little heathen at heart); but the passionate pain in the child's breast remains mostly inarticulate. The temptations which try this little Maggie when she arrives at womanhood—her moral and spiritual education, so to speak—give to *The Mill on the Floss* its dramatic interest and consistency. We are not asked to pronounce a verdict on any vulgar temptation, on any absolute crime. The lofty and imperious woman is in no danger of falling as the vain and simple Hetty did. The guilt is so subtle, that it is difficult to determine whether it be guilt or no; the temptations to yield are so complex, that it becomes a controversy whether to resist be better. The weaknesses are those to which a nature like Maggie's is peculiarly liable,—not the less dangerous, because masked and intricate. The conflict between desire and duty,—the desire being in itself perfectly legitimate, and the duty repugnant and oppressive,—is the conflict which Maggie has to encounter. She does not win, and she is not altogether defeated. The proud beauty is humbled and brought low; but even in her bitterest abandonment she asserts a nobleness of nature which raises her above those who condemn her. It is a story of martyrdom,—none the less touching because the martyr is not always strong, because the sensitive nerves shrink from the torture, because the feeble knees sometimes refuse to sustain the eager and soaring spirit.

Maggie, the woman, is the development of the dark-eyed and rebellious child. "Magsie,"—as her brother used to call her in their moments of childish reconciliation,—has grown into a lovely girl, tall, dark, crowned with a circling coronet of jet-black hair; for the wild mane which she had shaken so defiantly at the world has been subdued, and is now the crowning charm of her rich and expressive beauty; and owning the eyes which captivate and madden mankind, —"such eyes,—defying and deprecating, contradicting and clinging, imperious and beseeching,—full of delicious opposites." And the spirit is still the child's,—there is the same deep necessity for loving, the same impetuous unrest, the same ungovernable sensibility. But as her nature expands, the hard and crushing narrowness of her lot becomes more and more difficult to bear. She yearns for the finer and more open life beyond its borders. But her duty, as she reads it, requires her to renounce the world with which her own loftiest and most poetic instincts claim fellowship. On more than one occasion these motives come into sharp collision,—sometimes she yields, sometimes she triumphs. This is the storm which wages in Maggie's heart all her life, and which, through its various issues, is traced with supreme truthfulness.

Twice Maggie is bitterly tempted,—by her pity (for at bottom it is truly never more than pity) for Philip, and by her love for Stephen. Philip is the son of the man who has ruined her father. She knows that the parents of both would forbid the banns; yet, after a severe struggle, she consents to meet Philip, and confesses that she loves him. She yields to her intense longing for a larger life. Her father's querulous sense of failure, the mild irrationality of her mother, the meanness of the desolated home, were withering her mind, and crushing her heart; and the proud and lofty spirit could not endure the bonds which the disciple of *Thomas à Kempis*, in the ardour of renunciation, had tried to bind around her lithe limbs. Philip represents to her imagination that liberated life for which she yearns, and in which alone she can breathe freely. His conversation, his love, his quaint reveries, his animated pencil, open up to her a new world, warm with light, and vivid with colour,—and she cannot resist the temptation to enter. So she admits a ground of concealment into her life that hurts its simplicity and clearness. The rule of sacrifice ceases to be the rule of her conduct. She surrenders herself henceforth (as she feels with fruitless pain) to "the seductive guidance of illimitable wants."

The same contest is renewed, in even more tragic fashion, when Maggie, in the pride of her mature beauty, fascinates Stephen Guest. *Her* hand is promised to Philip; Stephen is virtually engaged to Maggie's cousin, Lucy —a pretty, gentle, affectionate little soul. But the bitter god of love comes between the affianced lovers, and separates them. Maggie cannot help loving Stephen. There is a richer, more complex music in his nature than in Philip's, a poetic sensibility which attunes with her own, an intense enjoyment of the beautiful in life, to which her heart responds. The miserable fascination

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cannot be resisted by either of them; and, in the fierce inward conflict which it arouses,—for Maggie unites with a certain passionate abandonment the spiritual force of a woman who has held silent and protracted communings with pain,—the greater power of the writer is manifested. The interview at the ball, when the girl casts back with the ire and bitterness of shame the involuntary homage she has extorted, is rendered by its dramatic vigour and minute truthfulness singularly impressive.

But Maggie, subdued by this appealing love, cannot be always strong; she loves Stephen, and she is forced to beg for pity, for mercy; to beseech him, *because* she loves him, to aid, and not to weaken, her resolution.

"He was looking eagerly at her face for the least sign of compliance; his large, firm, gentle grasp was on her hand. She was silent for a few moments, with her eyes fixed on the ground; then she drew a deep breath, and said, looking up at him with solemn sadness,—

"'O it is difficult—life is very difficult. It seems right to me sometimes that we should follow our strongest feeling;—but then, such feelings continually come across the ties that all our former life has made for us—the ties that have made others dependent on us—and would cut them in two. If life were quite easy and simple, as it might have been in paradise, and we could always see that one being first towards whom . . . I mean, if life did not make duties for us before love comes—love would be a sign that two people ought to belong to each other. But I see—I feel it is not so now: there are things we must renounce in life; some of us must resign love. Many things are difficult and dark to me; but I see one thing quite clearly—that I must not, cannot seek my own happiness by sacrificing others. Love is natural; but surely pity and faithfulness and memory are natural too. And they would live in me still, and punish me if I did not obey them. I should be haunted by the suffering I had caused. Our love would be poisoned. Don't urge me; help me—help me, *because* I love you.'"

How, without any volition of their own, the river bears the lovers to the sea, and forces upon them the wrong against which they have striven; how, for one brief hour, Maggie's resolution fails; how she yields to what seems the inevitable and irresistible; and how again she gathers up all the spiritual forces of her nature, and shakes herself free from the drowsy and bewitching spell which had benumbed her faculties,—reaching, ere the end comes, the highest levels of self-sacrifice;—is told in language of surpassing beauty.

But we quarrel with the ending,—not, indeed, because it is tragic, but because it is not the fit close to that keen, and subtle, and masterly analysis. A bit of melodrama at the finish is inappropriate and illogical. Nature, we may be sure, did not bring the tragedy to a close in that rough-and-ready fashion. She evoked a subtler issue—she tried a more intricate process of reparation. The author says finely, that it is often difficult to judge when life *must* go henceforth in a different direction from the best (from the best, at least, which was possible once),—when the wrong-doing *must* be condoned. "The great problem of the shifting relation between passion and duty is clear to no man who is capable of apprehending it; the question whether the moment has come in which a man has fallen below the possibility of a renunciation that will carry any efficacy, and must accept the sway of a passion against which he has struggled as a trespass, is one for which we have no master-key that will suit all cases." True, such judgments are difficult; but, with all deference, we believe that a woman placed in Maggie's position would have instinctively felt that the time had come when she must marry Stephen. She had resisted. But the world, circumstances, her own weakness (call it by what name we like), had proved to strong for her. It was time to give in. Not that it can ever be right to give in to evil; but there was no absolute evil here—all the evil that could be done had been done. The two hearts that were bound up in them were already hurt and bleeding, well-nigh broken. Maggie was innocent, but her fair name was sullied. She loved Stephen more than she loved any other man; he loved her deeply and truly. Why should she renounce him? Could the renunciation bear any fruit? That is the question; for when it is fruitless, renunciation degenerates into asceticism. The man who practises a true self-denial restrains his inclinations, because he knows that his restraint will work good to others; but the ascetic *starves*, without purpose, a part of his nature. It is no doubt very humbling to feel that the time has come when, by our own act (or, as in Maggie's case, because we have not resisted day and night with all our might), we are forced to take the path which we know is the lower or less noble one; but the discipline which teaches humility is not unpurifying. So Philip and Maggie should have been united—*were* united, if we read their story aright. No very vivid happiness, perhaps, was in store for them. A sense of defeat and failure, of the loss of that more excellent life which might have been theirs had they had courage for the sacrifice, abided with them. The vision of a still sorrowful face haunted them at times with its gentle reproach. But the great love which had taken them captive gave them shelter; under

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its boughs they walked on together—"through Eden took their solitary way"—hand in hand, and looking into eyes whose light, memories, that were once keen and stinging pains, had somewhat dimmed. But few eyes, owned by the men and women one knows, do not bear the traces of such pain; there are not many lives into which more of imperfection has not entered. We all carry the marks of these failures with us to our graves; and this consciousness of a fall from absolute goodness—this sense of loss, irretrievable, that can never be quite repaired in this world, is often supremely tragic—so tragic, that Tragedy herself, "sweeping by in sceptred pall," need not scruple to use it.

Maggie's relation to her brother is another centre of interest; and the contrast between the two is very skilfully sustained. Tom is one of those intolerable men we have all met,—who are always superficially right and fundamentally wrong. Even as a boy he is a somewhat Radamanthine personage, determined to punish every one who deserves punishment, but sure that he himself never can deserve it. His rigid purpose, his inflexible will, his silent vindictiveness, his hard unloving righteousness, do not constitute a very amiable character. Such a man never gets into a scrape; yet we feel that it would be better for him if he did; for that confident integrity, that icy and repellant probity, is really, when analysed, just one of the many disguises which selfishness assumes. It is, of course, impossible for Tom to understand his sister. He thinks her weak, vacillating, and untrustworthy. He is below feeling the imperious sensibilities, the fine mental needs, which are the source of her wrong doing. He means to do her justice,—he is always bitterly just; but it is the justice which is meted out by a man who has never felt the need of mercy, and is, therefore a justice essentially inhuman. Maggie, who is devoted to her brother, resents his harsh treatment of her,—in childhood, in an easy inarticulate way, and believing that she herself is at fault, but learning, as she grows up, that it is his narrowness, as much as her own weakness, that is to blame. At length they come into angry collision: Tom has spoken with cruel rudeness to Philip, has made Maggie promise not to see her lover again, and the hurt and indignant soul of the girl cannot be any longer silent:—

"Tom and Maggie walked on in silence for some yards. He was still holding her wrist tightly, as if he were compelling a culprit from the scene of action. At last Maggie, with a violent snatch, drew her hand away, and her pent-up, long-gathered irritation burst into utterance.

"'Don't suppose that I think you are right, Tom, or that I bow to your will. I despise the feelings you have shown in speaking to Philip: I detest your insulting unmanly allusions to his deformity. You have been reproaching other people all your life—you have been always sure you yourself are right: it is because you have not a mind large enough to see that there is anything better than your own conduct and your own petty aims.'

"'Certainly,' said Tom, coolly. 'I don't see that your conduct is better, or your aims either. If your conduct, and Philip Wakem's conduct, has been right, why are you ashamed of its being known? Answer me that. I know what I have aimed at in my conduct, and I've succeeded: pray, what good has your conduct brought to you or any one else?'

"'I don't want to defend myself,' said Maggie, still with vehemence: 'I know I've been wrong—often, continually. But yet, sometimes when I have done wrong, it has been because I have feelings that you would be the better for, if you had them. If *you* were in fault ever—if you had done anything very wrong, I should be sorry for the pain it brought you; I should not want punishment to be heaped on you. But you have always enjoyed punishing me—you have always been hard and cruel to me: even when I was a little girl, and always loved you better than any one else in the world, you would let me go crying to bed without forgiving me. You have no pity: you have no sense of your own imperfection and your own sins. It is a sin to be hard; it is not fitting for a mortal—for a Christian. You are nothing but a Pharisee. You thank God for nothing but your own virtues—you think they are great enough to win you everything else. You have not even a vision of feelings by the side of which your shining virtues are mere darkness!'"

So the two are henceforth separated,—Maggie seeing more and more clearly how faulty that narrow nature is, how hard and unloving the judgment it passes upon erring mortals is, resenting that judgment, and rebelling against it with all the strength of her womanhood; Tom more and more confident in the rectitude of his intentions, and in the inflexible theory of life in which he has been nurtured. He is always successful; no failure shakes him adrift from his moorings, or teaches him a wider and kindlier wisdom. He regards with cold scorn his sister's failures, with pitiless wrath his sister's disgrace; and it is not until the end that his eyes are opened, and that the true superiority of that richer, purer, and more noble nature is seen by him as it ought to be seen. Then—in that last supreme agony of their lives—he learns how entirely he has misjudged her:—

"It was not till Tom had pushed off and they

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were on the wide water—he face to face with Maggie—that the full meaning of what had happened rushed upon his mind. It came with so overpowering a force—it was such a new revelation to his spirit, of the depths in life, that had lain beyond his vision, which he had fancied so keen and clear—that he was unable to ask a question. They sat mutely gazing at each other: Maggie with eyes of intense life looking out from a weary, beaten face—Tom pale with a certain awe and humiliation. Thought was busy though the lips were silent: and though he could ask no question, he guessed a story of almost divinely-protected effort. But at last a mist gathered over the blue-grey eyes, and the lips found a word they could utter: the old childish—'Magsie!'"

Here we must leave them. We hope that we have explained pretty clearly the purpose of this book, and the moral difficulties which it touches. They are difficulties which need to be conned by all of us,—specially belonging, as they do, to an age like the present, when duty has lost its simplicity, and material forces govern the world. That they are probed by a hand which seldom falters, by a judgment supremely impartial, and by a genius vivid and intense, the sketch we have given, and the extracts we have made, amply suffice to prove.

We have said that Nathaniel Hawthorne may be taken as the representative of what we have called the secondary order of the imagination. Many readers, we know, will resent the award. The grave sympathy, the homely insight, the classic Puritanism, the rich and meditative intellect, have commended their owner to a multitude of admirers, and kept a place of kindly greeting for him in many hearts and by many firesides. Nor can it be denied that his imagination is vivid and affluent, and capable of sustaining an impassioned and lofty flight. It is perhaps hardly fair, moreover, to assert without qualification, that the imagination, which takes the colour of what it feeds on, is necessarily inferior. The question is still an "open" one—one on which the Cabinet is divided; and though, for our own part, we have never doubted that the tranquil supremacy of the "Shakespearean" mind represents the very highest type, yet we all know that treatises have been written to prove the reverse. But to the class we have described—whether first-class or second-class—Mr. Hawthorne belongs. At present Rome masters him: he has been subdued by the vanquished Queen of Christendom. Nor need we wonder at this. Stronger men have yielded to the fascination. Uncrowned, dishevelled, and forlorn, she yet remembers a spell taught her in the old pagan ages, which takes us captive, and binds our hearts to her forever.

Mr. Hawthorne is an admirable writer; but his style (where both are so pre-eminently good) is curiously unlike that of the lady of whose works we have spoken. *Hers* has a crystal-like purity; his is dyed with rich and vivid colours. The rhetoric of *Adam Bede*, untouched by the heart or the imagination, might become bald; with these,—exactly as we have it, in short,—it is the perfection of natural eloquence. But even without original thought or deep feeling, Mr. Hawthorne's style—rich, fragrant, and mixed with flowers of many hues, like Attic honey—would be always delightful. Even in this matter of language the contrast we have insisted upon asserts itself; while, as respects the relative power of these writers to delineate *character*, the evidence is still more decisive. In the one book it grows like a flower; in the other, it is constructed like a machine. Mr. Hawthorne, starting with some moral or intellectual conception, adapts his characters to it, fits them into the framework he has prepared, and expands or compresses them until they fill the mould. Thus there is in his representations a want of the ease, *abandon*, and lawlessness of life,—they are too symmetrical to be natural, too exact to be true. A character may accidentally or incidentally illustrate a law; but the writer who models the character upon the law, produces a moral or intellectual monster. If there are no actual "monsters" in *Transformation*, there is at least very little flesh and blood in it,—very little except the affluent fancy, the fine analysis, and the perfect taste, of an admirable *critic;* no life, but only a great deal of very delightful talk about life. Gazing on these statuesque figures, we are never perplexed by the controversy that troubled Leontes:

> Still, methinks
> There is an air comes from her; what fine chisel
> Could ever yet cut breath?"

As a guide to Rome, no pleasanter than Mr. Hawthorne could be wished. To pilgrims, like ourselves, who have trod the dust of the Holy City, and on whom the spell of her widowed beauty rests, his romance recalls vividly the associations and incidents of that delightful life. Our readers will thank us for a glimpse or two, through Mr. Hawthorne's spectacles, into these world-famous churches and galleries.

THE DYING GLADIATOR.*

"'I used to admire this statue exceedingly, but latterly, I find myself getting weary and annoyed

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* Mr. Hawthorne entertains a very high idea of the value of the artist's work. His remarks upon

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that the man should be such a length of time leaning on his arm in the very act of death. If he is so terribly hurt, why does he not sink down and die without further ado? Flitting moments, imminent emergencies, imperceptible intervals between two breaths, ought not to be encrusted with the eternal repose of marble; in any sculptural subject, there should be a moral standstill, since there must of necessity be a physical one. Otherwise, it is like flinging a block of marble up into the air, and by some trick or enchantment, causing it to stick there. You feel that it ought to come down, and are dissatisfied that it does not obey the natural law."

THE LAOCOON.

"Nothing pleased him, unless it were the group of the Laocoon, which, in its immortal agony, impressed Kenyon as a type of the long, fierce struggle of man, involved in the knotted entanglements of Error and Evil, those two snakes, which, if no Divine help intervene, will be sure to strangle him and his children in the end. What he most admired was the strange calmness diffused through this bitter strife; so that it resembled the rage of the sea, made calm by its immensity, or the tumult of Niagara, which ceases to be tumult because it lasts for ever. Thus, in the Laocoon, the horror of a moment grew to be the fate of interminable ages. Kenyon looked upon the group as the one triumph of sculpture, creating the repose, which is essential to it, in the very acme of turbulent effort; but, in truth, it was his mood of unwonted despondency that made him so sensitive to the terrible magnificence, as well as to the sad moral, of this work."

GUIDO'S BEATRICE.

"The picture represented simply a female head; a very youthful, girlish, perfectly beautiful face, enveloped in white drapery, from beneath which strayed a lock or two of what seemed a rich, though hidden luxuriance of auburn hair. The eyes were large and brown, and met those of the spectator, but evidently with a strange, ineffectual effort to escape. There was a little redness about the eyes, very slightly indicated, so that you would question whether or no the girl had been weeping. The whole face was quiet; there was no distortion or disturbance of any single feature; nor was it easy to see why the expression was not cheerful, or why a single touch of the artist's pencil should not brighten it into joyousness. But, in fact, it was the very saddest picture ever painted or conceived; it involved an unfathomable depth of sorrow, the sense of which came to the observer by a sort of intuition. It was a sorrow that removed this beautiful girl out of the sphere of humanity, and set her in a far-off region, the remoteness of which—while yet her face is so close before us—makes us shiver as at a spectre."

THE RUINS OF ROME.

"The Italian climate, moreover, robs age of its reverence, and makes it look newer than it is. Not the Coliseum, nor the tombs of the Appian Way, nor the oldest pillar in the Forum, nor any other Roman ruin, be it as dilapidated as it may, ever give the impression of venerable antiquity which we gather, along with the ivy, from the grey walls of an English abbey or castle. And yet every brick or stone, which we pick up among the former, had fallen ages before the foundation of the latter was begun. This is owing to the kindliness with which Nature takes an English ruin to her heart, covering it with ivy, as tenderly as Robin Redbreast covered the dead babes with forest leaves. She strives to make it a part of herself, gradually obliterating the handiwork of man, and supplanting it with her own mosses and trailing verdure, till she has won the whole structure back. But, in Italy, whenever man has once hewn a stone, Nature forthwith relinquishes her right to it, and never lays her finger on it again. Age after age finds it bare and naked, in the barren sunshine, and leaves it so."

ST. PETER'S.

"One afternoon, as Hilda entered Saint Peter's in sombre mood, its interior beamed upon her with all the effect of a new creation. It seemed an embodiment of whatever the imagination could conceive, or the heart desire, as a magnificent, comprehensive, majestic symbol of religious faith. All splendour was included within its verge, and there was space for all. She gazed with delight even at the multiplicity of ornament. She was glad at the cherubim that fluttered upon the pilasters, and of the marble doves, hovering, unexpectedly, with green olive-branches of precious stones. She could spare nothing, now, of the manifold magnificence that had been lavished, in a hundred places, richly enough to have made world-famous shrines in any other church, but which here melted away into the vast, sunny breadth, and were of no separate account. Yet each contributed its little all towards the grandeur of the whole. . . . The pavement! it stretched out illimitably, a plain of many-coloured marble, where thousands of worshippers might kneel together, and shadowless angels tread among them without brushing their heavenly garments against those earthly ones. The roof! the dome! Rich, gorgeous, filled with sunshine, cheerfully sublime, and fadeless after centuries, those lofty depths seemed to translate the heavens to mortal comprehension, and help the spirit upward to a yet higher and wider sphere. Must not the faith that built this matchless edifice, and warmed, illuminated, and overflowed from it, in-

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the functions of the sculptor are very eloquent—as eloquent as anything Mr. Ruskin has said on the subject:—"A sculptor, indeed, to meet the demands which our preconceptions make upon him, should be even more indispensably a poet than those who deal in measured verse and rhyme. His material, or instrument, which serves him in the stead of shifting and transitory language, is a pure, white, undecaying substance. It ensures immortality to whatever is wrought in it, and therefore makes it a religious obligation to commit no idea to its mighty guardianship, save such as may repay the marble for its faithful care, its incorruptible fidelity, by warming it with an ethereal life. Under this aspect, marble assumes a sacred character: and no man should dare to touch it unless he feels within himself a certain consecration and a priesthood, the only evidence of which, for the public eye, will be the high treatment of heroic subjects, or the delicate evolution of spiritual, through material beauty."

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clude whatever can satisfy human aspirations at the loftiest, or minister to human necessity at the sorest? If Religion had a material home, was it not here?"

Of the strange story which binds these charming criticisms together, we have not time to speak at length. Only let it be noted that one trait very characteristic of Mr. Hawthorne's habit of thought reappears. Those who have read *The House with the Seven Gables*, and *The Scarlet Letter*, (the latter by far the most powerful and sustained imaginative effort that Mr. Hawthorne has yet made), will understand to what we allude. His fictions have, almost without exception, a peculiar *background.* The commonplace events of the present are shrouded in the ghost-like shadows of the past. The influences of the dead haunt and afflict the footsteps of living men. This new English earth has seen the Indian and the Puritan, and Monarchy and Revolution; and two centuries of English civilization and English crime cannot be lightly lost. It is the moral feeling, however, that he communicates to this association which is most peculiar to himself. The crime of yesterday is curiously interwrought with the retribution of today. It follows the present with menacing tenacity, and clings to it with an immitigable grasp. It is continually rising up in judgment against us. Why do the bright eyes lose their lustre, and why are the rosy lips paled, and how has a dark shadow fallen upon the fair brow of the young girl—darker than is meet for the blooming youth of an English maiden? We are told that her health is delicate and uncertain; and we know that her mother died of the same mysterious blight. Mr. Hawthorne finds another explanation,—an explanation not endorsed by the Faculty. It is *the family curse*,—the cruel sin of the grim Puritan grandfather,—that falls upon the maiden's head, and spoils her innocent youth. And so in *Transformation*, the Count of Monte Bene represents the pleasant rural life of old Etruria, and inherits the playful unreflective virtues of the ancestor who had piped to the Nymphs and caroused with Pan, "while Italy was yet guiltless of Rome." The marble of Praxiteles preserves to us in unfaded youth the form of this sylvan Sire; and with Mr. Hawthorne's picture of the famous statue,—striking, as it does, the key-note to his story,—we take our leave of a capricious and fantastic, but captivating romance:—

"The Faun is the marble image of a young man, leaning his right arm on the trunk or stump of a tree: one hand hangs carelessly by his side; in the other he holds the fragment of a pipe, or some such sylvan instrument of music. His only garment—a lion's skin, with the claws upon his shoulder—falls half way down his back, leaving the limbs and entire front of the figure nude. The form, thus displayed, is marvellously graceful, but has a fuller and more rounded outline, more flesh, and less of heroic muscle than the old sculptors were wont to assign to their types of masculine beauty. The character of the face corresponds with the figure; it is most agreeable in outline and figure, but rounded and somewhat voluptuously developed, especially about the throat and chin; the nose is almost straight, but very slightly curves inward, thereby acquiring an indescribable charm of geniality and humour. The mouth, with its full yet delicate lips, seems so nearly to smile outright, that it calls forth a responsive smile. The whole statue—unlike anything else that ever was wrought in that severe material of marble—conveys the idea of an amiable and sensual creature, easy, mirthful, apt for jollity, yet not incapable of being touched by pathos. It is impossible to gaze long at this stone image without conceiving a kindly sentiment towards it, as if this substance were warm to the touch, and imbued with actual life. It comes very close to some of our pleasantest sympathies.

"Perhaps it is the very lack of moral severity, of any high and heroic ingredient in the character of the Faun, that makes it so delightful an object to the human eye and to the frailty of the human heart. The being here represented is endowed with no principle of virtue, and would be incapable of comprehending such; but he would be true and honest by dint of his simplicity. We should expect from him no sacrifice or effort for an abstract cause; there is not an atom of martyr's stuff in all that softened marble; but he has a capacity for strong and warm attachment, and might act devotedly through its impulse, and even die for it at need. It is possible, too, that the Faun might be educated through the medium of his emotions, so that the coarser animal portion of his nature might eventually be thrown into the background, though never utterly expelled.

"The animal nature, indeed, is a most essential part of the Faun's composition; for the characteristics of the brute creation meet and combine with those of humanity in this strange yet true and natural conception of antique poetry and art. Praxiteles has subtly diffused throughout his work that mute mystery which so hopelessly perplexes us whenever we attempt to gain an intellectual or sympathetic knowledge of the lower orders of creation. The riddle is indicated, however, only by two definite signs; these are the two ears of the Faun, which are leaf-shaped, terminating in little peaks, like those of some species of animals. Though not so seen in the marble, they are probably to be considered as clothed in fine, downy fur. In the coarser representations of this class of mythological creatures, there is another token of brute kindred—a certain caudal appendage; which, if the Faun of Praxiteles must be supposed to possess it at all, is hidden by the lion's skin that forms his garment. The pointed and furry ears, therefore, are the sole indications of his wild, forest nature.

"Only a sculptor of the finest imagination, the most delicate taste, the sweetest feeling, and the rarest artistic skill—in a word, a sculptor and a

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poet too—could have first dreamed of a Faun in this guise, and then have succeeded in imprisoning the sportive and frisky thing in marble. Neither man nor animal, and yet no monster; but a being in whom both races meet on friendly ground! The idea grows coarse as we handle it, and hardens in our grasp. But, if the spectator broods long over the statue, he will be conscious of its spell; all the pleasantness of sylvan life, all the genial and happy characteristics of creatures that dwell in woods and fields, will seem to be mingled and kneaded into one substance, along with the kindred qualities in the human soul. Trees, grass, flowers, woodland streamlets, cattle, deer, and unsophisticated man! The essence of all these was compressed long ago, and still exists within that discoloured marble surface of the Faun of Praxiteles."

Art. VIII.—*La Verité sur la Russia.* Par le Prince Pierre Dolgoroukoff. Paris, 1860.

We have here a work of no common merit, on the actual condition of the Russian Empire. It is marred, indeed, by prejudices so strong, and antipathies so poignant, that the utmost assumption of dispassionateness fails to disguise them. But although Prince Dolgoroukoff, in depicting, for instance, the iniquities of the Russian bureaucracy, is apt to turn portrait into caricature, we cannot question that his grievance is essentially true, and that the work, viewed as a whole, presents the ablest *exposé* of Russian government and Russian society that has yet reached the west of Europe. The three principal works hitherto published on this subject, in our generation, have been written respectively by a Russian, a German, and a Frenchman. No one of these can be said to be absolutely out of date. The work of De Custine relates to Russia twenty-one years ago;* that of Haxthausen dates from ten and fifteen years ago; and that of Tegoborski describes the author's country as it existed within the last six or seven years.† Yet, with these and other rivals, such as Tourgueneff in the field, Prince Dolgoroukoff has contrived to write a book on the same subject altogether new; and he has compressed into one volume much more that a politician would desire to read, than his three leading predecessors have produced in twelve. Haxthausen and Custine were foreign travellers, superficially acquainted of necessity with a government almost as intolerant of inquiry as the Chinese; Tegoborski failed in depth of thought and clearness of view; but M. de Dolgoroukoff, though sometimes falling into empiricism, sometimes running into extremes, writes with the knowledge of a Russian, and with much of the comprehensive view of a statesman.

The distinguished author of this work held, we believe, at one time, a station of some eminence in the Russian Government; and though subsequently banished the empire under the reign of Nicholas, and now probably more than ever in *mauvaise odeur* in Russia, we understand that he is no longer in legal or involuntary exile. From Paris, he therefore publishes this work in the language of his adoption; and in his preface he defends himself against the possible presumption of a want of nationality, in choosing to convey his views in the French language rather than the Russian. While the former, he says, is the language of Europe, the latter is, for his purpose of authorship, no language at all; for the circulation of such a work as his would be at once arrested in Russia. With this introduction for his work, he next introduces himself to the European public, with antecedents which form in themselves a qualification, of which the internal evidence of his work bears reciprocal evidence:—

"I have largely studied," says M. de Dolgoroukoff, "the history of my country; I have known the greater part of the men who, during five-and-twenty years, have held power in Russia, and the greater part of those who hold it at this day; I am acquainted with their biography and intimate relations. I have lived in the two capitals and in the interior of the country; I have suffered banishment; I stand in relations with persons in the most different social positions, from the most elevated to the most unassuming. Established now in a foreign country, I design henceforth to write on Russia, in the intimate belief of seeing the truth, placed in the great day of publicity, even by a pen so feeble as mine, prove useful to my beloved country."—Pp. 3-4.

The emancipation of the serfs is at this moment constituting an epoch in Russian history, and probably the greatest in all the changes of internal organization that the empire has yet undergone. It is immediately *à propos* of this that Prince Dolgoroukoff writes. And though his work apparently diverges from that subject into a general view of the constitution of the Russian government, he does so, less in order to present his readers with a complete view of the position of his country, than because the emancipation of the serfs presents quite as much of an administrative difficulty as of a territorial or social question. His elaborate and

* Mémoires et Voyages en la Russie pendant, 1839.

† Etudes sur la force productive de la Russie, 1852-54.

reiterated philippics against the Russian bureaucracy form, therefore, a part, though perhaps an exaggerated and disproportionate part, of the didactic aim of his work; for he holds it impossible to explain the situation of the serf question irrespectively of the bureaucratic organization, by which he represents all progress as trammelled. Prince Dolgoroukoff, therefore, unlike those writers on the state of Russia with whom we have compared him, has the advantage of coming forward as the man of his epoch, to explain the question which now divides interests in Russia, and arrests attention throughout Europe.

We must take up the subject very much in the same way. The great problem of serf-emancipation having been brought forward, it must be worked out, if worked out at all, in great degree at any rate by the government of the country; and the first question is, accordingly, the general character of that government, and its attitude towards this as one of the chief examples of social and political reform. The author himself commences by offering a general view of the state of government in Russia. He looks on the State as a sort of whited sepulchre, pleasing outwardly to the eye, but within full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness. Russia, he tells us, "is an immense edifice, European in its exterior, adorned by a European façade, but Asiatic in the fashioning of its interior." Its functionaries are true Tartars in their administration, disguised as Europeans in costume. The Russian government is mendacious, venal, cruel, despotic, and essentially barbarous.

In coming next to to the distribution of power thus marked and thus exercised, Prince Dolgoroukoff describes the autocracy of the Czar as merely nominal. He appears to regard the Emperor very much as a hereditary Doge. He describes the absolute rulers of the empire to be neither the emperor, nor the aristocracy, nor the priesthood, but the bureaucracy. "One of the most generally accredited errors," he tells us, "consists in regarding the Emperor of all the Russias as an all-powerful autocrat. Autocrat in law, the Emperor is scarcely ever so in fact. He may exile any one, he may deprive any one of his fortune, his liberty, his life; he can strike off heads at his caprice; but one would believe that the Emperor Alexander, a far-sighted and good prince, would be very careful of exercising such savage rights. In reality, the Emperor is but the editor, and sometimes even only the promulgator, of laws and ordinances, without having the slightest power in the world to control their execution."

Such being the degree of power in possession of the Czar, Prince Dolgoroukoff inquires upon what basis the Russian administration reposes:—

"Is it (he asks) upon the laws? Certainly not; for no country is more rich than Russia in laws, ordinances, and rules of all kinds: the Russian code is the most voluminous in the world. It contains fifteen volumes of more than a thousand pages each; and every year there appear supplements besides. But this code, so useful for the prosperity of the paper-makers, is a dead letter to the country. The first article of the first volume, in placing the Emperor above all the laws, transforms all the fifteen volumes, thick as they are, into the most voluminous of bad pleasantries. The Russian administration reposes on the equality of all, not before the law, as in Europe, but before the caprice of the power and venality of the administration, as in Asia."—P. 6,

The author then tells us that the bureaucracy are an incarnation of evil, and the chief incubus on government. No expressions are too strong, no colouring is too vivid, for Prince Dolgoroukoff, in his portraiture of this body. Their corruption, inhumanity, their falsehood, their systematic deception of their own sovereign, their resolute opposition to every sort of reform, their servility in the midst of power, their fraud and avarice in the midst of wealth, are the themes on which the author pre-eminently delights to dwell. His initial chapter, which he styles "Aperçu général sur la Russie," is devoted to a general view of the whole system; and from this he reproduces, in later chapters, and at greater length, the description which he here extends, as it were in a concentrated form, somewhat beyond the limits of credulity. He speaks of the bureaucracy as possessing two allies:—

"If a law published by the Emperor is useful to the interests of the bureaucracy, or to those of Ministers, or of the *entourage* of the Imperial Court, you may be certain that it will be executed with a vigour and a zeal quite remarkable; but if it is of no use to the interests of the three powers which we have just mentioned, it will at any rate be executed only with tardiness and distaste; and if it is opposed to their interests, you may be certain that it will never be executed at all. But of these three powers, the most influential, the most powerful, is, without contradiction, the bureaucracy, *that moral leprosy* of Russia."—P. 7.

Again, we read that the Russian bureaucracy are "corrupt, greedy, plundering, a triple extract of the worst and vilest passions." They are described as first deceiving the people by declaring that the worst abuses of their administration are sanctioned and desired by the sovereign; and as next deceiving the sovereign, in representing as dangerous and revolutionary "a people so

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worthy of confidence and affection." The author describes this body as presenting an invincible barrier between the sovereign and the whole of the rest of the community, and by means of which it rules everywhere, and pillages everywhere. Russia he describes as the country of organized official falsehood. He characterises the official reports of the authorities, from the deputy chiefs of the district police up to the ministers and President of the Council himself, as consisting, where they are designed for the Emperor's perusal, of deliberate falsehood, which all the other bureaucrats presuppose to be falsehoods, and which no bureaucrat, much as he inculcates them on the Emperor, ever thinks of believing himself.

These generalities, however, give way—and it is high time that they should do so—to more definite accusations. In devising the means of a reform of government weighed down by such an imposture as this, the author tells us that all complaints and all demands for reform, even when reaching the Emperor himself, are stifled by a very simple process. The bureaucracy have obtained a law by virtue of which every complaint made against a public functionary, or a minister, is submitted to the very minister himself; and it becomes *his* task to examine the merits of the complaint, and to tender his advice to the Emperor on the character of the petition! The author makes rather a large demand on our credulity here; and, indeed, he himself goes on to state, what is hardly consistent with such an instance of Imperial imbecility, that there exists at St. Petersburg a Secretary of State specially charged with the receipt and consideration of grievances; and this official is very naturally pointed out by M. de Dolgoroukoff, as one of the most incapable and contemptible men in Russia, who has held the post in question for a quarter of a century; and that no persons ever think of going to him without gold in their hands! The author then speaks of a financier no better than Baron Brück, who had robbed the Russian Treasury of many millions of roubles. But pecuniary malversation, he tells us, is common to all Russian functionaries; and it is carried out, according to him, with a deliberate villany of which we hope that Austria presents no example. Whenever certain officers of police are desirous of further plunder, they terrify the Imperial mind by adducing fictitious indications of political conspiracies. Having thus obtained the Emperor's confidence for their simulated zeal, they obtain general permission to hold inquiries and punish the pretended malefactors. Declarations of exile are thereon pronounced, the rich being glad to pay ransoms in arrest of these declarations—which it is the aim of the police, from first to last, to obtain—and all those who cannot or will not pay, go into exile or Siberia!

What the author says of the exclusive social pretensions of the bureaucracy, is hardly less striking than his view of their political assumptions. They alone, it appears from his statement, possess the slightest access to the Imperial Court:—

"In the Courts in which the old monarchical etiquette, the old European etiquette prevails, every gentleman, every noble, possesses the right to go to Court. In the Courts organized on principles so large and so reflective of modern society, such as those of Paris, of Turin, and of Brussels, every man of capacity, every man who is well-born, every man having some title, be it what it may, to a social position, may have admission to Court. In this manner, it is possible for the sovereign to see all the distinguished men of the country, to converse with them, to become enlightened by their light, and to understand thoroughly the wants and necessities of the country. In Russia there is nothing of the kind. *In order to be received at Court, it is necessary to enjoy a certain bureaucratic rank.* The most eminent man, the most distinguished writer, the deepest thinker, the gentleman of the oldest family, cannot be admitted at Court without possessing a certain bureaucratic rank."—P. 14.

This is something worse than the exclusive prepossessions for men who are nobles by birth which prevail at the Austrian Court, or than Lord Carlisle's story of Prince Schwartzenberg's ball at Vienna, at which were present the wives of some eminent bankers, whose presence "created the wildest dismay." Furthermore, Prince Dolgoroukoff tells us, that in order to command rapid promotion in the bureaucratic service, it is of all things necessary to eliminate whatever amount either of "dignity or of conscience" may naturally exist in one's composition; that "the dignity must be replaced by a highly flexible back-bone, and the conscience by *finesse!*"

This rapid glance at the working of government in Russia, serves to indicate the difficulties with which any great measure of reform, such as the emancipation of the serfs, is beset, even though the obviously prejudiced sentiments of the author be adopted with a certain reserve. Prince Dolgoroukoff fully states the difficulty of the question, when he asserts the only method of really surmounting it to consist in the establishment of a general publicity, of a right of public discussion, and of the freedom consequently of the press; but acknowledges that this is the very measure to which, beyond all others, the bureaucracy

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are opposed. He describes the acumen of literary Russians as fully equal to the maintenance of a political press in a high degree of respectability; and refers to articles lately contributed to Russian journals which would have commanded the approbation of Europe, had they only been written in a language intelligible to other nations. This right of publicity he advocates on three grounds. He considers it to form the only means by which the Emperor can ever be made acquainted with the truth, in any of the questions of the day; by which the demands of the people can be ventilated, and their interests known; and by which the aristocracy, whom he describes as generally patriotic, humane, and enlightened, can take that part in the direction of public affairs which would best consult the general advantage. "La publicité," he says with felicitous sarcasm, "est la tête de Méduse de la bureaucratie Russe; si l'aigle fixe le soleil de ses regards, les hiboux et les chats-huants ne peuvent vivre que dans les ténébres."

The only alternative to this publicity, as a condition of the success of serf-emancipation, he obviously seeks in the replacing of the existing chiefs of the Government by new men. This condition is perhaps no less impracticable in a country in which there exists no conflicting power equal to the Herculean task of driving the present men out of office. The late Emperor of Russia was playfully described as rejecting a reforming policy because the existing ministers were unequal to its adoption, instead of rejecting the existing ministers because they were unequal to a reforming policy. He entertained no doubt, it was said, that it was eminently dangerous to entrust fiacre-drivers with railway locomotives. That, however, would scarcely have formed a reason, in any other country than Russia, for the discouragement of railway traffic.

We shall take the Russian government as it now is, and shall not greatly concern ourselves with its historical development, which assumes an undue share, as we think, in the work of our author; if only because successive violent revolutions have gone far to destroy the political connection between different periods comprehended in his voluminous survey. In his chapter on nobility and serfdom, for example, he begins by ascribing the foundation of the Russian monarchy to the year 862; but the intervention of the Mongol conquest, four centuries later, establishes a period almost wholly disconnected from that which preceded it. All this, however, may serve to show that Russia has followed in a course not very dissimilar from other nations; only that she is some ages in the rear of the rest of Europe. Her local government, originally free, elective or patriarchal, gave place to conquerors, then to feudality maintained by a varying and rarely permanent nobility; the crown, in turn, beginning to trench, with the extension of social and political relations, on the rights of the nobility; and stretching throughout the empire a uniform bureaucratic centralization;—this, which is the history of Russia, is the history also of almost every European nation that has not yet learnt to be at once civilised and free. Bureaucratic centralization has become so obnoxious that it arrays all classes against it; and it would seem that a division of parties on all questions but that of serfdom in Russia very nearly amounts to the sovereign, the church, the aristocracy, the *bourgeoisie*, and the serfs, being on one side, and the bureaucracy being alone on the other.

This is no unnatural result, when we perceive in what degree the Government has encroached on the privileges of all classes, and how largely the Government partakes even of the advantages arising from the possession of serfs by the nobles. The common representation of the Russian nobility, as a body powerful in themselves and invincibly antagonistic to the sovereign, appears to be now quite obsolete. Indeed, there appears at this day to be more rapprochement between the sovereign and the aristocracy, than between the sovereign and his own ministers.

M. de Dolgoroukoff enumerates the privileges of the nobility under nine heads. He begins by describing them (marvellous immunity!) as exempted from corporal chastisement; from which two out of the three classes of the *bourgeoisie* are exempt also. 2. A Russian noble is alone permitted to possess serfs. 3. He is qualified to enter the public service, if permitted to do so by the Government. 4. Again, he may quit it, if he obtain permission to leave. 5. He may travel, if he is not refused a passport. 6. He possesses the right of delivering his opinion on all that concerns the public interests at the triennial assemblies of his district or province; but if his opinion, so declared, happen to displease the Government, he may be exiled or imprisoned without either judgment or judicial process. 7. The noble has the privilege of complaining to the Emperor, if his personal dignity be outraged by any member of the civil or military administration. But the complaint of the noble is sent to the chief of the department to which it refers, and the minister common-

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ly supports his underling at the expense of the indignant and litigious aristocrat. 8. The noble possesses the right of publishing his opinions, under certain restrictions; but unless those opinions are favourable to the Government, he is again liable to imprisonment. 9. The noble may reside where he pleases; nevertheless, he is liable to be interdicted from going to any places which the Government think fit to exclude him from.

Puerile as such an analysis of aristocratic privilege in Russia may seem, it serves to indicate the degree in which every local authority has been trodden under foot by the Government. The Russian nobility, says the Prince, possess neither liberty of opinions, freedom of conscience, nor guarantees for their personal independence. The humblest subject of a constitutional monarchy enjoys greater rights than a Russian noble.

But the power of the Crown over the noble cannot, of course, imply an absence of oppression in the exercise of the power of the nobles over their serfs; for it may possibly be with them, somewhat as Mrs. Trollope says of the Americans, that "the only freedom which they possess is liberty to wallop the niggers as much as they please." The readiness, however, with which a considerable proportion of the nobility have come forward to promote emancipation, bears its own indication of the general treatment of the serfs by their masters.

The population of the Russian Empire in Europe is 66,000,000, and the number of serfs is 22,000,000. The measure of emancipation involves, therefore, one-third of the inhabitants. With such an immense number of people to be affected, it is obviously of the last importance that the transformation of their position should be such as not materially to derange the means of subsistence and the supply of labour.

The Prince states the general proposition with characteristic boldness: "Serfdom," he says "being an enormity contrary to all the notions of human justice, as well as to all divine laws, every serf possesses the right, before God and men, to obtain immediate and complete liberty. *Ceci est hors de toute discussion*;" and although some of the ablest expounders of "human justice" in the Old World did not concur in his proposition, no one, probably, will dispute it now. But so far as the immediate necessities of the serf are concerned, the author acknowledges that there is some reciprocal interest subsisting between him and his master. The proprietors of serfs possess, as he states, exorbitant rights. They can inflict corporal punishment upon them, and they can send them into exile. These serfs are, in the eyes of the law, "not men, but things; all civil rights are refused them; and we, their masters, can dispose of them at our will." He then states the privileges of the serf in return for this abject dependence:—

"In recompense, they enjoyed the right, as against the proprietor, of neither dying of hunger, nor of wanting shelter or clothing; and, in the event of unforeseen calamities, such as the burning of their cottages, *l'epizootie*—a word which it would be a contradiction in terms to render 'epidemic'—among their cattle, it was our duty to come to their assistance, compelled to do this both by the law and by our own peculiar interest. Moreover, we were responsible before the Government for their imposts and rent."—P. 111.

If this view of the question is to render us cautious of emancipation on the one hand, so, on the other, it tends materially to diminish the great loss of property alleged to be sustained by the landlord by the mere freeing of his serfs; because the obligations of the serf-owning noble stand in some respect as rent paid by him for the possession of his serfs. The reciprocity, it is true, may not be exact: the owner may gain much more by the possession than he loses by the coinciding obligation; but the fact, nevertheless, remains in sufficient force to exercise a certain modifying influence on the claim of the owner for an indemnity from the Government, for which Prince Dolgoroukoff, himself a serf-owner, is not less clamorous in this volume than his confraternity are through other channels.

Prince Dolgoroukoff considers that the Russian Government, at the commencement of this question, a year and a half ago, had three courses to determine between and to follow. He defines them,—

1. Either to emancipate each serf without granting him any property;

2. Or to emancipate him by affording him singly an allotment of ground; the indemnity due in consideration of it to the proprietor—the measure being held to be but an impropriation for public interest—being to be paid by the former serf in compulsory labour, subject to a redemption of this work by a money payment, to be fixed by law;

3. Or to emancipate also with an allotment of ground, in consideration of which the serf should pay to Government an annuity during a period to be declared by law,—the government being left to indemnify the proprietors immediately.

The Government of Russia have adopted the second of these courses. The author, of course, finds fault with their decision, and ascribes it to the hostility of those around the Emperor Alexander to any kind of re-

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form. It is certain, however, that this decision most nearly corresponds, of the three alternatives that he gives us, to the policy pursued by Prussia under the administration of Baron Stein and Prince Hardenberg, from 1807 to 1821. In that country, the serf was emancipated with the possession of an allotment of territory, though subject to a species of rent,—the labour, which is the original rent of a serf, being commuted into an annual and money payment; and this annual payment again being compounded for, in many cases, by a lump sum paid immediately by the serf, through the sale of a portion of the territory allotted to him on his emancipation. A substantial difference of circumstances may be traced, perhaps, in the fact that, in the case of Prussia, the administration, as well as the sovereign, were anxious to carry out the measure; and in this manner the greatest facilities were given to the serfs in the execution of the conditions under which they were to become free, and, as far as the law of tenure in any country will permit, absolute proprietors. Royal commissioners assessed the obligation of the serf to his master at the lowest practicable terms; and when they had done this, they next valued the portion of his property which he wished to sell in redemption, at the highest. It would seem, if we are implicitly to follow M. de Dolgoroukoff, that the Government of Russia is scarcely likely to carry out the laws of emancipation, when once passed, with the good will of Prussia; but, at any rate, judging from the example of the latter country, we should be led to infer that the disadvantages alleged by the author against the mode of emancipation resolved on by the Government, would be experienced rather in the execution than in the design of the measure.

But it is time to trace the progress of this question in Russia, since it first became active in 1857. Towards the close of that year, the nobles of the provinces of Wilna, Goodno, and Kovno, which border upon Prussia, applied to the Russian Government for permission to resolve themselves into provincial assemblies, with the view of themselves working out the emancipation of their respective serfs. The proposal of these nobles avowedly sprang from their own view of the advantages of civil freedom in the neighbouring country; and thus we may associate again the example of Prussia in the devising of the present undertaking. An Imperial rescript granted the required permission, on the 20th of November, much as it had previously constituted an assembly for a general inquiry into the whole question on the 2d of January. The Government, however, took care to include two parties in either assembly; and the reactionists in the latter contrived, by their incessant representation of insurrectionary results, to bring the assembly to a close, after ten months of investigation, without pronouncing any conclusion. This the author ascribes to the general state of parties, which he thus depicts:—

"The retrograde party had hoped that the majority of the provincial nobility felt no sympathy for the new movement, and would find the means to upset it. It was right on the first point; it was completely deceived upon the second. The great majority of the provincial nobility was opposed to emancipation; but the enlightened minority, relying on public opinion in the two capitals, on the reviews, on the journals, indeed on all that was intelligent and upright in Russia, ranged itself on the side of the Emperor, determined to support him at all risks in the enlightened path in which he showed an intention to advance; and, thanks to these fine and noble dispositions, the cause of progress gained the upper hand."—P. 92.

Emancipation, then, is here traced to the participation of the Emperor in the views of a minority of the nobles, whom we suppose we must term the Russian Whigs.

The Government, however—the existence of which we have already shown that we may conceive apart from the Emperor—having learnt to their surprise the force of the current, set themselves with all their strength to arrest its course. Being in command of the superior assembly, they issued through that body a circular to all the provincial assemblies on the 17th of April, 1858, rigorously defending the method by which the emancipation of the serfs was to be worked out, and they at the same time imposed the utmost restrictions upon public discussion. The principle of emancipation by means of compulsory labour, or, in other words, the principle of the *corvée*, was the only one which they permitted the provincial assemblies to work out. Having thus followed in the track of these bodies, the Government forbade the press altogether the discussion of the question, in any other point of view than that from which the provincial assemblies had been permitted to handle it.

Nor was this the only restriction upon publicity. These assemblies being chosen by the nobles from among proprietors, they were assumed to possess the right of public inquiry which appertains to the noble class; and the ordinance of the 17th of April had been silent on this particular. But the retrograde party once more prevailed, and all the sittings of the provincial assemblies were made private.

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The Government then created a *Commission de Rédaction*, with plenary powers. A majority of this Commission was composed of men totally unacquainted with rural life, and thus often at issue with the minority,—the Government again restricting discussion to the alternative of compulsory labour or of equivalent rent. M. de Dolgoroukoff pursues his narrative of the proceedings of this Commission at a length to which we are unable to follow him; and we pass to the results of its deliberations.

This Commission, then, ordained that the peasant might redeem himself from service by capitalising the charge for his redemption within limits prescribed by law, as the author not very distinctly enunciates its decision. He renews his complaint that the poverty of the Russian peasant would preclude him from paying more than an annuity for a given term of years. Serfdom, therefore, in a certain shape—that is either labour or payment of a compulsory kind—would continue. To this scheme M. de Dolgoroukoff raises two objections. In the first place, he observes with truth, that compulsory labour yields but one-half of what voluntary labour yields. This objection seems to us beside the question, if the peasant may compound for the liberating service—or, in other words, if he may pay a day's wages in lieu of performing a day's work. In the second place, the author complains that the new system, in abolishing seigneurial power without abolishing also compulsory labour, will confer on the bureaucracy an immense accession of authority, and that the conflicts which will ensue between the proprietor and the serf in process of freeing himself, and which will go to a venal bureaucracy for adjudication, "will for them be equal to the discovery of a new California."

But, unless we are greatly mistaken, the immediate result of *any* system of serf-emancipation must be to increase the power of the Government, which thereby becomes the direct superior of the whole population. Every supporter of civil freedom must make up his mind to such a result; for it is to be presumed that no race of newly emancipated peasants would be in such a state of development as to take any share in the Government upon themselves. Between emancipation from feudal oppression and parliamentary government, there almost necessarily intervenes a longer or shorter interval, only to be filled by the greater absolution of the Crown. Thus the two first of the Tudors in this country, and the three last of the Bourbons prior to the Revolution in France, were more absolute than either their successors or their predecessors. M. de Dolgoroukoff, fertile of theory as he is, no where suggests any expedient by which the growth of bureaucratic power is to be countervailed when the serfs are free.

Thus much being apparently settled on the general method of emancipation, we come next to the question of the indemnity. Here the "serf-proprietor" peeps out again in Prince Dolgoroukoff. He argues that the Government should take the indemnity to the proprietors on itself, instead of leaving it to be worked out by the peasants; because the Government was itself the author of serfdom. This is a somewhat indifferent argument; for if the Crown introduced serfdom, the nobility have unquestionably profited by it; and if the author of the evil is to pay one part of the indemnity, it would be only fair that the gainers by the evil should forego the other part.

The poverty of the government has been made the chief argument in Russia itself, against the grant of money from the treasury. M. de Dolgoroukoff, freely acknowledging that the finances of the country are in a deplorable condition, replies that there is, nevertheless, ample wealth at the disposal of the Crown for this purpose. He instances the Crown lands, and proposes that they should be sold by auction, the proceeds being paid in indemnities. And he refers to the compensation voted in this country to slaveowners a quarter of a century ago, a precedent which will hardly be thought apposite in the face of Prince Dolgoroukoff's own admission, that the State had originally created the property of the lord in his serf in Russia. It may, nevertheless, be fair that the State in that country should contribute to the object; but it appears to be resolute in refusing the demand.

But it is time that M. de Dolgoroukoff, after being so critical, should himself be constructive in turn. At p. 120 he publishes his own notion of the conditions under which the emancipation of the serf in Russia should be carried out. We shall condense into shorter language than his own the terms which he proposes:—

1. He demands that a definite extent of allotment should be fixed on in each province for every male serf, the female serfs being to be emancipated without any grant of land,—the extent of the allotment to vary with the population and the price of land in each province.

2. That the serfs attached to the personal service of the seigneurs should choose between two kinds of emancipation: either to be freed like the rest, or to receive no land, and therefore to pay nothing by way of indemnity.

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3. That serfdom should terminate at the expiration of one year, this interval being allowed to the landowners to make their arrangements for the new system.

4. That an indemnity of 100 roubles (L.16) should be paid to the owners for each male serf, the number of which was returned, under the census of 1857, at 10,-850,000.

5. That each male serf should pay, in redemption of his allotment of ground, five roubles (sixteen shillings) annually for *thirty-three* years,—he being at liberty to compound at any time by payments in advance.

The other conditions in the author's project refer to the manner in which the above five principles should be carried into effect.

Prince Dolgoroukoff, it will have been seen, demands two classes of indemnities,—an indemnity to the proprietor for the loss of service, and a further indemnity for the loss of land alloted to the emancipated serfs. Now, the former of these indemnities alone will amount, on the author's computation, to more than L.170,000,000 sterling, since he demands, in behalf of his order, L.16 for each emancipated male serf.* Whence is this immense sum to be obtained? The considerable loan which the Russian Government is at this moment negotiating in London, is but a drop in the ocean in comparison with it. The Russian Government would be compelled to borrow *annually for ten years nearly double that amount*, in order to meet such a demand. M. de Dolgoroukoff, indeed, has suggested the Crown lands. But even if we may take his computation of the revenue which their abstraction would sacrifice as an idea of their saleable value, they would hardly meet *one-fourth* of the required sum. He fixes the present revenue that they yield at 10,500,000 roubles, or, in round figures, at L.1,600,000 sterling annually. Estimating the revenue at 4 per cent. on the presumptive value, this would fix the value at L.40,000,000. Therefore, after the whole of the Crown lands were sold, and the last resource in the actual property of the State exhausted, there would still remain a deficit of L.130,000,000.

Another equally practical consideration seems never to have struck the author. If, as he appears to acknowledge, both Government and people are so poor that neither can materially help the other, who is to be found to purchase the Crown lands?—Not Russians, surely. There can hardly be L.40,000,000 lying idly in the pockets of would-be landowners in Russia. If the money is to be sought from abroad, the foreigner who supplies it must become the landowner, or, at any rate, the *hypothécaire*, which, so far as security is concerned, is the same thing. What would an Englishman living under free institutions, or a Frenchman dabbling in *crédit mobilier*, give for a Russian title to property, beyond a snap of the fingers? It is quite true that the financial credit of the Russian Government is tolerably good in most of the European money-markets; and the normal price, for example, of Russian Three-per-cents. is 65 to 66, whereas the French Three-per-cents. are rarely in these days above 70; and the Dutch Two and a half-per-cents. (probably the safest of all Continental securities) are commonly quoted at not more than 64 or 65. But French and English bondholders of the Russian Government would be supported by their respective Governments if the Russian exchequer were to break faith with them. Not so French and English landholders in Russia. Their title might escheat, perhaps, through a trivial violation of Russian law. But, apart from this distinction, no one could invest money in Russian soil, who did not personally superintend its due cultivation, if he wished his investment to retain its former value.

The author, however, has his little plan, which we will quote in his own words:—

"Dettes hypothécaires aux établissements de crédit de l'état, . .	500,000,000 roubles.
Un emprunt à 50.0, contracté à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur, et qui contribuerait à attirer l'or en Russie, pour la somme de .	200,000,000 "
Emission de billets fonciers portant intérêt à 30.0, pour la somme de,	385,000,000 "
Total, . . .	1,085,000,000 roubles."

The author must necessarily know his own country better than we can; and we should hesitate in venturing to consider such a scheme chimerical, had he not himself, in other parts of his volume, furnished us with sufficient evidence for doing so.

One indemnity found to be impracticable from its magnitude, we next come upon another. That which we have just discussed, involving simply the demands of the proprietors against the Government for loss of service, there remains the demand of the same body against their serfs for loss of land. For thirty-three years each serf is to

* The male serfs are computed to number 10,800,-000: the author proposes to emancipate the females gratuitously.

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pay, on this system, sixteen shillings annually; and M. de Dolgoroukoff says nothing of commutations for immediate payment of the whole, though we may presume that he would admit of ordinary discount. Here, then, is a further demand of L.26, 8s. for each of the nearly eleven million male serfs, to be liquidated before the serf can be emancipated with property of his own. This is a heavier bill than the last, and would amount to nearly L.280,000,000. M. de Dolgoroukoff accepts the orders of the Emperor to emancipate the serfs with property, and sends in to his Imperial Majesty a little charge of L.450,000,000 as the cost of his philanthropic design.

We may be doing our author injustice in supposing that he would not reduce the amount of the indemnity to the serf-owners, did he see a probability of their acceptance of a scheme of emancipation upon terms less favourable to themselves. But we certainly do not find any contrary sentiment expressed in the volume before us. It is one thing to say, that the majority of the owners being opposed to emancipation, they will not assent to it without an equivalent, and that without their assent it cannot be done; but it is quite another thing to demand this indemnity, and to leave us to the conclusion that the serf-owners are to claim it *de jure.* The author has told us that there can be no dispute of the moral illegality of serfdom, and that the Government instituted it three centuries ago. Thus, during the whole interval the landowners have reaped the benefit of an immoral system. It may be just to indemnify that class for the land which they are to alienate in full possession to the serf; but to indemnify them also for loss of service, especially after what the author has already stated as to the reciprocal nature of that service, would be irrational. If it be replied that, without indemnities, the retrograde party will not concur, let the progress party set the example of gratuitous emancipation, and so put their liberality and patriotism to the test. Self-denying patriots must really not demand their share in L.170,000,000, before they will do that which they acknowledge to be right.

The chief remaining question on this subject relates to the communal or private appropriation by the serfs of the property to be attached to their emancipation. The author advocates, as has been already indicated, the eventful separate enjoyment by each serf of his respective allotment; but he advocates the throwing of the whole serf-land, in the first instance, into hotchpot, so far as each commune is concerned, and its partition among the serfs when the debt of emancipation shall be paid. "One must be blind," says M. de Dolgoroukoff, "not to perceive the disadvantage of the perpetual maintenance of a communal system which belongs to the infancy of civilisation." He goes on to observe that this system "is an obstacle to the progress of agriculture and to the development of industry, and an encouragement to idlenesss." This may be true; and yet we know of few greater obstacles to progress than the partition of the soil into small and poor proprietorships. Small farmers are bad enough: small landowners are incomparably worse. Assuming that petty proprietorships must be called into existence, we think the best guarantee for a certain amount of capital for the improvement of the land being found available, would consist in the division of the emancipation-land into private and communal. The community, with a broader back than the individual owner, would be better able to assist the owner in the improvement of his allotment, than he could assist himself if he were in undivided possession of his whole share.

The author again speaks with apprehension for the result of a general emancipation, in increasing the already exorbitant power of the bureaucracy; but only in the event of this aim being accomplished in the manner which he deprecates. We are sorry that he has, nevertheless, passed it over in so few words; for it is one of the most important attributes of the serf question. It is hard to perceive on what pretext the natural rights of the Crown to deal with emancipated serfs, as it deals with the rest of its subjects, is to be rejected. Prince Dolgoroukoff appears to content himself with the stipulation that this class shall not be treated like the peasantry on the Crown domains; and he asserts that the more moderate of the bureaucrats are ready to concur with him in this particular; although we apprehend that if *his* scheme for the sale of those domains were to be realized, the class of Crown peasants would vanish, and all would be on an equal footing. Let the emancipation, however, take place as it may, it seems certain that the power of the aristocracy of land must be lessened, and the power of the aristocracy of bureaux be increased. Centralization will have made a great advance. This tendency is so obvious, that it is hard to understand how the Russian bureaucracy can entertain the aversion to the proposed measure which the author imputes to them.

In contrasting the manner in which the British people, as distinguished from the principal nations of the Continent, struck off the universal curse of feudalism, we shall appreciate our own good fortune in escaping

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the coarse expedient by which other nations have gained their deliverance. With ourselves—more especially with England—the feudal nobility was broken up by its own intestine divisions nearly a century before serfdom in Russia began. That result once achieved, the interference of the State was hardly required; for the abolition of feudalism became almost a *fait accompli*, and the statutes which formally terminated it were little more than the public recognition of a long existing fact. Still less was it found necessary with us to create an immense mass of small proprietorships. If there were in Russia an adequate intervening class between the landowner and the serf, in correspondence with our own farmers, the creation of these petty proprietorships would be not only unnecessary, but undesirable. Even, indeed, as things stand, we hardly perceive the basis of Prince Dolgoroukoff's assertion, that the emancipation of the serf without property would place the serf more under the power of the Crown than his emancipation with property: we should rather say that it must prolong his dependence on the noble, since he would then exclusively subsist on the labour which the noble's estate might provide. The precedent of Prussian emancipation is, however, so alluring, while that of the emancipation carried out in the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, in the early part of this century, in which the freed man obtained no allotment of land, is so disheartening if we contemplate its results, that we should, without further analysis, be content to see the question settled on the basis of allotments of land, if only because such an arrangement would raise the position of the serf; but we think, with every deference to the practical experience of the author, that he would thus greatly detract from the power of his own order, which he is anxious to maintain as a bulwark against the encroachments of the Crown.

Even the bourgeois class, which, under the worst systems of feudality in other countries, have generally found shelter both from the noble and the Crown (though sometimes, indeed, only to fall victims to the tyranny of municipal magnates,) appears to possess scarcely the shadow of town rights, such as feudality tolerated in the rest of Europe. The best proof of this is to be found in the fact, that, if the three divisions of the bourgeoisie recognised by the State, the third is liable to corporal punishment, and both the second and first are liable to degradation, at a moment's warning, to the inferior class! It becomes obvious, therefore, at a glance, that the protective power of the municipalities in behalf of their own fellow-citizens amounts to nothing at all. Peter the First having effected the threefold classification of the bourgeoisie, to which we have alluded, Catherine II., in 1785, published a municipal constitution, whereby such inhabitants of cities as did not belong to the nobility, and were householders, or followed some line of industry, formed a municipal body in each city, and gained the right of electing their own mayors, and their assessors in the courts of justice. But the nominal character of this privilege leads every merchant to obtain the rank of nobility for his sons, the bourgeois order being thus as far as possible a caste of passage. Prince Dolgoroukoff asserts that there is no example to be found in Europe to the contempt with which the mayors are treated by the functionaries of the Imperial Government; and that the elective assessors are made use of by the chief of the tribunal to help him off with his cloak and his boots! In 1832 certain inconsiderable improvements appear to have taken place in the bourgeois privileges; and M. de Dolgoroukoff's suggestion for the benefit of the municipalities is, that they should all be raised to the enjoyment of the privileges held by the municipality of St. Petersburg.

We shall hardly be able to follow the author into all the departments of public administration which he passes in review; and, indeed, conceding the merit and the value of the picture which he gives us, there is a certain sameness in all his descriptions. Venality is the universal characteristic. The civil bureaucrat jobs in his department, the colonel in the army pilfers his regiment, the judge sells justice. Thus, in his chapter on civil administration (p. 61), he begins by telling us that the peasants of the Crown domains are much worse pillaged than the serfs of the noble. All transactions, he pursues, are carried on in writing; and scarcely any of the functionaries of corporations can read or write. The Imperial authorities in this manner practically absorb nearly the whole of whatever the legal authority of the municipalities may be. It is easy to conceive, therefore, the truth of the author's assertion, that nearly the whole powers of government, in each province, fall into the hands of the governor of that province. A governer-general, as distinguished from a governor, and who appears to be appointed over the larger provinces, is a yet worse infliction, according to the author, than an ordinary governor. Being commonly chosen from among the friends either of the ministers or of the Court, he has *carte blanche* to violate the Russian laws at his caprice; and these violations are described "as the most hateful as well as the most ridiculous." These

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governors are assisted by a *Conseil de Régence*, and the councillors subsist, according to Prince Dolgoroukoff, by preying like locusts upon the heart of the country. Being generally men without fortune, they take office in order to make money, and thus they levy enormous imposts on all who are unfortunate enough to fall in their way.

The whole civil service, and every other service also, being described as an elaborate and graduated organization of thieves, the humbler functionaries are compelled to extort money, if only to satisfy the rapacity of their superiors. They may singly figure in the mere relation of jackals; but whatever the proportionate distribution, plunder is the universal law. Such is Prince Dolgoroukoff's picture of Russian civil administration.

We pass to the judicial proceedings in Russia, and find very much the same story. "Justice," says the author, "exists but in name." He proceeds to say that, whether one has right or wrong, it is the payment which determines the issue of one's cause. Claims legally and morally incontestable go for nothing in a Russian court of justice without money. But even this, it seems, is not in itself an absolute security. There remains a double danger,—the danger of your being outbid by the opposite party to the suit, and the danger of your money being taken in bad faith, with the predetermination of deceiving you. The latter course, unfortunately, is not commonly pursued; if it were, the result, of course, would be that no suitor would offer bribes. There appears, however, to be a certain humble level of morality attained by Russian judges, much as we say here that there is honour among thieves, according to the following definition of it in the author's chapter on courts of justice :—

"With the Russian judges and the secretaries of tribunals (the latter possess the greater influence in affairs), it is the custom among one another, to term 'dishonest' one who takes money and deceives; but to promise to carry out an act of injustice for a sum agreed upon, and to hold to this promise, calls by no means for censure, according to them, but is an act of *sagesse !*"—P. 22.

The author here intermingles an anecdote which rather appertains to the civil administration :—

A foreigner established at St. Petersburg wished to obtain a place among the contractors of an administration. He comes to the Chargé d'Affaires of his country, a man highly esteemed and of much capacity, and asks for his support. The Chargé d'Affaires answers him that the diplomats were unable to interfere in the recommendation of contractors, but that he ought to know how things were done in Russia; that he must pay money to Count ——, and to the mistress of the father of Count ———; that Count —— (the father) being the head of the administration in question, and his son enjoying immense influence at Court, his aim would be accomplished. "Alas, Monsieur," replied the merchant, "I have given so much to Count —— (the son), so much to the mistress of Count —— (the father); my money has been taken, everything has been promised me; but nothing has been done for me."—Pp. 21-22.

So much for the venality of the officials. Let us turn next to the nature of judicial proceedings. Prince Dolgoroukoff offers an elaborate view of the various tribunals through which every litigant may be carried on appeal, and enumerates no less than *eleven* authorities, each of which may reverse the decision of the Court immediately below it. Such a system, closely connected as it is with the venality of all concerned with it, and requiring bribery at every stage, as a condition of success, is obviously a mere piratical establishment, with this reservation, that property probably remains safe, because it has the means, as it were, of ransoming itself; but it is safe only at an amazing expense for the assurance of title. Poverty, on the other hand, can know no rights whatever.

The following is a synoptical view of the various procedures, through which it appears that even ordinary suits may be dragged :—

1*st Instance.*—The Tribunal of the District.

2*d Instance.*—The Civil (or Criminal) Tribunal of the Province.

3*d Instance.*—The Department of the Senate.

4*th Instance.*—The *plenum* of the Senate.

5*th Instance.*—The Consultation of the Ministry of Justice.

6*th Instance.*—The Ministry of Justice.

7*th Instance.*—The *plenum* of the Senate (again).

8*th Instance.*—The Commission for Petitions.

9*th Instance.*—The Department of the Council of the Empire.

10*th Instance.*—The *plenum* of the Council of the Empire.

11*th Intance.*—The Imperial Will and Pleasure.

This is something worse than Lord Eldon's Chancery suits and Lord Bacon's bribes would be, put together. "To trav-

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erse ten procedures," says the Prince, "most frequently with one's purse in one's hand, to come finally, in the eleventh, on the Imperial good pleasure, is not this terrible? is it not ultra-Asiatic? Who will dare to say, after that, that justice exists in Russia, and to call the fifteen big volumes of the Russian code otherwise than by the name of the most voluminous of bad pleasantries?" This is by no means the only occasion on which the author has repeated himself.

The nine courts of appeal thus intervening between the original tribunal and the reference to the Emperor himself, appear to be in very many cases put into requisition; and decisions to be reversed in one or other of them, according to the flimsiest technicalities that can supply a pretext for each functionary in demanding a bribe, in order to find or overlook a flaw. Procedure also differs according to the quality of the litigant; a noble having certain privileges denied to the bourgeoisie. Nor can it differ less according to his wealth; for it is to be assumed that a poor man would bear his wrongs without attempting to redress them in a court of justice, or would soon yield the suit under the exhaustion of his purse.

The author's chapter on military administration is certainly disappointing. It contains no *exposé* of the military system of Russia that is adequate to the magnitude of the subject, and it deals too largely in anecdotes of peculation, which those who have read and believed the earlier chapters hardly require, and which will no more convince those who have read without believing them, than the assertions and illustrations of the malversations of the civil authorities. The reader begins somewhat to weary of having every functionary described as "un voleur," however readily he may follow the author in his indiscriminate onslaught on the bureaucracy. We find, however, some remarkable statements of the mal-organization of the Russian military system at the time of the Crimean war, and of the suffering which ensued. In an earlier chapter (p. 125), the author asserts, that the excess of expenditure over revenue in Russia, during the three years of the Turkish war, 1853-56, amounted to 400,000,000 roubles, or about L.64,000,000; and that it threw into circulation notes of credit (or, in other words, *assignats*) for that amount. Hence the administrative difficulty brought about a financial crisis. Prince Dolgoroukoff lays the credit of the military maladministration which caused so much money, as he says, to be spent in vain, to the late Emperor Nicholas, and to the incompetency of the Minister of War. Indeed, he goes so far as to ascribe the disastrous issue of that campaign to the conduct of the civil departments of the War Office, such as the clothing and the commissariat. This is a bold statement, and one eminently grateful to a patriotic Russian, whose aversion to the party in power is neither disguised nor measured. That it has some truth no one will question. But we have no doubt that every bureaucrat-hater in Austria says the same thing for the issue of last year's war between that state and France; yet there are few to believe that previous bureaucratic reform would have rendered Russia triumphant over the Allies in 1856, or Austria over France in 1859.

It may be true that all the vices of administration which Prince Dolgoroukoff describes exist in the Russian army; but as we cannot but deem him a somewhat willing and prejudiced witness, so neither can we disbelieve that some of the stories he produces may be but counterparts to what may now be current in Europe, since the *exposé*, before the Sevastopol Committee, of the short-comings of our own War Office, as it existed prior to the changes in its constitution (as well as in its *personnel*) in 1855. Thus the author tells a story regarding some biscuits supplied to the Russian army, which may very likely have its parallel in some transformation at St. Petersburgh of the grievance of the green coffee-berries. The Russians certainly fought well, bravely, and vigorously, and it is hard to see how armies so ill administered as the author represents them to have been, could so long have held the front to the enemy that they did.

The author, however, narrates elsewhere an impudent and systematized military peculation which may be regarded as unique, and altogether eclipses the contractor at Verona, who drove the same oxen five times within its walls. He tells that the chiefs of the "compagnies des bœufs," in receiving five hundred head of oxen, were expected by the supplying contractor to sign a receipt for six hundred. This was apparently the contractor's profit; and the signers of the receipt made up the difference, partly by pillaging the territory through which the army passed, and partly by bribing the local authorities as they marched, each to certify the death of an ox that had never existed. Again, we read that another officer in the commissariat of the army which retreated from the Danube in 1854, transported for an immense distance a dead ox, for the death of which a fresh certificate was made out at the close of each day's march; although the author does not appear to perceive that the same animal could

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hardly have served the contractor in good stead for a newly defunct animal for more than two or three days. Once more, we are told that the Russian War Office received on one occasion official intelligence of 1800 oxen having been purchased, then of their having been fed for several months, next of their having been killed, and, finally, of their having been salted, "each of these mythological oxen having brought the inventors of the proceeding," says the Prince, "about 300 roubles."

Not dissimilar from this is the author's charge against the colonels of regiments. His sweeping statement is preceded, however by the following reservation:—

"There are certainly many loyal and upright colonels in the Russian army, all the more honourable that they form a minority among their colleagues. The major part of the colonels, like the major part of the general officers commanding the regiments of the Imperial Russian Guard, enrich themselves in the most shameful and disgraceful manner, at the expense of the well-being of the soldiers, whose fate is confided to them."—P. 255.

The author now comes to his definite charges against the colonels:—

"The soldiers are badly and insufficiently fed. The flour for making bread being allowed them in sufficient quantities, a part of this flour is confiscated by the colonel, and sold for his own profit. The colonels agree to make serviceable to their own profit, the savings in the cloth intended for the clothing of the soldiers, and in the leather intended for their boots. In the regiments of cavalry the revenues of the colonels are much more considerable than in those of infantry: they make savings out of the rations of the horses in hay as well as in oats. Finally, one of the most lucrative branches of the revenue of the colonels consists in the *official prices*, that is to say, the amount, weekly arranged, of the prices of all that belongs to the feeding of men and horses, in the locality occupied by the regiment. This amount is established jointly by the colonel and local authorities; the prices are always exaggerated beyond the reality; the colonel gives a perquisite to the local authorities, and pockets the remainder of the difference between the true and asserted price."—P. 256.

The gravamen of this charge depends upon its precise accuracy. A very slight derivation from perfect accuracy in a description of the English military system would have imparted a very sinister aspect to the perquisites of the "clothing colonels." Venality, however, has been a common charge against officers in the Russian army: the pay of juniors is too small to admit of their living upon it, and maintaining the usual position of gentlemen; and no Government whose poverty or impolicy leads to the adoption of such a scale of remuneration can anticipate any other result than dishonesty.

With the venality of the officers, Prince Dolgoroukoff connects another evil of the Russian military system. "In the Russian system," he says, "a chief can never be in the wrong towards his inferior: an inferior can never be in the right towards his superior." The Government, however, appears to have done its utmost to countervail this state of things, by appointing general officers of inspection, who make periodical visits to the different regiments, and demand of the soldiers if they have any complaints to make of their officers. If the opportunity be taken, the case is heard; but the colonel who has enriched himself, according to the author, with unlawful spoils, readily bribes the general of inspection to pronounce him in the right; and the first pretext, let it be as frivolous as it may, is seized by the colonel, when the inspector general's back is turned, to sentence the complaining soldier to five hundred blows of the knout. The author describes the junior officers as standing in very nearly the same abject relation to their colonels with the privates in the ranks.

The Russian soldier is here regarded as possessing by nature the best qualities for his profession. "Humane, always ready to come to the aid of any one distressed, capable of sharing with him his last morsel of bread; in war brave as a lion, and after battle compassionate to a disarmed enemy; gifted with a resignation based absolutely on religious faith; presenting in his character an admirable combination of stoicism and good nature, the Russian soldier adores his chief, and is ready to give up his life for him." The experience of the Crimean war enables Englishmen to confirm the author's view of the courage and resolution, as we have said, of Russian soldiers; but few more barbarous acts are upon record than their conduct to wounded enemies after several of their engagements with our armies.

We turn with more interest to M. Dolgoroukoff's view of the state of the Church in Russia. So great appear to have been the assumptions of ecclesiastical power by the Czars, that our author thinks it necessary to inform us, with what at first sight would seem great simplicity and some profanity, that the head of the religion is not the Emperor but really Christ. And he goes on to distinguish between the spiritual prerogatives of ecclesiastics and the all-pervading absolutism of the Crown, in a manner which shows that spiritual rights are not wholly commingled with or lost in temporal power. The right of interpreting the doc-

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trines of the Church rests, as we all know, in Œcumenical Councils, but the supreme administrative power is exercised by a Synod, through which the Government contrives to rule the Church. Beyond the threefold order of bishops, priests, and deacons, Russia follows the general usages of the Oriental Church in recognising four ranks in the order of the prelacy, viz., bishops, archbishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs. We shall not follow the author through his historical sketch of the relations of the Church with the State of Russia, the outlines of which are familiar to all. The relations of our own day are more inviting.

Prince Dolgoroukoff describes the Russian clergy as exposed to the double absolutism of the State and of their own ecclesiastical superiors, and the prelates themselves equally subject to the supreme will of the Government, insomuch that one is led to regard the yet lingering theoretic prerogatives of the Church, even in controversies of faith, as possessing but little reality. He tells the following anecdote of the Emperor Nicholas, in the settlement of a dispute between a civil and ecclesiastical dignitary:—

"The prelates in the highest position get bruised by the iron hand of despotism. Thirty years ago, Mgr. Irénée, Archbishop of Irkoutsk, having had a dispute with the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, Lavinski, a colonel aid-de-camp of the Emperor, and a colonel of gendarmerie, were sent from St. Petersburg to reunite the chiefs of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, in Eastern Siberia. The negotiation was not a long one: the aid-de-camp ordered the archbishop to be seized and shut up under lock and key in a carriage for four persons; he was thus conducted by the colonel of the gendarmerie over five thousand versts, into a convent of the province of Vologda, where he was consigned for the rest of his days. It seems that, if the Emperor consented to recognise our Lord Jesus Christ for the sole head of the Church, he acted in a way to make it believed that the vicariate belonged to himself."—Pp. 346-347.

M. de Dolgoroukoff remarks that the absolute authority which the State exercises over the Church has rendered the bishops obsequious and sycophantic; for they are as liable to exile and imprisonment as the nobles. But the result of the attitude they are compelled to bear towards the State, he says, renders them the more intolerant and despotic towards their clergy:—

"But they amply take their revenge on the clergy of their dioceses, obliging them to observe towards them, on every occasion, the attitude, not of sons towards their father, but that of slaves towards all-powerful masters. The disdain, the insolent hauteur, displayed by the prelates towards the clergy, especially towards the country clergy, cannot be expressed—it revolts the soul."—P. 346.

The same contemptuous treatment appears to await the inferior clergy at the hands of the nobles. In the cities, he describes their position as scarcely bearable; but in the country, "affreuse." "Poor," he writes, "far from every intellectual resource, often treated by the neighbouring proprietors with a want of respect absolutely shameful, their existence is but a long career of sufferings." It appears, however, that the Russian Government has, during the last ten years, addressed itself to this question, and has successively introduced, province by province, a system of State endowment. This is certainly a great deal for a Government, so situated as it has been, to have done during so short a time. Prince Dolgoroukoff complains, indeed, that the incomes assigned to the clergy are very insufficient for their maintenance, oppressed, as he commonly describes them, with large families; nor should we expect to hear of adequate remuneration, honestly obtained, in any department of a country in which a colonel is driven to dishonesty, because his pay is no more than that of an English lieutenant in the line. A Church depending on a State revenue is never likely to enjoy an ample one, let the polity of the State be what it may. An extravagant despotism, or an economical fraternity of radicals, will be equally sure to reduce it to the lowest possible ebb.

But wretched even as this position of a Russian priest is made to appear, it seems that the tenure on which it is held is in the last degree precarious. Prince Dolgoroukoff speaks of no judicial process as necessary to deprive a priest of his preferment. "He finds himself liable," says the author, "at the slightest caprice of his bishop, to lose his place, and to be compelled to discharge, during the will and pleasure of the bishop, the humble functions of sub-deacon; finally, to see his family reduced to beggary." With all this, it appears that venality is as general in the Church as in the civil and military administration. "Là," says our author, "tout se vend et tout s'achète, suivant le beau modèle de l'administration Russe!"

Much of the hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, evinced by the Russian bishop towards his clergy, appears to spring from the distinction subsisting between them in point of marriage and celibacy. The secular clergy are not only permitted, but, according to the author's phrase, expected or required to marry. The regulars, on the other hand, are restricted to celibacy. The

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former are termed the *clergé blanc*, the latter, *clergé noir*. The contradistinction of terms is somewhat felicitous. The bishops are exclusively chosen from the latter; or, at any rate, a priest is excluded by marriage from the episcopate. Even the secular who has the good luck to become a widower, and turns himself into a monk, is looked on by the episcopate, according to the author, as an insidious and aspiring interloper, is equally disqualified for a bishopric, and is treated by his diocesan with contempt and disdain. The Russian Church law of clerical celibacy is therefore, in effect, a compromise between the Roman Catholic system and our own; and so far as the cordiality of sacerdotal and episcopal relations is concerned, it seems to work worse than the Roman Catholic. The bishop is found to have neither knowledge of, nor sympathy with, the wants of a married priest, who has often a large family to maintain; and the contemptuous view which he takes of such a priest appears to be akin to the sentiments which Queen Elizabeth has left it on record that she entertained for Archbishop Parker.

With less judgment and insight, Prince Dolgoroukoff has ascribed much of the moral inferiority of the Russian clergy, in respect of those of other nations, to their education in ecclesiastical seminaries, the abolition of which he recommends:—

"One of the principal causes (he says) of the moral inferiority of the Russian clergy, in comparison of the clergy of the other Christian churches, exists in the defective organization of the seminaries, where the studies are incomplete, insufficient, and directed under a system altogether behind the times. The seminaries should be abolished, and courses of theology should be instituted in the universities and the gymnasia," etc.—P. 361.

The author seems scarcely to bear in mind that seminaries are established in most Roman Catholic countries, under similarly exclusive ecclesiastical supervision, partly because the Church will not tolerate the civil interference inseparable from academical tuition, and partly because the pecuniary resources of the classes from which secular priests are everywhere taken (whether Roman or Greek) will not bear its expense. There appears to be no necessary reason for the inferiority of the Russian to the French seminaries, except it be the inferior civilisation of the country; but that, again, is a difference which would apparently render the academical instruction of the Russian clergy still more impracticable. In proposing a sweeping measure of abolition against all ecclesiastical seminaries, we fear the Prince would go far to throw the rising generations of priests yet more into the hands of his friends the bureaucrats.

We can hardly quit this interesting subject without glancing at the author's view of the financial condition of the Russian Empire. Far from either Government or people having surmounted the expenditure caused by the Crimean war, both the one and the other appear now for the first time since that war to be suffering from a financial crisis. The author relates that, in 1858, the nation enjoyed considerable prosperity. That year appears to have been one of great, and probably undue speculation. Fresh companies arose day by day, money was abundant; for every million that was demanded "eight or ten millions" were subscribed; all the transactions of industrial bodies were negotiated at remarkably high prices. Now all this is changed, and, as the author himself says, as though "war, pestilence, and famine had combined to present such a transformation." He observes, with a justice that will be generally recognised, that the transactions of the different industrial companies are now for the most part discredited; that those even of companies which possess the guarantee of Government have declined; that gold and silver have completely disappeared, and the exchange upon them has arisen to a monstrous price; that even copper appears to be disappearing also, the exchange rising even upon this metal; and that the credit of Russia in foreign money markets has greatly depreciated. This appears to be the result of recent events acting upon permanent misgovernment.

The monetary, as distinguished from the commercial crisis, is readily accounted for by the flooding of the Russian Empire with paper money during the Crimean war. "In 1850," says the author, "there were notes of credit in circulation for 301,000,000 roubles; in 1856, at the moment of the peace of Paris, there were notes of credit for more than 690,000,000." The Russian minister of finance, it would seem, by a rare combination of stupidity and bad faith, imagined that he could thus conduct the war gratuitously,—in other words, by swindling individuals at the cost of the public. These notes of credit, issued probably in an inverse ratio with the variation in the amount of precious metals, would quickly depreciate; and the Russian Government would then probably act as they acted in the case of the depreciated paper roubles in 1840,—a transaction to which the author does not advert. This Russian paper had fallen to such an ebb, that its current value was that of three and a-half paper roubles to one silver rouble.

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At this time the Government issued *new* paper roubles, each of which was to be exchanged for *old* paper roubles, at the corresponding rate of one to three and a half. And in order to compel the acceptance of these terms by the nation, the Government announced that after a certain date the old paper roubles should not be current. This was virtually an act of national bankruptcy, whereby the Government paid their creditors some six shillings in the pound, and quietly circulated their new paper, as though their former obligations had been discharged. The present incubus, in the shape of notes of credit, will probably be got rid of with equal audacity and dishonesty.

The existing commercial crisis is but inadequately explained by the author, where he ascribes it in part to the inherent carelessness of the Sclavonic character, and to the ignorance manifested by his countrymen in the management of wholesale commerce, even in the interior of the nation, and still more so in their relations with foreigners. Without expanded notions of the reciprocal nature of which true commercial policy consists, they rarely, he complains, take the initiative in transactions with foreign countries, or consider what goods of these countries will find the best market in their own. Chiefly sellers, they are rarely merchants, he tells us, in the highest sense of the term, and are too pleased to receive earnests of payment from foreign houses, for the goods that they are to deliver, to assure themselves of remunerative transactions; and thus he very naturally deduces commercial crises as the result of such a mode of mercantile negotiation. It is not easy, however, to perceive, from such an explanation as this, how the import trade of Russia is conducted at all, although it requires no demonstration that losing transactions will eventually create a monetary panic.

For the immediate redress of this evil, the author recommends the contraction of a loan by Government, either in the French or English money market; and such a loan, variously stated at sums between L.8,000,000 and L.12,000,000, was subsequently placed upon the English Stock Exchange, with somewhat indifferent prospects of success. The smaller sum has been ostensibly contracted for; but we believe that the Russian Government, in order to save themselves the discredit of a rejection of their demand, have themselves taken up the greater portion of it! Beyond this, the author urges the necessity of economy in the civil list, which he describes as now exceeding 14,000,000 roubles, or above L.2,000,000 a-year. The extravagance of the Empress Dowager is described in terms for which we refer our readers to the author's financial chapter. There are twelve Grand Dukes already to be provided for; and the Prince computes and complains, by a calculation compounded, as it were, of arithmetic and physiology, that the number will, in a certain, period be fifty. But the basis of his ideal and renovated Russia is publicity—the publicity of the budget, the freedom of the press, liberty of discussion—whereby evils will become known, knowledge will become circulated, and the sovereign may learn the actual truth of the state of his dominions. This, of course, is to demand an entire revolution in the system of government.

The Czar has issued during the last few weeks an ukase, in virtue of which, both commerce and the occupation and possession of land will be henceforth open to all foreigners, with the exception of Jews. Hitherto scarcely a single foreign firm has been able to conduct business in Russia without the naturalisation of its members.

The Russian Empire has been an eminently progressive state in respect not only of territory, but of wealth; in fact, in respect of everything but freedom, honesty, and public virtue. When, therefore, we are told by the author, that, without publicity and its attendant reforms, that empire must fall into "un cataclysme politique," and soon disappear from the world as a great and single political structure, we are forced, unwillingly, as Liberals, to acknowledge that such a conclusion is not warranted by its political traditions; and that Prince Dolgoroukoff has not established such a clear distinction of circumstances between the past and the present, amid an intellectual darkness and a material oppression common to both periods, as shall falsify the force of precedent in presuming on the future. We see Russia stretching herself with vigour and address in all directions. She can obtain in the West the alliance of whatever Power she chooses to approach; and in the extreme East she has just filched from China a territory on the Amour equal to the area of Germany, while she stands in relations with the Chinese Government which France and ourselves can only regain by force of arms. Neither does the policy of emancipation appear to have originated in the threatenings of the serf, but in the spontaneous liberality of the Czar and a minority of the nobles. A want of money is the incident of every ill-governed and half-civilised country; but no one pretends that Russia is so poor now as she was half a century ago. The emancipation of 22,000,000 serfs is, in itself, a measure of such magnitude, that we must expect its progress to be slow. Neither do we see

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our way to assert, in the face of the example of Austria, that its accomplishment must produce, in our day, an irresistible reaction against secrecy and despotism. Every increase of civil liberty ultimately favours, no doubt, the creation of political freedom; but it is impossible to predict the period which this tendency will require for its development.

The aim of that class of Russian statesmen—which consists neither of philanthropists acting upon mere sentiment, nor of reactionists governed by their own sordid interests, — but is at once reasoning, far sighted, and dispassionate, must be to transform Russia from a mediæval into a modern empire, and thus gradually to infuse into a vast population, and to spread over an immense area, all those elements of domestic wealth and external power, which the principal nations of Western Europe have acquired by an earlier adoption of civilised government and an earlier development of civilized society. Were such a policy attained, Russia would indeed be formidable to the rest of Europe; and a great advance would be made in the undying ambition of the Muscovites. Well governed and well cultivated, we know of nothing to prevent Russia from creating and sustaining a population of a hundred and fifty millions at the least. Even now, that country produces from the soil vastly more than she consumes. Such a danger to Western Europe is, however, many generations distant; and the emancipation of the serfs presents a policy which may consume perhaps the whole of our own epoch. But slowly and surely, alike by repression and by reform, Russia appears to consolidate and to extend herself; and we have yet to trace the influences which, in the present position of the community, are to produce that rapid revulsion in her career which the author of this able work so confidently predicts.

ART. IX.—*Essays and Reviews.* London: Parker and Son. 1860.

THE volume recently issued under the above title cannot but be regarded as one of the signs in our theological firmament menacing change. Rightly or wrongly, it has been received almost unanimously, by friend and by foe, as the manifestation, if not the manifesto, of a theological school, numerous, active, and influential, and probably increasing in the Church of England. In the brief notice, summed up in three sentences, prefixed to the volume, there is something like a disclaimer, on the part of the authors, of their labours being accepted in this light; and they tell us that they "are responsible for their respective articles only, and that they have written in entire independence of each other, and without concert or comparison." We suspect that the disavowal is neither so ample nor so distinct as to disabuse the public mind of the impression which it has received, and which there is certainly nothing in the contents of the volume, or the manner in which they are treated, calculated to remove, and not rather to confirm. Perhaps the disclaimer was never meant to extend further than to a protest against the responsibility of individual opinions expressed by one essayist being imputed to another; and to this extent it may readily be allowed. But the authors unquestionably belong to one well-known division in the ecclesiastical world, and the opinions they advocate to one distinctly-marked school of religious thought. The combination, for the preparation of this volume, of men, most of whom are recognised as leaders of the Broad Church, can hardly be accounted accidental. The object they propose to themselves, of "*a free handling, in a becoming spirit, of subjects peculiarly liable to suffer by the repetition of conventional language, and from traditional methods of treatment*," indicates a common purpose, and the consciousness of being engaged in a common work; the topics embraced in the volume are avowedly of a kindred nature, and the views expressed, with one or two unimportant exceptions, are entirely coincident; and if the Essays themselves were written, as we have been told, without concert or comparison, they nevertheless exhibit in their teaching a general unity of aim, and a most unmistakeable harmony in the results.

The Essays*—seven in number—bear more or less directly on the great questions connected with the genesis of theological opinion, and the grounds of religious belief; and there is hardly a disputed point in the wide field of recent controversy between the disciples of Reason and of Faith which is not either professedly discussed, or more

* We subjoin the contents of the volume:—The Education of the World, by Frederick Temple, D.D.; Bunsen's Biblical Researches, by Rowland Williams, D.D.; On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity, by Baden Powell, M.A., F.R.S.; Séances Historiques de Genève,—The National Church, by Henry Bristow Wilson, B.D.; On the Mosaic Cosmogony, by C. W. Goodwin, M.A.; Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1750, by Mark Pattison, B.D.; On the Interpretation of Scripture, by Benjamin Jowett, M.A.

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summarily disposed of. Interpreting the preliminary announcement of our authors by the manner in which it is followed up in their subsequent discussions, it indicates with sufficient distinctness the spirit in which they have addressed themselves to their task, and the direction in which it tends. By the "conventional language," under the repetition of which from age to age theology has so grievously suffered, is meant those current and technical forms of speech in reference to religious truth which have been to some extent adopted from the creeds and systems of the early Church and of the Reformation period, but which, in one shape or other, theology must, like every other science, frame or adopt, if it would cease to be a fragmentary and disjointed series of insulated ideas, and become an orderly and connected body of knowledge, harmonious in itself, and accurate and complete in its expression. Throughout these Essays nothing is more marked than the hostility evinced towards this systematic or scientific language into which Scripture thought is often cast by theologians; and *that* not because it may sometimes be justly chargeable with excessive and unnecessary dogmatism or definition in matters which the Bible has left unrevealed, or with mistaken representations of matters that have been revealed, but rather, where no such charges can be alleged, because it has shaped Scripture truth into positive and dogmatic statements at all. By "the traditional methods of treatment," under which in like manner injury has been done to religious discussion, are to be understood all those methods of inquiry into the meaning of Scripture, and of appeal to its decision, which have originated in the idea, and proceeded on the principle, that it was a supernatural and authoritative communication of the mind of God to man, and hence the only infallible source of truth, and supreme standard of faith and practice; and that any system of interpretation suited to Scripture must start from the idea that it is a fountain of truth alone, and not of mingled truth and error alike. And the meaning of the "free handling" which the essayists at the outset propose to give to the topics discussed, is sufficiently made plain by the results arrived at, which go effectually to deprive the Bible of all that is characteristic of it, as embodying in its statements both the infallible truth and the supreme authority belonging to the spoken or written mind of God,—which make the sacred volume to be the best book in the world, not because it has God for its author, and His words for its contents, but because it exhibits, in comparison with other books, more of human piety, and genius, and wisdom, and sympathy—although mingled to an unknown and indefinite extent with human error and folly—than does any other; and which teach that he is not only a true Christian, but the very best, who has divested Christianity of its historical authenticity, of its supernatural character, and of its positive dogmas.

It can scarcely, we think, be accident altogether which has dictated the order of the Essays as they occur in the volume; and we can hardly err in supposing that there is a meaning to be gathered from it. The first is by Dr. Temple, Head Master of Rugby, and is plainly introductory to the rest. It is upon "The Education of the World;" and is an ingenious but fanciful attempt, such as has been frequently made, to establish some kind of parallelism between the advancement of the individual from childhood to manhood, and the development of the world in intellectual and spiritual culture. There are three stages in this training, each suited to its time, but each becoming obsolete and being superseded when it passes into the stage in advance of itself. The *childhood* of the world, as of the individual, is adapted to positive rules, and can be trained only by external restraints; and hence in the early ages of our race the revelation of an outward system of commandments and ordinances. In *youth*, with the race as with the man, we are taught by example rather than by rule, and break loose from all external commandments not illustrated and recommended by example; and therefore, in the progress of God's dealings with this world, the time came when a former and outward dispensation became obsolete and passed away, and Christ appeared, the embodiment and example of all that had been revealed before. In the *manhood* of the Church, as in the maturity of the individual, there is more of freedom still: as regards our intellectual and moral education, we are emancipated from all restraint, whether of positive rules or authoritative examples, and are left to be our own instructors; and hence, in the last and highest stage of the advancement of the Church, God has handed us over to the teaching within. The bearing of such a theory on the question of the standing and authority of an external revelation, given partly in the childhood and partly in the immature youth of our race, and then closed, is sufficiently apparent, and indeed is not indistinctly hinted at. "We can acknowledge," says Dr. Temple, speaking of the theology of the Church of the Fathers, "the great value of the forms in which the first ages of the Church defined the truth, and yet refuse to be bound by them; we

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can use them and yet endeavour to go beyond them, just as they also went beyond the legacy which was left us by the Apostles."* And again: "First came Rules, then Examples, then Principles. First comes the Law, then the Son of Man, then the gift of the Spirit. The world was once a child, under tutors and governors until the time appointed by the Father. Then, when the fit season had arrived, the Example, to which all ages should turn, was sent to teach men what they ought to be. Then the human race was *left to itself, to be guided by the teaching of the Spirit within.*"*

The question of the existence or permanent obligation of an external revelation having been thus raised by a sort of *a priori* presumption against it, the transition is natural and easy to a consideration of the authority and historical validity of Scripture as a communication from God,—more especially those more ancient portions of it contained in the Old Testament, and belonging to the infancy or earlier years of our race. The Biblical Researches of Bunsen afford to Dr. Williams, of St. David's College, Lampeter, an opportunity, in the second of the Essays, for touching upon these points. In his review of Bunsen, he adopts to the full the destructive principles of criticism which Bunsen applies to the Scripture books, and seldom differs from his master, except when these principles, in their bearing on the inspired narratives, are not in his estimate destructive enough. In Dr. Williams' view, the Hebrew annals stand upon the same level as to supernatural authority with the Gentile histories; for *revelation* was a communication of light from God not peculiar to prophets and chosen men of old, but common to other ages and individuals, and the fruit of "the Divine energy as continuous and omnipresent." In regard to the New Testament, he tells us that "both spiritual affection and metaphysical reasoning forbid us to confine revelations like those of Christ to the first half century of our era; but show at least affinities of our faith existing in men's minds anterior to Christianity, and renewed with deep echo from loving hearts in many a generation."‡ And in general he asserts, that "considerations religious and moral, no less than scientific and critical, have, where discussion was free, widened the idea of Revelation for the old world, and deepened it for ourselves; not removing the footsteps of the Eternal from Palestine, but tracing them on other shores; and not making the saints of old orphans, but ourselves partakers of their sonship." . . . "The moral constituents of our nature, so often contrasted with revelation, should rather be considered parts of its instrumentality."* It is no wonder that, with such views as to the nature of revelation and the place of the Old Testament, he should be led to deny not only its supernatural authority, but also its historical veracity. Books which, like the Pentateuch, profess to narrate the beginning of creation in the past, or, like the Prophets, the course of human affairs in the future, *can be true* only on the supposition that they are revelations in the special and supernatural sense of the word; and if not revelations, they must fall to be regarded as destitute, considered as narratives, even of that everyday historical veracity which we ascribe to the genuine accounts of contemporaries, or of those who drew their information from contemporaries. Nothing but the fact of their being supernatural revelations from God could redeem the narrative of Genesis or the prophecies of Isaiah, in the greater portion of them, from the charge of being unsubstantial dreams or conscious frauds; and it matters little whether Bunsen and his commentator count them to be the one or the other, so long as the fact of their supernatural origin, which alone could give them an authentic and trustworthy character, is denied. When Dr. Williams, therefore, impugns in detail the historical character and value of many portions of the Old Testament narrative, especially of the Pentateuch, he is only acting consistently with the views he announces in regard to the character of revelation in general, as not supernatural and infallible, but the reverse; and when, following Bunsen, he further denies the existence of prophecy in the proper sense of it, as embodying the foreknowledge and declaration of the future, and makes an elaborate and offensive attempt to show that the Messianic predictions in Isaiah have no reference to Christ, but apply to the Israelitish nation or to Jeremiah, he is only walking in the footsteps of his own preconceived theory.

Although in Dr. Williams' miscellaneous and somewhat fragmentary criticisms on Scripture, as he follows Bunsen in his researches, the absence of the supernatural element in revelation is always assumed, and occasionally vehemently asserted, yet the question is nowhere in his essay formally discussed. This part of the argument, so far as it is argued in this volume at all, falls to the lot of Professor Baden Powell,† in

* P. 44. † P. 5. ‡ P. 82.

* P. 51.

† While this article was in the course of preparation for the press, the death of Professor Baden Powell was announced. We have not thought it

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the third of the Essays, entitled, "On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity." It professes to pass under review the existing state of the controversy between the friends and enemies of Christianity, and especially, to deal with the question as to the possibility and credibility of the supernatural, whether involved in the very fact of a positive communication coming from God, or employed in connection with it as a voucher for its truth. The leading ideas enforced in the essay, and the arguments brought to bear upon the discussion, must be familiar to all who have studied the Professor's recent works, more or less bearing upon the same points. The results at which he arrives are only somewhat more prominently and dogmatically brought out. Looking at a miracle as it is commonly understood, or, as he expresses it, in "the old theological sense," it is an event which no kind or amount of evidence, whether in the shape of testimony or otherwise, can possibly substantiate; the very notion of it is inconsistent with the views which science and modern discovery have taught us most firmly to believe in regard to the universal order and inviolable continuity of physical nature; and revelation cannot be understood as being, *in this sense*, miraculous in its origin, in its historical narratives, or in its outward credentials. "The case," says Professor Powell, "of the antecedent argument of miracles is very clear, however little some are inclined to preceive it. In nature, and from nature, by science and by reason, we neither have, nor can possibly have, any evidence of *a Deity working miracles;* for that we must go out of nature and beyond reason." . . . "No one denies revelation in this sense" (a non-miraculous sense); "the philosophy of the age does not discredit the inspiration of prophets and apostles, though it may sometimes believe it in poets, legislators, and philosophers, and others gifted with high genius. At all events, the revelation of civilization does not involve the question of external miracles, which is here the sole point in dispute. The main assertion of Paley is, that it is impossible to conceive a revelation given except by means of miracles. This is his primary axiom; but this is precisely the point which the modern turn of reasoning most calls in question, and rather adopts the belief that a revelation is then most credible when it appeals least to violations of natural causes."* But while Mr. Powell has no room in his philosophy for the phenomenon which we call a miracle, with a happy inconsistency he still, in some sense not very intelligible, admits it into his theology, and tells us, that "what is not a subject for a problem may hold its place in a creed." Mr. Hume, at the close of his anti-miracle discussion, in which he demonstrates the impossibility of the supernatural in any form or connection, still comforts us with the assurance that "our holy religion is founded not on reason, but on faith." And in the same spirit, and to the same effect, we are informed by Mr. Powell, that a miracle wrought in connection with religious doctrine "ceases to be capable of investigation by reason, or to own its dominion; it is accepted on religious grounds, and can appeal only to the principle and influence of faith. Thus miraculous narratives become invested with the character of articles of faith, if they be accepted in a less positive and certain light, or perhaps as involving more or less of the parabolic and mythic character; or, at any rate, as received in connection with, and for the sake of, the doctrine inculcated."*

The *fourth* and *sixth* Essays, which we may mention together, are somewhat aside from the mere logical order of thought in the argument, which this volume seems to contemplate, against the supreme and supernatural authority of Scripture as an outward and infallible standard of truth; although they materially contribute to the common result by explaining and vindicating the relations of this new school of doubt to the Church of England in particular, and the religious tendencies of the age in general. In the former of them, under the title of "the National Church," Mr. Wilson advocates the principle of what he calls a true *multitudinism*, in opposition to the individualist principle, as the proper character of churches; or, in other words, that churches are founded upon a national and not a personal conversion, and ought to embrace within their communion parties differing most widely from each other in personal character and creed. His desire to break down the exclusiveness of ecclesiastical communities as regards their confessions and terms of membership, and to open up the freedom of a common Christianity to those who cannot agree as to what Christianity is, has been signalized by an attempt to show that subscription to the Articles of the Church of England is consistent with the amplest liberty of opinion, and imposes no necessity for accepting them in any one

necessary, in consequence, to cancel our remarks upon his essay, believing that there is nothing in their substance or tone inconsistent with the feelings which such an announcement is fitted to awaken.

* Pp. 140-2.

* P. 142.

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definite sense at all. Although now made in the interests of Rationalism, and not of Romanism, the attempt can hardly fail to recall to recollection the famous endeavour, in the "Tracts for the Times," to defend the principle of subscription to church formulas in a *non-natural* sense.

In the latter of these Essays, Mr. Pattison traces, in an extended but interesting sketch, "The Tendencies of Religious Thought in England," more especially during that long period to which he not undeservedly gives the appellation of *Seculum Rationalisticum*, beginning with the date of the publication of Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity*, and ending with the appearance of the *Tracts for the Times*. His delineation of the deadness of all religious faith and feeling, and of the utter decay of theology under the influence of Rationalism, applied first to the contents and then to the evidences of revelation, is interesting, but somewhat overdrawn, amounting occasionally to caricature; but still well fitted to leave upon the mind the impression of the necessity and desirableness of such a reaction as might in some way rekindle the spiritual life of the Church. Mr. Pattison leaves us to infer that this reaction is to be found in the religious movement of which this volume is an indication.

The fifth Essay, by Mr. Goodwin, is an attempt to seize upon the geological difficulties connected with the Mosaic account of the creation, and to turn them to account as an argument against the historic veracity of Scripture. It is in no sense noticeable, except as an illustration of the anxiety displayed throughout these Essays to lay hold upon the most popular of the recent objections against Christianity, and to use them as instruments for overturning the common belief in the authority of the inspired record.

The last, and perhaps the most important Essay in the volume, is that by Mr. Jowett, "on the Interpretation of Scripture," which appropriately follows up the previous reasonings of his coadjutors in this remarkable enterprise, and crowns the argument. After dwelling at some considerable length on the uncertainty that prevails in the explanation of Scripture, and the multitude of various and opposite meanings that have been put upon the text, and referring to different causes,—such as the bias of religious parties, the prevailing theories of interpretation, etc.,—he truly remarks, that there are "deeper reasons" which have exerted a dominant influence in this matter; and that "no one would interpret Scripture as many do, but for certain previous suppositions with which we come to the perusal of it." What these previous suppositions are, Mr. Jowett hastens to explain, as well as the fatal influence they have had in the misunderstanding and misinterpretation of Scripture. "*There can be no error in the Word of God;* therefore, the discrepancies in the Books of Kings and Chronicles are only apparent, or may be attributed to differences in the copies. *It is a thousand times more likely that the interpreter should err than the inspired writer.* For a like reason, the failure of a prophecy is never admitted, in spite of Scripture and of history; the mention of a name later than the supposed age of the prophet is not allowed, as in other writings, to be taken in evidence of the date. The accuracy of the Old Testament is examined not by the standard of primeval history, but of a modern critical one, which, contrary to all probability, is supposed to be attained; this arbitrary standard once assumed, it becomes a point of honour or of faith to defend every name, date, place, which occurs." . . . "It is better to close the book than to read it under conditions of thought which are imposed from without. Whether those conditions of thought are the traditions of the Church or the opinions of the religious world, Catholic or Protestant, makes no difference. They are inconsistent with the freedom of the truth and the moral character of the Gospel."* With such views as to the injury done to free inquiry and unfettered criticism in connection with Scripture by the previous conditions of thought under which interpreters approach it, Mr. Jowett feels the necessity of examining into the source of them, and has no difficulty in recognising it in the doctrine of the inspiration of the sacred volume. The views commonly entertained by the Church as to an inspiration of Scripture which secures for its statements the two elements of infallible truth and Divine authority, are the fountain of evil out of which have proceeded almost all the mischiefs of the false doctrine and unsound interpretation which have been imposed upon its text. That theory necessarily demands a mode of interpretation which shall conserve both the entire infallibility and supreme authority of the Bible; while the rejection of that theory at once opens the door to unfettered freedom in the way of the application to the sacred text of a criticism which may find error as well as truth, and obsolete ideas as well as unchanging wisdom in its teaching. The question of, whether or not the Bible is from God in the sense of its embodying His truth and His authority, is a question which Mr. Jowett

* Pp. 342-3.

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rightly regards as intimately connected with our understanding of its historic truth, its doctrinal announcements, and the general force of its precepts. If there is no such inspiration, the accuracy, and even the reality of its historic statements are of no practical importance, and it becomes an unnecessary, and even unmeaning attempt, to labour at the reconciliation and vindication of those discrepancies and mistakes which the condition of knowledge and the unavoidable infirmities of its human authors might lead us to anticipate in their writings. On the same supposition, the doctrinal statements of Scripture lose much of their meaning and importance in relation to us of the present day;—such dogmas being the truths of the men and the age when believed, but long since obsolete in consequence of the progress of thought, and no longer applicable in their primary sense to our beliefs: " the growth of ideas in the interval which separated the first century from the fourth or sixth, makes it impossible to apply the language of the one to the explanation of the other." And in like manner, if there is no such inspiration, the general force and sense of Scripture precepts must be altogether different from what the Church has universally believed them to be; there can be no Divine authority in them to bind us with the obedience that is due to God, or even the inferior obedience that is due to well-ascertained truth; and Scripture commands and example are evacuated of all power to lay conscience under obligation, and become obsolete and inapplicable in their bearing upon succeeding times.

But while Mr. Jowett is clear and decided in his rejection of the doctrine of a plenary inspiration as " a condition of thought," under which, as a ruling principle, the interpretation of Scripture is to be conducted, he is not equally explicit as to what idea of inspiration he would substitute in its place. His announcements are negative rather than positive, and much more destructive as to the ancient and received doctrine of the Church than explanatory or decided as to his own. He is quite sure that *inspiration* did not exempt the writers of the Bible from error in their writings. He has no doubt that their inspiration, whatever it might be, was quite consistent with historical inaccuracies and doctrinal mistakes, and did not convey to their teaching any supernatural wisdom, or any infallible authority binding upon us. But he is prodigal of explanation in attacking the common views of the Christian Church, rather than in announcing those he himself has adopted. He holds that the Bible, in some sense or other, is the fruit of inspiration. He tells us that all Christians agree in the *word* which use and tradition have consecrated to express the reverence which they truly feel for the Old and New Testament. But his veneration " is not less real because it is not necessary to attribute it to miraculous causes."* It is an inspiration which, whatever influence it might have in directing the parties who possessed it, was not of a supernatural kind. If we understand Mr. Jowett aright, it was an influence of the Spirit of God identical in character and effect with that which Christians now enjoy, leaving them liable not less certainly to error in thought and word; and the Scripture which is the fruit of that inspiration, is not different in kind from writings of the present time which contain the embodied beliefs and feelings of the wise and good. He announces, and apparently with approbation, that theory of inspiration which is explicitly adopted by some of his coadjutors in this volume, and which is commonly advocated by a certain school of rationalist theologians in the present day,— that " the apostles and evangelists were equally inspired in their writings and their lives, and in both received the guidance of the Spirit of Truth in a manner not different in kind, but only in degree, from ordinary Christians."†

We have endeavoured to give our readers some idea of the general contents and the more important theological results of the volume before us, because, considering the quarter from which it comes, and its own peculiar character, it cannot be regarded with indifference, and must be accepted as a significant indication of the religious tendencies prevailing among a considerable number, if not an influential party, in the Church of England. There is nothing that is, properly speaking, new in the views propounded in the *Essays and Reviews;* there is nothing even noticeable in the manner of treating them, or in the ability employed in their support. They are almost all familiar to us before; and although there is no small skill and learning displayed in some of the papers, even this has failed to give freshness and interest to the argument, or to raise it out of the common rut of recent Rationalism, with which it must be identified. The essay of Dr. Williams is avowedly a reproduction of Bunsen's lucubrations, adapted to the level of English capacities; the argument of Professor Powell reads very much like a new edition of Hume's Essay, with additions accommodated to modern science; and the dissertation of Mr. Jowett is, in its main

* P. 426. † P. 345.

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theological positions, identical with those familiar to all as characteristic of a school of religious belief which, on the subject of inspiration, has borrowed its spirit and principles from Germany. But what is really new and interesting, is the fact that such a volume should have issued from within the pale of the English Establishment, and been accepted by many as the manifesto of a religious party there. The writers of it are all, without exception, clergymen of that Church, and some of them of name and standing; and the very character of the undertaking seems to indicate that it would not have been hazarded unless the authors had seen some reason to count upon an audience, neither inconsiderable in number, nor altogether without sympathy with their views.

It is right to say, that there is, in the case of some of the papers, a tone of religious feeling and an earnestness of sentiment that speak for the fact that the notions propounded, such as they are, form no matter of unreal speculation in the minds of the authors, but are living and practical beliefs. But at the same time it cannot be denied that there is scarcely an objection to the plênary authority of the Bible, or to its doctrines as commonly understood by the evangelical Church, that, from whatever cause, however insignificant, happens to have been raised into temporary importance through recent controversies, which has not been repeated and adopted by one or other of these essayists. The Scripture doctrine of creation out of nothing by a Creator, is contrary to the principles and discoveries of modern science. Organic life is to be accounted for by spontaneous generation, or the transmutation of species by the law of selection. The Bible account of the origin of the world is not only, as yet, not reconciled to the discoveries of modern geology, but irreconcilable. The story of the descent of mankind from Adam and Eve is traditional, and not historical; and the facts may all be conserved if men are regarded as placed on the earth in many pairs, or in distinct centres of creation. The inspired narrative of the age of man on the earth is contradicted by the belief of all competent archæologists, founded both on the monuments of ancient history and on the conclusions of ethnology. There was a Bible before our Bible, out of the fragments of which the sacred history has been manufactured. The patriarchal narrative of our race is half ideal and half traditional, having in it no chronological element. Revelation is neither supernatural nor historical, free neither from error in fact nor defect in doctrine; but the Bible is before all things the written voice of the congregation. Inspiration is not confined to prophets and evangelists, but is co-extensive with the action of the everywhere present Spirit, the same as good men in all ages enjoy. Prophecy is not to be understood in the sense of the declaration or prognostication of the future. The types and symbols of Scripture have no meaning secondary or spiritual, or representative of future truth. The historical reality of Scripture facts is a matter of no importance, and it need not trouble us to apply both an ideal origin and an ideal meaning to them. Such opinions as these are not only scattered up and down the pages of these Essays, but naturally grow out of the principles advocated. It would not be difficult to add largely to this catalogue of anti-beliefs.

We regret, although from the facts and presumptions of the case it cannot be matter for wonder, that the views promulgated in these Essays should by many have come to be identified with the present opinions of the at least more advanced, and perhaps influential, section of the Broad Church party. There was not a little in the position and character and aims of that party, when it arose into public prominence, that gave promise of good. There was an opportunity given them for making an effective diversion in favour of a revival of religious life in the Church; and for a time it seemed as if they were to prove themselves not unequal to it. The representations of Mr. Pattison, although in some points exaggerated, are to a large extent true, when he speaks of the long period, in the history of the English Establishment, of theological barrenness and spiritual death which had preceded, unalleviated, save only to a partial extent, by the rise of Methodism without the Church, and of Evangelism within;—a period during which the forms and confessions of the faith were divorced from faith itself,—when religion consisted in articles and evidences, apart from the life of it in the heart,—and when men were so busy in proving the doctrines of Christianity to be true, that they had no time to believe them for the salvation of their own souls. And it seemed to be put in the power of the new school which had arisen among the disciples of Coleridge, to recall the thoughts of the age to the almost forgotten principle, that in order to the existence of a living Christianity, it was necessary to have the faith within as well as the truth without; and that creeds separated from the belief of them, and systems of theology from their practical hold upon the conscience, were like the body without the spirit, waiting only to be buried out of sight. But it was not alone against a party who kept a creed without a faith

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that the Broad Church school were called upon to contend. The rise of the Tractarians had brought into vogue once more the Catholic theory, in which the exercises of individual conscience and personal conviction are dispensed with or overborne, to make way for Church authority as the ground of religious belief. And it was good service done to a sound Christianity when such errors were met by a vigorous protest on behalf of individual responsibility; and when the importance of an inward spiritual life, and of a personal and vital faith in truth, were set up against the claims of ecclesiastical authority and the virtue of an outward religion. So long as Broad Churchmen directed their exertions against that one party which had learned to substitute a Church creed for the belief of it, or that second party which put Church authority in the place of God's, their success was so much gain to the cause of truth.

But when from the duty of censors of the opinions of opponents, the Broad Church party proceeded to set forth those teachings of their own in which they are peculiar, it has been otherwise; their success has been not gain, but loss. We can welcome their efforts directed against the lifeless orthodoxy of a former age, and designed to prove that a creed without a faith is vain; but we cannot look on with approbation, or suffer it in silence, when they rush to the opposite extreme, and advocate a faith without a creed;—when they teach us that a saving belief can exist apart from the proper object of such belief, the truth given by God, and guaranteed by His veracity,—and when they assume that religious life can be quickened and sustained by something other than a vital union between the human heart within and the Divine and supernatural Word without. We can accept it as a benefit to Christianity when they achieve a triumph over the Tractarian doctrine of ecclesiastical authority as a basis for religious belief; but we must reject their teaching when, taking from the Church but not giving God, they would disown His unerring word as the sure foundation of such belief, and would have us to put up with a revelation neither supernaturally true nor historically authentic. To this state of opinion the Broad Church party have reached, if the volume before us is to be taken as anything like an accurate representation of their views.

It were impossible within our limits, and indeed endless, to attempt to follow our authors through the numerous and very miscellaneous topics embraced in their discussions,—most of them turned into objections against the commonly received beliefs as to the standing and authority of Scripture. But there are certain preliminary or higher questions raised by their argument, which it may be important to advert to. In former times, the controversy with those outside the pale of belief has been very much one as to the relevancy and sufficiency of the evidence by which the fact of a supernatural revelation of truth from God was held to be made good. The tendency of recent discussions, and more especially the character and scope of the objections urged in this volume, raise the preliminary question as to the nature of a revelation itself, and the possibility of it in the sense in which it has been commonly or universally understood. Is an external revelation of truth from God to man, in the sense of a presentation of it to him from without, and not in the way of quickening thought and feeling within, a possible thing at all, and is it the actual revelation which we possess in Scripture? Is this revelation, in its own nature or in its credentials, really supernatural; and is a miracle, in the common and strict sense of the word, either possible or credible? And, finally, is the record of this revelation properly inspired,—that is to say, marked by the infallible truth and supreme authority which must belong to anything which is truly the utterance of the Divine mind? These are the preliminary questions that are raised by the topics of this volume, and the settlement of which, one way or other, must to a large extent rule the minor and secondary discussions spread out in detail over its pages. We might have believed that, at least within the limits of the Christian Church embracing all its denominations, such questions had been long regarded as settled and set by. But these are plainly the questions that must be discussed before we can properly be called upon to come down to the minuter points of chronological inaccuracies, and historical discrepancies, and doctrinal mistakes in Scripture, to which we are challenged in this volume. We have to complain, indeed, that with the exception of Mr. Powell's Essay, which is, more than any of the others, something like an approach to a direct facing of the point at issue, there is nowhere throughout the work a formal statement or systematic discussion of the real questions in dispute. They are rather silently assumed or taken for granted, as matters no longer in doubt with enlightened and liberal inquirers, than either plainly stated or formally argued. But as we cannot admit that the ancient and almost unanimous belief of the Christian Church, on points so elementary and fundamental, has suddenly become obsolete and

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untenable, we must crave leave to say a word or two on the subject.

As to the *first* point, or as to the nature of a revelation, it has not been until recent times that the question of its being external and not internal, from without man and not from within him, could have been mooted within the pale of the Church. The English Deists, indeed, a century and a half ago, strongly maintained the doctrine, that the light within man, aided by the common influence of that Spirit of God which has given and sustains his understanding, was the only revelation necessary or competent to our present state; and that an external and supernatural revelation, such as Scripture contains, was both untrue and impossible. They had not conceived the idea, that Scripture itself claims to be regarded, not as an external and superhuman revelation at all, but really as the result and product from its human authors of that very light within, transferred from their own hearts to its pages. The idea of *a positive external revelation* of some kind or other, apart from man himself, and coming to him from a higher source, lies at the very foundation of all systems of Christian belief hitherto known. It is the doctrine of the Romanists, which, recognising the twofold revelation of Scripture and tradition, equally coming, although in different ways, from God, and the Church as the living and infallible interpreter of both, teaches man to look not to the light within, but to the oracle without, for Divine instruction. It is the doctrine of all the Churches of Protestantism, which, whatever differences they may exhibit as to the grounds of religious belief, have none as to the source of it,—teaching with one voice, that the revelation we enjoy was supernaturally emitted by God once for all, and has been permanently recorded; and that the teachings in the pages of it differ not only in the degree of light, and in the fulness of their wisdom, from the teachings of man, but are really a supernatural presentation of truth from the mind of God to the understanding of the creature. Between this doctrine and the doctrine assumed or asserted by one and all of the authors of the volume before us, there is an extreme, and indeed irreconcilable difference. They explicitly talk of the "*fiction of an external revelation*," and of the belief of it as one of the fatal sources of the disease of our times. They regard the Bible not as a record of thought transferred from the mind of God to the mind of the prophets who received it, but as a record of *their* thoughts in the page which they wrote—"an expression of the devout reason" of man, apart from knowledge given him from without; not a discovery *made to* them of the ideas of the Eternal Wisdom, coming directly from Himself, but discoveries of truth and wisdom in divine things, which, in the exercise of their own faculties, guided by the teaching which all Christians enjoy from the Spirit, they have *made for* themselves, and written down for the benefit of others.

It is important to mark all that is implied in theories of revelation so distinct, and indeed so opposite. A positive external revelation, implying a presentation of objective truth from God to the prophet, even though it unavoidably comes to us through the human channel of his mind and lips, must, if inspired, carry with it the character of God's truth; it must be infallibly true and supremely authoritative. A revelation from within and not from without—a discovery by the devout reason of man, and not a discovery coming from God apart, may be erroneous or defective, as man's discoveries of spiritual things, even when under the common guidance of the Spirit oftentimes are, and *must*, even though true, be destitute of that Divine authority which alone could make it binding upon the reason and conscience of others. A Bible that is a revelation in the one sense, must come to us pregnant with the truth, and armed with the authority of God, and therefore fitted to command both the belief and obedience of man. A Bible that is a revelation only in the other sense, would come to us mingled with human error and imperfection; or, even when the expression and record of human piety and truth, could have no power beyond the force of human truth to bind the understanding, or constrain the faith of those who received it.

We find it difficult to understand the exact argumentative position of our essayists in impugning this "fiction of an external revelation." It is hard to make out whether they are prepared to commit themselves to the general position, that it is not possible with God to communicate to man an *external revelation* of His mind, or whether they limit themselves to the narrower position, that He has not been pleased to do so, because such a revelation is not necessary, or not adapted to man's condition. Either alternative is almost too extravagant to be seriously or formally advocated.

It is not, of course, with those who disown the existence of a personal God that we have at present any discussion; with atheists or pantheists, the denial of the possibility of an external revelation is no extravagance, but a consistent part of their creed. But with theists it is different. It is impos-

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sible, in our conception of the Divine Being, to limit His nature or power in such a manner as to admit the inability of God to manifest Himself in the way of external revelation to others, without contradicting the conception altogether—without making the Creator to be less than the least of His intelligent creatures to whom He has given the power of speech and of intelligent intercourse with each other. The parallelism between an external revelation from God to man, and a communication made from one to another, may not in certain non-essential particulars be complete; but after being taught the lesson of "He that formed the ear, shall He not hear?" it is enough to suggest the additional question, "He that created the lips, can He Himself not speak?" It is not necessary to enter into the inquiry as to the medium through which such a communication from God to man may be made; it is not necessary to limit the Almighty to the method of oral or visible symbols by which thought circulates from man to man, and we usually hold intercourse with each other. He may have methods and instruments of His own, and all inconceivable to us for communicating with the minds of His creatures, and making presentation of His thoughts to them. But to assert that God cannot convey truth to the minds of His creatures unless in the way of awakening their faculties to search for and apprehend truth for themselves, and that it is impossible for Him to communicate to them many things which their own minds never have, and never could have discovered without being presented from without, is simply to assert, that what is competent to the creature is nevertheless impracticable with the Creator.

But the second branch of the alternative is hardly less untenable than the first. It is difficult to imagine how it can be seriously asserted, that if an "external revelation" is possible, it is nevertheless not adapted to the condition of man, and inconsistent with the essential principles of his being, or with their free development and natural exercise.

Throughout the whole of the representations of our essayists on this subject there is a strong opposition, asserted or implied, between an external revelation on the one hand, and the exercises of conscience on the other, as if the homage or obedience due to the former were inconsistent with the claims of the latter; or as if, to borrow the emphatic language of one of their number, such "a deference to external authority" must inevitably "quench the principles of reason and right" in the human mind. Now it cannot be denied that an external revelation, because a communication from God, must carry with it His claims to authority over the conscience, and must constitute a law, with right to rule not only the actions of the outward life, but also the feelings and beliefs of the heart. But it is plain that it is not because the revelation is external, and embodied in the form of an outward standard of belief and practice, that this objection can be taken against it, but rather because of the absolute and supreme authority which it claims; and that any other organ of authority equally comprehensive and sovereign, although its utterances were from within and not from without, would be as much exposed to the same charge. The objection, if of any force at all, is one not to the shape in which revelation is expressed, but to the claim it makes to hold man responsible for his opinions and beliefs, as well as for his outward obedience,—and would, if urged to its legitimate issues, go to deny that responsibility altogether.

But the objection is of no real force. If, indeed, the mind of God, as disclosed in His written revelation, were something incongruous with the mind of man,—if the doctrines propounded for our belief, or the commands promulgated for our obedience, were contradictory to the first principles of reason and conscience, and irreconcilable with the fundamental dictates of our intellectual and moral nature, there might be ground for the charge that deference to such an authority is calculated to injure or to quench the light within. But such a difficulty as this is not an objection to an external revelation, but rather to one, whether external or not, which embodies in it falsehood and wrong. To assume that the Bible contains such a revelation, is really to take for granted the question in dispute. We believe that the revelation of God found in Scripture embodies an image of His own eternal wisdom and perfections, and must therefore be in harmony with the intellectual and moral nature of the creature made at first in His likeness. The authority, therefore, which gives to that revelation a sovereign right to rule our beliefs and our conduct, so far from tending to contradict or overbear the principles of our rational and moral being, must be fitted rather to develop their healthy growth, and strengthen and regulate their rightful action; the faith that is called into existence by the truth revealed, and the obedience summoned forth by the command given by God, will be the very exercises of our nature best adapted to ennoble and exalt, and ultimately perfect it; and a feeling of responsibility in opinion and practice to the declarations of His Word

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will be an influence tending to advance rather than hinder the progress of both our intellectual and religious life. Will not truth be most firmly held and fully realized in our spiritual being when it is believed on the authority of God? and will not a life of holiness be most steadily pursued and the farthest attained when it is followed as a duty done to Him?

But the unsuitableness, and therefore the incredibility, of an "external revelation," such as Scripture, according to the common understanding of it, professes to be, has been argued in another way by our authors. It is *historical;* it is developed in the events, and narratives and persons of other times, with thoughts and feelings long passed; the religion of the Bible can only be read and understood in connection with the men, and deeds, and ideas of a bygone age, and an obsolete system of life and manners; and the truth of a religion so revealed comes to be mingled up with questions as to the genuineness of ancient documents, and the authenticity of books, and controversies about the consistency or discrepancies of narratives, and the historical truth or falsehood of persons, and events, and dates.

Now the Apologist has no occasion to deny that Christianity, to a large extent, has developed itself in history, and that with the prominent and essential facts of that history its truth as a revelation is intimately connected. It could not have been otherwise, unless each man had been made a prophet to himself apart from every other. No system of religious belief can fail to ally itself with outward facts, unless it were inborn in every individual independently of all around, no man had to teach his neighbor the truths shut up within himself. If the revelation given to one has to be communicated to a second, and looking beyond his own benefit he has to become a prophet to transmit it to other men, and perhaps other ages, he must be prepared to give some outward evidence of his call sufficient to vindicate it in the sight of others; and the vouchers of his commission as a prophet and of the authority he has received, the record of his vocation by God, and of the contents of his message, become so many historical facts, with the truth or falsehood of which the reality and value of his revelation to others is intimately and necessarily connected. The moment a revelation passes from the lips of one man to another, it becomes historical to the latter. This is a necessity not to be avoided, unless revelation were with each innate and never to be revealed.

But it is not only a necessity, it is an advantage that revelation should develop itself in an historical form, and record its spiritual doctrines, not in the way of abstract teaching and dogmatic statements, but in the lessons and examples of human life and practice. To appeal to the human heart, and even to reach with effect the human understanding, abstract spiritual truth must be embodied in the living and practical illustrations of human fact. So far from the consideration that Christianity has become historical, and has allied itself with outward facts, being a reason for challenging its credibility, this is, in comparison with other religions, its peculiar characteristic, and one of its main recommendations. What would the character of God have been to us but an unresolved problem or an abstract idea, had it never been revealed and embodied in the man Christ Jesus? And how long a time would it have taken to learn anything of the doctrine of His love and holiness, in their perfect development and harmonious union, had we never read the lesson as it has been written out in the life and death of Him who suffered for us? The historic exhibition of the doctrines of Christianity in the incarnation and death and resurrection of our Lord, is the circumstance that, above others, makes it to be a revelation for man and kindred to his heart. Had these doctrines been disclosed to us in no other way than as abstract propositions apart from outward facts, they would have been a shadow without the substance, a letter without the life; and, in so far as regards the evidence of their Divine origin, there would have been an intrinsic probability against them. That the spiritual truths of the Christian revelation are embodied and exhibited in historical reality, is no presumption against it, but rather an argument in its favour.

But if an "external revelation" is neither impossible in itself, nor in its character inconsistent with the nature and necessities of man, there are general considerations on the other side, apart from the proper and direct credentials that belong to it, which tell very strongly in its favour.

A revelation from without and not from within, or, in other words, truth presented to the mind by God and not merely sought out and discovered by the mind itself, under the common operation of His Spirit, such as ordinary Christians enjoy, is the only form in which it is possible for us to conceive that many of the doctrines of Christianity could have been made known at all. There are mysteries in Scripture undiscoverable, until made known from without, by any reach of human thought, or by any guesses of spiritual insight, even when under the common

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teaching of the Spirit, which nevertheless are intelligible after being so made known, of the origin of which no account at all can be given on the supposition that the Bible is the fruit and record of some source of religious thought and truth from within, to the exclusion of any from without. And we must be prepared either to strike out these mysteries from the Bible, or to reduce them to the level of natural truths discoverable by the sanctified wisdom of man, if we are to accept the theory of an inward revelation as true, and disown all fruits of a miraculous presentation of fact and doctrine from above. It is not difficult to discover in the volume before us the influence of both of these processes for the reconciliation of supernatural truth with a theory of natural revelation. The supernatural character of prophecy and type, as predictions of the future, is dispensed with; and the historical reality of many miraculous events both in the Old Testament and in the New, when not explicitly disowned, is spoken of as a fact which it is of no consequence to their religious value to verify or not,—seeing that, to borrow the words of one of the essayists in reference to the superhuman signs recorded in the latter, "the spiritual significance is the same of the transfiguration, of opening blind eyes, of causing the tongue of the stammerer to speak plainly, of feeding multitudes with bread in the wilderness, of cleansing leprosy, whatever links may be deficient in the traditional record of particular events."

And the second process, of reducing supernatural truths to the level of natural reason, is not less plainly exemplified than the first. About the beginning of this century, when the religious life within the Church of England had sunk to its lowest ebb, it received a new impulse and direction from Coleridge, who, after having drunk to intoxication of German philosophy and spiritual mysticism, dreamt a dream, and called it Theology. He startled from out of their propriety the rationalistic theologians of his time with the announcement, that there "are mysteries in Christianity, but that these mysteries are reason,—reason in its highest form of self-affirmation;" and, among others, that the Athanasian creed, so often before a stumblingblock to Rationalism, was nothing but "the perfection of human intelligence." And the authors of this volume have faithfully followed his footsteps. Professedly expounding the theory of Bunsen, but also defending it as his own, Dr. Williams gives us a "philosophical rendering" of the first chapter of the Gospel by John. "The profoundest analysis of our world," says he, "leaves the law of thought as its ultimate basis and bond of coherence. This thought is consubstantial with the Being of the Eternal I AM. Being, becoming, and animating, or substance, thinking, and conscious life, are expressions of a *Triad* which may also be represented as will, wisdom, and love; as light, radiance, and warmth; as fountain, stream, and united flow; as mind, thought, and consciousness; as person, word, and life; as Father, Son, and Spirit. In virtue of such identity of Thought with Being, the primitive Trinity represented neither three originant principles nor three transient phases, but three external inherences in one Divine Mind."* In a similar manner he explains the mystery of the Fall, not as truth undiscoverable except by a supernatural disclosure, but as a natural truth competent to the unaided reason of man. "The fall of Adam represents ideally the circumscription of our spirits in limits of flesh and time, and practically the selfish nature with which we fall from the likeness of God, which should be fulfilled in man." To make in this manner the language in which the doctrine of the Trinity is expressed to speak (as Dr. Williams himself admits) with a "Sabellian or almost Brahmanical sound," and to evacuate the doctrine of the fall of all real import as a theological truth, is necessary in order to satisfy the demands of a theory of natural and inward revelation. And if all that is supernatural in doctrine and fact is not cut out from the page of Scripture as unhistorical and untrue, this other process must be carried throughout all its extent, and the spunge applied to every mystery it contains, if it is to be made level to the conclusions of the self-evident reason, and lowered to suit the principles of a revelation wholly from within and not at all from without.

But apart altogether from the existence in Scripture of mysteries of supernatural doctrine and fact, which no revelations of the religious consciousness from within could have reached, there are other considerations which point decisively to the same conclusion. Putting out of view that large portion of Scripture which embodies truths undiscoverable or undiscovered by man, it may be questioned whether there can be a discovery of truth at all in which the teaching from without does not combine with the apprehension from within; and influences *ab extra* are as intimately connected with, and necessary to, the knowledge received, as the power of knowing in the mind itself. The capacity of apprehending truth, of

* P. 88.

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whatever kind, is very different from the apprehension of the truth itself; and while philosophy and experience alike combine in assuring us that the capacity is native to the mind, they also tell, that in order to the truth being apprehended, this capacity must be awakened and called forth by external influences. All ideas received, realized, and appropriated, are thus founded upon a true and necessary antithesis between the power to perceive and know within, and the objective truth presented to it from without; and the seclusion of the mind from the influences of this external teaching would leave its powers shut up in the germ, and its consciousness no better than a blank. Such seems undoubtedly to be the law of man's development, both as to his perception of the visible world and his knowledge of the intellectual. The power of perception would remain for ever dormant, and the eye as its organ would be without vision, unless an outward world, by the presentation to it of its sensible objects, awakened the capacity to life and exercise; and, in like manner, the mind itself would remain a *tabula rasa*, with all its noble faculties wrapt in slumber, and its opulence of thought unknown, unless the external conditions of knowledge necessary to develop it were present, and became its teacher from without. And the same conditions that are necessary to the acquisition of ideas, whether in the sensible or in the intellectual world, are no less necessary to the apprehension of truth of a moral and spiritual kind. An outward teaching of spiritual truth would never indeed lodge the apprehension of it in the understanding and heart, unless there were previously existing there the innate capacities for apprehending it; but it is no less certain that the powers of thinking and feeling within would of themselves never conduct to truth, unless there were the outward teaching, which is an indispensable condition for their exercise and development.

The analogies, then, of all God's methods of educating the human mind in natural truth clearly point to the employment of an outward teaching in combination with an inward capacity of learning, in the education of man in spiritual things. These methods are uniformly based on the fundamental antithesis between the subjective susceptibilities of knowledge within, and the objective realities of knowledge external to the mind; and the one is no less necessary to the result than the other. It would, therefore, have been to traverse all the analogies of the past in regard to the education of both the individual and the race in natural knowledge, if supernatural knowledge had been communicated in any other shape than as an outward presentation of truth to the capacities for truth waiting to receive it from within. The two theologies of nature and revelation are both taught in this way. The outward creation, with the impress upon it of God's wisdom, power, and goodness, addresses itself to the religious faculty even of those who have no other teaching, but who, under this appeal from without, have that faculty awakened to know something, however imperfectly, of His eternal power and Godhead. And the volume of a supernatural revelation, with its mysteries of Divine thought and reality far beyond what creation embodies, is an appeal also from without, which awakens to the apprehension of its Divine truth the capacities of spiritual knowledge and faith which, without such appeal, had remained useless and undeveloped. So far is it, then, from being true, that our subjection to the influences of an external revelation is not adapted to man's condition and wants, that it is perhaps the only method of teaching by which the capacities of faith and spiritual discernment within could have been really developed or perfectly taught. At all events, it is certain that a revelation of Divine wisdom, embodied in human speech, is not only admirably adapted for the purpose of the religious instruction and spiritual training of man in Divine truth, but is the only method in strict analogy with those processes by which other truth is communicated.

But there is a farther and important consideration that must not be lost sight of in this argument. It may be questioned whether *faith*, in the true and Scripture sense of the word, and as the mighty instrument that quickens the soul out of the death of sin, and justifies and saves it before God, can exist at all on the supposition that there is no Divine and supernatural word to be believed, but only truth, the revelation and discovery of human thought and feeling from within. *Faith* is not a believing of any doctrine which is in itself true, or of any truth at all which man's own reason or religious consciousness has discovered. It is not a believing of the Newtonian law of gravitation, or of Butler's theory of conscience, however truly established as conclusions in the departments of natural and moral truth these doctrines may be. It is not a believing even of the facts and dogmas of Scripture itself, as historical events or spiritual truths, which our own minds have discovered to be true, even granting that such a discovery were possible to them. In such a case, it would be an homage paid to our own understanding, or to the influence of truth itself,—

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a submission yielded to the force of our own reason in its investigations into the department of spiritual knowledge, or a conviction wrought out by the evidence belonging to the discovery made. It would be a belief of truths, the same indeed as those which God had revealed, but without any reference to God as having revealed them, and having no respect whatever to His authority, which had appointed them as necessary, or to His testimony, which made them worthy, to be believed. It would be a faith which would bring us into no conscious or immediate communion with God, as receiving truth because He commanded it, and on the ground that He had declared it, thereby rendering an homage at once to His authority and His veracity; but rather a faith which, being founded upon our discovery of religious truth for ourselves, was in reality a tribute to our own powers in discovering it to be true, or a tribute to the force of truth itself. Such a faith would be without God rather than with Him,—a belief of man's truth rather than of His. Scriptural faith, on the contrary, is one which brings us immediately into personal contact and intercourse with a personal God, because, in the very act of believing, we recognise both His sovereign authority and His infallible testimony as the occasion and the ground of our belief,—our faith being yielded not to the influence of truth so much as the authority of God, and resting not upon the certainty of our own discovery and apprehension of it, but upon His word who hath said it. In the acceptance of the truth believed, the understanding is brought consciously to submit itself to the authority of Him who has a right to rule our opinions and belief; while the heart, in embracing the same truth, is resting, not upon its own apprehensions of what is true, but upon the testimony and the veracity of Him who cannot lie. Scripture faith thus brings us into correspondence with a supernatural word, and with Him who has spoken it: there is a true and vital union effected, through the medium of the word, between the believing spirit and the God in whose word, and because of whose word, it believes.

But what becomes of this *faith* in the case of a revelation where there is, in the proper sense of it, no word of God or supernatural truth to be believed,—in which the doctrines and facts are divorced from their Divine source, and reduced to the level of "reason in its highest form of self-affirmation,"—and when the Bible is regarded as nothing beyond the fruit and the record of the religious consciousness in man? A Bible constructed upon the theory and lowered to the standard of a revelation that has come from within, gives no room or opportunity for *faith* in the true and Scripture sense of the phrase. Even if it were possible that such a revelation should embrace and declare the very same doctrines which the Scriptures contain, yet, because neither commanded by His authority nor resting upon His truth, the belief in them would not be the same act of the soul with the belief of God's revelation, nor would it imply the same feeling on the part of him who received it. The attitude and the spirit of the man who has found out truth for himself, and believes it on the strength of his own discovery, are altogether different, and, indeed, opposite to those of the man who has accepted it as a supernatural gift from God, and who believes it because God has commanded him, and because it is His truth. The latter of these is saving faith; the former is not. Even Cudworth, as quoted by one of our authors, although far enough from the evangelical school of thought, sufficiently saw that "Scripture faith is not a mere believing of historical things, and upon artificial arguments or testimonies, but a certain higher and divine power in the soul, that peculiarly correspondeth with the Deity."

We are quite aware that such considerations as these are not the sufficient or proper arguments to which to appeal on behalf of an external revelation of truth, supernaturally communicated by God. We have been led into them not for the purpose of proving the existence of such a revelation, but rather to meet the presumption, or, as some believe, the arguments, which have been set forth against the possibility of it, or its appropriateness to the nature and condition of man,—admitting, at the same time, that such considerations, while quite conclusive in setting aside the objections referred to, having somewhat of an *à priori* character, are not the proper proof of the fact in dispute. The question as to whether or not a supernatural and external revelation of truth has actually been given by God to man, is one to be decided by other evidence. It is one of historical fact, and only to be dealt with as other questions of historical fact are dealt with. We are not to be frightened from this position by any sneers or insinuations, that, in adopting it, we are identifying ourselves with the obsolete school, now in so much disrepute, of "miracle-mongers." If we inquire whether God did or did not, eighteen hundred years ago, give to certain men a supernatural communication of His mind and will, and empower them, by miraculous signs, to verify their commission in the sight and to the satisfaction of others,

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we inquire as to a matter of fact which, whether true or untrue, can be proved or disproved only in the way and by the methods by which other allegations of fact are disposed of. Unless we are prepared to commit ourselves to the extravagant position, that an "external revelation" is impossible, the only competent or sufficient way to deal with the affirmation of it, is to try it by the tests that other matters of fact, alleged to be true, are tried by. Nothing else will suffice. Antecedent presumptions and *à priori* speculations are not the true and relevant evidence bearing upon the fact,—or are relevant only as secondary and subordinate presumptions in the matter. We have no intention of entering upon this wider field of argument: we are not called upon to do so, because there is not so much as the profession of an attempt in this volume to deal with it, or even to look at it. There is a vast deal of censure, perhaps not to some extent undeserved, directed against those who belonged to what is called the "evidential school" of the last century, for making Christianity itself not a thing to be believed so much as a thing to be proved. There may be a measure of justice in the accusation. But it would be an error of an opposite kind, and censurable also, if we refused to Apologetics their place and value in theology, and asserted that Christ was to be believed in, not for His works' sake, but in spite of them.

But, passing from the topic of an "external revelation," we must advert to another question of a preliminary and fundamental kind, raised by this volume,—that, namely, of the possibility and credibility of the supernatural.

Hitherto it has been very generally admitted that the two questions of an actual revelation from God, and of the reality of the supernatural, are intimately connected: the latter has almost uniformly been regarded as involved in the former. It is not so, however, in the theology of recent rationalism, and it is not so in the theology taught in this volume. Miracles, instead of being accounted as inseparable from a Divine revelation, because necessary and appropriate parts of its manifestation on earth, and its historical development,—are rather looked upon as excrescences on the face of it, unconnected with its true nature, and a bar to its reception. Signs and wonders, and mighty deeds, instead of illustrating a communication from God, and establishing its truth, are difficulties to be overcome in our believing it; they are no longer to be seen as a halo around the head of the Worker, shedding a glory upon his path, and telling of the place whence he came, but are features of a mythic and unhistoric era, which cast a doubt upon his character, or stamp with falsehood his pretensions. "If miracles," says Professor Baden Powell, "were, in the estimation of a former age, the chief *supports* of Christianity, they are at present among the main *difficulties* and *hindrances* to its acceptance."

Now, it does seem even at first sight to be a strange and almost startling announcement to be told, as we are, in effect, told in this theory, that the more God should seek to make Himself known to His creatures, by direct manifestations of His presence, the less He should succeed in doing so, and that the seen evidences of His power are an effectual bar to our believing in their existence. It is because miracles are the direct and extraordinary manifestations of God's presence and working, that they are rejected as incredible. "We neither have nor can possibly have any evidence of a *Deity working miracles*." Now, it is not a little remarkable, that the very means which God makes use of to discover Himself to His creatures, should so completely counteract the object He has in view;—that the direct revelation of His presence in the midst of us should prevent us from seeing it; and that the immediate working of His power, exhibited before our eyes, should have a mischievous tendency in the way of hindering us from believing it. It cannot but represent the Deity as in a very helpless if not hopeless position, in reference to the possibility of making known His will to men at all, that the revelation of it, which must, from the very nature of the thing, be a miracle, should be one of "the main difficulties and hindrances" to its own credibility, and should render it almost impossible for us not to reject it as untrue. Perhaps it would have been better in itself, and better for our faith in a supernatural revelation, had God refused to work miracles at all, in order that we might have had no difficulty in believing them; were it not that this would have looked something like a contradiction, or that it might have given rise to the idea, that God did not work miracles only because He could not. It is certainly a cruel dilemma in which a supernatural revelation and the author of it are placed, that it ought not to be received without miraculous attestation of its truth, and cannot be given without itself being a miracle; and yet that this is one of the greatest obstacles to its reception, and a chief presumption that it is untrue.

What is the proper place or character of miracles in connection with a revelation?

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Are they to be reckoned among the credentials or the credenda of Christianity,—the evidences or the objects of our faith,—helps to our belief, or difficulties that must be believed? The answer to that question is given by the modern school of theology, when they discard the supernatural as evidence, and either reject it as in itself incredible, or receive it, not on the ground of reason, but of faith, as something which, though worse than the Athanasian creed, must in one sense or other, natural or non-natural, be put up with. They reverse the import of our Lord's demand, and, instead of believing Him for His works' sake, believe the works, if at all, for His sake. But is this the proper order of things in the established connection between revelation and the miracles that accompany it, and are embodied in its record? We do not deny that miracles are, in their own nature, and when embraced in the narratives of revelations, matters to be believed, forming part of the creed of Christianity. But we must, at the same time, strenuously maintain that they have, in addition, another character and office; and that, both from the manner in which on numerous occasions they are represented in Scripture, and from their own nature, we are warranted in regarding them as the confirmations and credentials, or, if we must use the obnoxious word, *evidences* of Christianity.

It is difficult or impossible to conceive how the doctrines and facts of a revelation could have been brought home to the beliefs of men in any other way. The contents of Scripture are not the affirmations of the self-evident reason, the innate thoughts and feelings, or the necessary results involved in the thinking and feeling of the human mind, as rationalists untruly allege. Neither can it be said that the "self-evidencing" power, which really belongs to the few essential and prominent truths of Christianity, which we call the *Gospel*, belongs to all its truths and lessons, and especially to the detailed narrative of facts found in its record, extending from Genesis to Revelation. That self-evidencing power is sufficient for the Bible *as a system* of truth, made up of the few and leading doctrines essential to the salvation of the soul; but it is not sufficient for the Bible *as a record* comprehending many books and facts, and embodying numerous and various doctrines and commands, extending over the whole field of religious duty and belief. And we know not in what manner a set of men, commissioned by God to receive His revelation, and to transfer it to such a record as we actually have in the Scripture books, could have been able to commend these books to the acceptance of others as Divine and inspired, without the aid of supernatural help and attestation. The nature of the fact to be proved is in accordance with such evidence, and demands it. That a prophet has been taken up into the mount, and been alone with the Almighty, in order that he might receive a communication of the Divine will, is a secret thing known only to himself and God; and when he comes forth to the world with the inspired record of it in his hand, it can be made known and received publicly only by his bringing with him some token of this supernatural intercourse to which he has been admitted. The message will not in all cases accredit the messenger, and still less authenticate the record of it as inspired; the messenger must accredit both the doctrine and the book by some sign that has in it a manifest connection with the supernatural source from which they are derived. Internal evidence, arising out of the way in which the Gospel divinely commends itself to the heart, will not cover the whole of the doctrines or many of the historical facts of Christianity; still less will it attest the canonical authority of the books; there must be external evidence of a supernatural kind to declare their supernatural origin and inspiration.

Still we are brought back to the question of the possibility or credibility of the supernatural. It may be certain that there is no alternative between a supernatural revelation such as we account the Bible to be, and a human discovery of spiritual truth from within, wrongfully usurping the name, but truly denying the reality of a revelation. There may be no alternative between a true supernaturalism from without, and the theory of internal reason, or intuition, or consciousness, or spiritual insight, or by whatever term it loves to be called,—a theory that makes each man the inventor of his own religion, and the ruler of his own creed, varying in its form and substance from the belief of the "poor Indian," whose only doctrine of the Absolute is the very ancient one that recognises God in stocks and stones, up to the complicated and refined subtilties of Brahmanism. But still the questions which underlie the whole controversy are these: Is the supernatural possible? and, if possible, is it proveable?

Now, notwithstanding the theory of Professor Powell, which implies the contrary, we cannot help maintaining that these two questions, although nominally and theoretically different, are practically and in reality one. Mr. Powell has not committed himself to the wide and thorough-going doctrine held by others, that the supernatural is impossible, although he has asserted very

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strongly that it is incapable of proof, and although this assertion, and the grounds of it, would legitimately and consistently compel him to deny the possibility of it also. He admits that there is a region beyond reason in which miracles may have their habitation, and be believed in on the ground, not of reason, but of faith. But he ought to have seen that the admission of the possibility of the supernatural unavoidably carries with it the inference that it is capable of being proved. Unless there be some fatal and unaccountable necessity in the case of miracles, which does not exist in the case of other phenomena, that what is true cannot be believed to be true, supernatural facts must be open to the possibility of proofs as much as others. We are not treating of those "invisible miracles" of which Butler speaks. We are dealing with the case of *visible miracles* cognisable by the senses, and open to all those methods of observation and scrutiny by which other visible phenomena are discerned and recognised. And to allege that a miracle, if it be a possible thing, cannot be proved to be true, is very much the same as to assert that what is visible cannot be seen, and what is a fact cannot be accepted as real. From the very nature of the case, miracles, if they occur at all, must commend themselves to the eyesight of those present at the occurrence of them, and be capable of being reported through the ordinary channel of testimony to those who are not present; and of all the methods by which the truth of the eyesight in the one case, and the certainty of the testimony in the other, are tested and substantiated, reason is the competent and sufficient judge. The assertion, therefore, that these miracles cannot be proved to have occurred, if they have actually occurred, is nothing more nor less than an assumption that in the instance of such supernatural facts, and in that alone, our reason underlies a strange necessity of error, which would be as supernatural as the miracles themselves.

Nor does the reference which we are compelled to make of the miraculous fact to a supernatural and not to a natural and ordinary source, in reality make any difference in the case. If it is granted that there is a God, and that reason is competent to recognise his existence,—if His presence and power are facts not lying beyond the region of reason, and not to be accepted only on faith, —we have a sufficient cause to which the visible miracles resting on the witness of eyesight or of testimony may be referred. And, unless we are competent and able, by means of the ordinary exercise of our rational powers, and by the methods applicable to other facts, to recognise the existence and certainty of those which we call miraculous because due to a superhuman cause, it can only be because by some singular or rather supernatural derangement in our mental constitution, never witnessed in any other circumstances or at any other time, we have been made specially incapable of recognising as true what in reality is true. Were an actual miracle to become to us in any case incapable of proof, this itself would furnish us with proof of a miracle.

We confess that we look with suspicion and distaste on those theories of religious belief which hand over Divine truth, in order that it may be believed, to some separate and special organ or faculty of the mind, distinct and apart from every other, called *faith*, or *spiritual intuition;* and deny to our rational and intellectual powers any share at all in the apprehension of it, such as they undoubtedly have in the case of all other truths. We have no space for entering upon the discussion of such a subject, although we cannot pass it by without a protest. *In the first place*, we believe that there is nothing in the observed phenomena of our nature giving warrant to assert the existence of such a spiritual organ, standing alone and acting apart from every other, and having nothing to do, in its relation to religious truth, with the logical faculty. And, *in the second place*, the very nature of religious truth, combining in itself and holding in vital connection logical as well as spiritual elements, and given us to be known as well as to be believed, renders it utterly impossible that the apprehension of it can be referred to the spiritual faculty alone, apart from the understanding. We hold very cheap, therefore, the concession that Professor Powell makes, when he admits that miracles, disowned and repudiated by reason, may yet be accepted on a principle of *faith*. It is more especially in the case of miracles, which, if possible and actual at all, must be embodied in outward and visible facts cognisable by the senses, and subject to all those tests of observation and experiment by which similar facts can be tried, that we are warranted in asserting that they must be apprehended, not by faith apart from every other faculty of the mind, but through those powers of knowing and seeing through which other phenomena of a sensible kind are apprehended. A miracle is, properly speaking, a supernatural power embodied in a visible fact; and it certainly, to our apprehension, would look very like a miracle, if it were true that a visible fact cannot be known or seen to be a real one.

But what are the grounds alleged by Mr. Powell for holding the proof of miracles to

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be impossible? It is mainly, or entirely, because he considers that they are inconsistent with a certain theory, which he believes to be strongly established by modern discovery, as to the inviolable order and universal uniformity of physical nature. He tells us that there is no truth more firmly demonstrated on the basis of modern science, and that is receiving every day more pointed confirmation from its progress, than the truth of the prevalence, everywhere and without exception, of law and order in the material world. The uniformity of the connection of causes and effects in nature rests upon an induction as wide and complete as it is possible to conceive, and admits of no interruption; the apparent deviations from that uniformity, the greatest and most marked, have, by the progress of scientific investigation, been proved to be no more than apparent; the prodigies and marvels of one age have, through means of the advancement of discovery, been reduced to the level of natural and ordinary events in another, and are regarded as prodigies no more; anomalous cases, at first sight inconformable to the course of law, have come at last to be explained and recognised as in strict accordance with it; and, judging from the past and its analogies, we are forced to accept of those wider and more comprehensive views of the material world which acknowledge unity and order throughout it all, and, whatever seeming exceptions may exist for a time, compel us to believe that they are exceptions only relatively to our present imperfect knowledge, and that no event can possibly occur truly in violation of the regularity and unchangeableness of physical causation. Instructed and emboldened by the lessons of the inductive philosophy, and the success of past investigation, Mr. Powell can look forward to the time as not a distant one, when all seeming irregularity shall disappear from the sensible creation, and the fair image of unity and order shall be impressed upon it all; when anomalies, in the course of nature, shall be reconciled, and the disorders of chaos and ancient night shall be brought under the power and uniformity of physical causes; and when, even throughout the remotest limits of the universe, the "Anarch Old" shall be compelled to give up his kingdom, to be replaced by that of law and light.

The vision is a fair one; and we do not say that it is no more than a vision. The most advanced and cultivated intellects, and those best taught in the schools of modern science, can most readily understand the force of those analogies that lead us to believe that law and order are universal, and that *within the limits of physical causation* there may be apparent, but can be no real exception to the uniformity of its operation. And were there nothing real or operative beyond the limits of physical causation, the argument of Mr. Powell would be irresistible: the anomalies of the supernatural could have no place within the order and uniformity of material laws; and we should be forced not only to admit with him that it is impossible to prove the existence of a miracle, but to carry out consistently the principle to a length which he inconsistently has not reached, and to add, that the occurrence of a miracle is impossible. But there are other causes in existence than physical causes, and more in nature than is dreamt of in this materialistic philosophy. Beyond and above the world of matter, although acting upon it, and capable of controlling it, there are supernatural causes, and especially the First Cause of all; and in the existence of these, and of their power to operate within the region of sensible things, we recognise the source and possibility of the miracle. We have no interest to question the argument of Mr. Powell as to the uniformity and regularity of material law. It is not necessary to discredit the inference he draws in favour of "the universal order and indissoluble unity of physical causes." It is not in violation of that law, but in obedience to it, that the introduction of a new cause within the region of sensible things should be followed by a new effect; and it is no breach of the order of physical causation, but in harmony with it, when the operation of a supernatural cause within the world of matter should be seen and recognised, not in a natural, but a supernatural result.

Even among the most familiar phenomena of daily life, we acknowledge the presence and power of the unseen acting upon the seen, and of spiritual forces abutting upon and controlling the events of the material world. The presence with, and action upon matter of the human will, afford an example. It is an unseen element operating upon sensible things, although not belonging to them—influencing and controlling physical phenomena without deranging or interfering with the uniformity of physical causation,—an active force within the world of matter, and working without derangement of the laws of matter, and yet itself belonging to the number of spiritual causes. It is not in violation of the order and regularity of physical law, but strictly in analogy with it, that we recognise in the *will* one cause of motion in the material

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world. And it is a strange argument that would assert that the Divine will may not hold a similar place in the universe which has been created by it; and that would forbid us to acknowledge in it a cause in nature, though itself supernatural, that can act, within the region of sensible things, in the way of visible effects, and which, just because it is supernatural, must, in conformity with the order and uniformity in the succession of cause and effect, issue in a supernatural result. We accept the grand doctrine of order and law which the discoveries of modern science have taught. We are willing, nay glad, to recognise the prevalence of undeviating uniformity in all the successions of material nature. We acknowledge the unity of creation, presided over and ruled by the one unvarying principle of cause and effect. But we accept the doctrine in a higher and more comprehensive sense than any that Mr. Powell has recognised. We believe that the unity of law and order embraces not only the material world, with its series of material phenomena, but also the spiritual world, and the relations between the two, including the action and reaction of the one upon the other. We believe that not only the natural world, but the supernatural likewise, is pervaded throughout by a law of order as perfect as any witnessed in the material creation; and that when the natural meets with the supernatural, and yields up to its interference and control the course of its visible phenomena, it is not in contradiction to that law, but in consequence of it, that the supernatural power is followed by a miraculous effect. Beyond the region of sense and the domain of physical causation, if there be a God, there is a *cause* sufficient to work that work which we call a miracle. No perfect theory of the Absolute taken from modern schools of speculation,—no borrowed light from Scripture as to the *infinity* of the Divine perfections, is necessary to supplement the teachings of natural theology, which tell that if there is a Being who has made the world, He must have power sufficient for such intervention in it. The exercise of His power, when it is put forth, must be in accordance with the order both of the seen and unseen, the material and the spiritual world: side by side with the succession of natural phenomena,—apart and different from it, but not in contradiction to it,—the introduction of that power, because supernatural, will be embodied in a visible but supernatural result; and the miracle, so far from marring the unity or being incompatible with the order of the physical world, will only be part of a higher and wider system of law, which combines the physical and the spiritual world in one harmony.

There is one other question, of a general and preliminary kind, raised by the volume before us, to which we wish briefly to advert before we close. We refer to the question of inspiration, more or less spoken of by Mr. Jowett in his elaborate essay on the Interpretation of Scripture, but not formally stated or deliberately discussed. As we have already hinted, his position in regard to it is negative rather than positive, being dogmatical and elaborate in telling what it is not, rather than what it is. He informs us, indeed, that the word is "incapable of being defined in an exact manner,"—the only thing about it of which he is *exactly* certain being, that "for any of the higher or supernatural views of inspiration there is not any foundation in the Gospels or Epistles." Now, it is not our intention to enter upon an exhibition of the grounds of evidence and argument upon which the inspiration of Scripture, in the sense of its being a book infallibly true in all its parts, and divinely authoritative in all its announcements, has been maintained. We would have felt ourselves exempted from the call to such a task by the manner in which Mr. Jowett has evaded it, putting a simple assertion in place of a serious discussion, even had our limits not forbidden the attempt. But we wish, in closing, to refer to the bearing of the question of the inspiration upon the interpretation of Scripture, more especially in connection with Mr. Jowett's views on the latter subject.

There can be no right or scriptural view of inspiration which does not afford room in it for the twofold element of the Divine power and the human, and each in its own integrity and freedom. The denial of the one or of the other of these would equally contradict the statements of Scripture in regard to its own character and place, as a book distinguished from all others by the combination in it of the features of infallible truth, and yet of human authorship. If the Divine element in Scripture inspiration were denied,—if there was the presence in the Bible of no supernatural power, guarding its authors from error, and guiding them in what they wrote into Divine wisdom,—we could have *no security* for our faith, such as the veracity of God speaking to us in His Word furnishes, or beyond what spiritual truth, discovered and apprehended by ourselves or others, might supply; and there would be *no obligation* upon the conscience to believe it, such as the authority of God, when addressing us, imposes, or other than

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natural and not revealed truth may in any circumstances lay upon us. The refusal to acknowledge the supernatural element in inspired Scripture must indeed reduce very much of its teachings far below the level of natural truth, and deprive them of their claim to be regarded as authentic and credible in the sense in which even a human composition may be authentic and credible. There is a large portion both of the histories and of the doctrines of the sacred volume which no human powers could apprehend or authenticate as really human discoveries of truth, and which nothing but a supernatural communication from God could impart or make credible to the prophet who received it, or to us for whom he has recorded it. The narrative of creation and the fall can be nothing more than a fiction, written with all the pretensions of truth, if Moses did not divinely receive it, and was not supernaturally qualified to record it: there is no possibility of its being authentic and credible even as a piece of human history. The doctrines of the miraculous conception, of the incarnation, of the resurrection,—the whole announcements of prophecy,—cannot by possibility be human discoveries of truth, and can be nothing better than dreams and undevout fables simulating the authority and aspects of Divine truths, if they are not authenticated by supernatural revelation, and are not the utterance of that voice which spake to apostles and evangelists out of heaven. But, on the other hand, the denial of the human element as present in all its integrity and freedom, equally with the Divine, in Scripture, would be to contradict its own both express and implied declarations, and to make it a book severed by the peculiarity of its character from human sympathies, and incapable of appealing to man's understanding and heart.

But how does this doctrine of the double element of the Divine and human, the supernatural and natural in Scripture, bear upon the question of the interpretation of it? There is plainly demanded for it a method of treatment suited to the twofold character which it bears: it must be interpreted as a book no less Divine than human, and at the same time no less human than Divine; acknowledging with equal frankness and fulness the features of infallible truth and supreme authority necessarily belonging to it in the one respect, and those of human personality appropriate to it in the other. The canons of interpretation advocated by Mr. Jowett are compressed, as he tells us, in a few precepts, or rather in the expansion of a single one, which is to the effect, "*Interpret the Scripture like any other book.*" Now there is, no doubt, valuable and important truth in the canon, that we ought to enter upon the interpretation of Scripture in a way similar to that in which we should seek to ascertain the meaning of any other composition, —applying to the language of the sacred writers, because it is human language expressive of human thought, like grammatical principles and like methods of criticism to those appropriate to any other book. But although this canon be true and important, and no right understanding of the Bible can be reached without a due application of it to Scripture exegesis, yet it is no more than half the truth, and unless properly limited and supplemented, may lead to serious error. It may be understood and applied in a sense unfriendly to the truth and authority of Scripture as the one book which is supernaturally inspired, and therefore infallible, and as if its statements were to be received and interpreted on the principle that they are no more exempted from human error, or raised above the defects of human ignorance, than those of any other composition. If this maxim is to be received without explanation or limitation, it must originate and sanction a method of interpretation inconsistent with the idea that there is present in the Bible a supernatural element, imparting to it the characters of unerring truth and Divine authority; and that, consequently, it is free from the unavoidable results of imperfect knowledge or deficient veracity witnessed in the writings of other authors. A due consideration given to the supernatural element, no less than to the natural, in inspired Scripture, necessitates and authorises us to modify the above-mentioned canon, to the effect of excluding all those methods of interpretation which, however suitable to merely human composition, or even demanded by the acknowledged imperfections of their authors, are yet irreconcilable with the idea of a human composition in alliance with the Divine inspiration.

The sense in which Mr. Jowett understands and applies his own canon to Scripture is apparent from the conclusions to which it conducts him, and to which we have already referred; and which are plainly hostile to its record, equally of doctrine, of miracle, and of ordinary events, and fatal at once to its supernatural truth and its historical authenticity. But the extent to which the denial of a supernatural element in inspired Scripture may conduct, in the direction of explaining away both its divine truths and historical facts, may, perhaps, be best illustrated by a quotation from one of his coadjutors in this volume, in

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which he explains the application of the principle of what he calls *ideology* to the sacred text.

"The application of ideology to the interpretation of Scripture, to the doctrines of Christianity, to the formularies of the Church, may undoubtedly be carried to an excess,—may be pushed so far as to leave in the sacred records no historical residue whatever. On the other side, there is the excess of a dull and unpainstaking acquiescence, satisfied with accepting in an unquestioning spirit, as if they were literal facts, all particulars of a wonderful history, because it is in some sense from God. Between these degrees lie infinite degrees of rational and irrational interpretation.

"It will be observed that the ideal method is applicable in two ways, both to giving account of the origin of parts of Scripture, and also in explanation of Scripture. It is then either critical or exegetical. An example of the critical ideology carried to excess is that of Strauss, which resolves into an ideal the whole of the historical and doctrinal person of Jesus; so, again, much of the allegorizing of Philo and Origen is an exegetical ideology, exaggerated and wild. But it by no means follows, because Strauss has substituted a mere shadow for the Jesus of the Evangelists, and has frequently descended into a minute captiousness in details, that there are not traits in the scriptural person of Jesus which are better explained by referring them to an ideal than an historical origin; and without getting into fanciful exegetics, there are parts of Scripture more usefully interpreted ideologically than in any other manner,—as for instance the temptation of Jesus by Satan and accounts of demoniacal possessions. And liberty must be left to all as to the extent to which they apply the principle; for there is no authority through the expressed determination of the Church, nor of any other kind, which can define the limits within which it may be reasonably exercised.

"Thus some may consider the descent of all mankind from Adam and Eve as an undoubted historical fact; others may perceive in that relation a form of narrative into which in early ages tradition would throw itself spontaneously. Each race, naturally—necessarily, when races are isolated—supposes itself to be sprung from a single pair, and to be the first or the only one of races. Among a particular people this historical representation became the concrete expression of a great moral truth, of the brotherhood of all human beings, of their community, as in other things, so also in suffering and in frailty, in physical pain and in moral corruption. And the force, grandeur, and reality of these ideas are not a whit impaired in the abstract, nor indeed the truth of the concrete history as their representation, even though mankind should have been placed upon the earth in many pairs at once, or in distinct centres of creation. For the brotherhood of race really depends not upon the material fact of their fleshly descent from a single stock, but upon their constitution, as possessed in common of the same faculties and affections, fitting them for a mutual relation and association; so that the value of the history, if it were a history strictly so called, would lie in its emblematic force and application. And many narratives of marvels and catastrophes in the Old Testament are referred to in the New as emblems, without either denying or asserting their literal truth,—such as the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah by fire from heaven, and the Noachian deluge. And especially if we bear in mind the existence of such a school as that of Philo, or even the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we must think that it would be wrong to lay down that whenever the New Testament writers refer to the Old Testament histories, they imply of necessity that their historic truth was the first to them. For their purposes it was often wholly in the background, and the history valuable only in its spiritual application. The same may take place with ourselves, and history and tradition be employed emblematically without on that account being regarded as untrue. We do not apply the term 'untrue' to parable, or fable, or proverb, although these words correspond with ideas without material facts; as little should we do so when narratives have been the spontaneous product of true ideas, and are capable of producing them.

"The ideologian is evidently in possession of a principle which will make him to stand in charitable relation to persons of very different opinions from his own and of very different opinions mutually. And if he has perceived to how great extent the history of the original itself of Christianity rests ultimately on *probable* evidence, his principle will relieve him from many difficulties which might otherwise be very disturbing. For relations which may repose on doubtful grounds as matters of history, and as history is incapable of being ascertained or verified, may be equally suggestive of true ideas with facts absolutely certain. The spiritual significance is the same, of the transfiguration, of opening blind eyes, of causing the tongue of the stammerer to speak plainly, of feeding multitudes with bread in the wilderness, of cleansing leprosy,—whatever links may be deficient in the traditional record of particular events. Or, let us suppose one to be uncertain whether our Lord were born of the house and lineage of David, or of the tribe of Levi, and even be driven to conclude that the genealogies of Him have little historic value; nevertheless, in idea, Jesus is both Son of David and Son of Aaron, both Prince of Peace and High Priest of our profession and he is under another idea, though not literally, without father and without mother. And he is none the less Son of David, priest Aaronical, or Royal priest Melchizedecan, in idea and spiritually, even if it be unproved whether he was any of them in historic fact. In like manner, it need not trouble us, if, consistently, we should have to suppose both an ideal origin and to apply an ideal meaning to the birth in the city of David, and to other circumstances of the infancy. So, again, the incarnification of the Divine Immanuel remains, although the angelic appearances which heralded it in the narratives of the Evangelists may be of ideal origin, according to the conception of former days. The ideologian may sometimes be thought sceptical, and be sceptical or doubtful as to the historical value of related facts; but the historical value is not to him the most important; frequently it is quite secondary. And, consequently, discrepancies in narra-

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tives, scientific difficulties, defects in evidence, do not disturb him as they do the literalist.

"Jesus Christ has not revealed His religion as a theology of the intellect, nor as an historical faith; and it is a stifling of the true Christian life, both in the individual and in the Church, to require of many men an unanimity in speculative doctrine which is unattainable, and a uniformity of historical belief which can never exist."*

With one sentence in this extract, explanatory of the applications of *ideology* to Scripture, we entirely concur, when the author assures us, that in the case of those holding this theory of interpretation, "liberty must be left to all as to the extent in which they apply the principle, for there is no authority through the expressed determinations of the Church, nor of any other kind, which *can define the limits within which it may be reasonably exercised.*" It is quite plain that, with such a principle in his hands, ready to apply to any doctrine or fact of Scripture, it will depend mainly upon the length or shortness of his creed, or upon the particular school of rationalism to which he belongs, whether an interpreter of the Bible shall find in its teachings much or little of Divine truth and historical reality, or none at all. Carried out to its legitimate issues, and applied with fearless consistency to the sacred text, it would be quite sufficient to evacuate it of everything like dogmatic statement of doctrine or even exact narrative of authentic fact, leaving it with but the shadow and not the substance of positive truth. It can excite no surprise, that repudiating a supernatural inspiration, and sympathizing with such views of the interpretation of Scripture, we should find Mr. Jowett stating apparently with approbation of it, that "a theory has lately been put forward, apparently as a defence of the Christian faith, which denies the objective character of any" of the doctrines of Scripture at all.† The question of the inspiration of the Word must bear with immediate and decisive effect upon our method of interpreting it and our understanding of its teaching; and nothing but the cordial and unreserved recognition of the supernatural element, no less than the human, in Scripture, can lead to a sound exegesis, or furnish a secure foundation for a saving faith in its truths, bringing the soul into vital union with God through the medium of His own Word.

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* P. 200–5. † P. 421.

ART. X.—1. *Periodicité des Grands Hivers.* Par M. E. RENOU. Comptes Rendus, etc., Jan. 9, 1860. Tom. L., p. 97.

2. *Sur les Rapports entre les Phenomenes Meteorologiques et la Rotation Solaire.* Par M. BUYS-BALLOT. Comptes Rendus, Tom. XLVI., p. 1238, June 21, 1858; and *Id. Id.*, Tom. XLIX., p. 812, Nov. 21, 1859.

IN a previous article on "The Weather and its Prognostics,"* we endeavoured to give our readers a popular account of what has been done, and of what was then doing, on the subject of Meteorology. Our object in the present article is to notice briefly some of those speculations, or theories, if they merit the name, connected with meteorology which have lately attracted public attention, but especially the *Periodicity of Severe* Winters, which, on account of the peculiar severity of the one which is past, has excited much interest both in this country and elsewhere.

As the Sun is the centre and source of all those influences by which climates are formed and seasons diversified, philosophers have begun to observe with care the spots and other phenomena on his surface, and to study their relation to the temperature and magnetism of the Earth. By the help of his powerful telescope, Sir William Herschel discovered a great variety of phenomena on the surface of the Sun which had never been previously seen, and he endeavoured to deduce from them "the causes or symptoms of its variable emission of light and heat." In order to ascertain whether there was any considerable difference in the quantity of light and heat emitted by the Sun, he recorded a series of observations, made between 1795 and 1800, in which there was a deficiency of what he calls the luminous or empyreal clouds, and no ridges, nodules, corrugations, or openings. In another period, beginning with 1800, he observed phenomena of a contrary nature, and he was led to believe that the character of the seasons may be greatly dependent on these phenomena. By appealing to La Lande's Astronomy for the solar phenomena, and to Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations for the prices of wheat during the same periods, he found that the prices were low, and consequently the crops abundant, and the seasons warm, when the spots of the Sun were most numerous, as if the great central fire was stirred up for the benefit of man.

These views, interesting though they be,

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* *North British Review*, vol. xxv. p. 81.

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did not excite the notice of astronomers, and no attempts were made either to confirm or refute them. Professor Henry, indeed, found that less heat was emitted from the spots than from the luminous disc of the Sun; but it was not till M. Hofrath Schwabe of Dessau had completed a series of continuous observations on the solar spots, that the views of Sir William were proved to be groundless. These observations are contained in the following table:—*

Year.	Groups.	Days free from Spots.	Days of observation.
1826	118	22	277
1827	161	2	273
1828	225	0	282
1829	199	0	244
1830	190	1	217
1831	149	3	239
1832	84	49	270
1833	33	139	267
1834	51	120	273
1835	173	18	244
1836	272	0	200
1837	333	0	168
1838	282	0	202
1839	162	0	205
1840	152	3	263
1841	102	15	283
1842	68	64	307
1843	34	149	312
1844	52	111	321
1845	114	29	332
1846	157	1	314
1847	257	0	276
1848	330	0	278
1849	238	0	285
1850	186	2	308

From this table it appears that the solar spots have a period of ten years,—the maximum number of groups occurring in 1828, 1837, and 1848, and the minimum number in 1833 and 1843. M. Schwabe does not believe that the spots of the Sun have any influence on the temperature of the year. Although he observed the barometer and thermometer three times a day, yet he "could trace no sensible connection between climatic conditions and the number of spots." If any minute influence is really exerted by the spots on our atmosphere, M. Schwabe states that his table would rather seem to indicate that the years when the spots were most numerous had fewer clear days than those in which spots were less frequent,—a result not in harmony with the views of Sir William Herschel.

The existence of a *decennial* period in the occurrence of the solar spots is a remarkable cosmical fact, indicating a periodical change in the causes which produce the light and heat of the Sun; but it derives a new and peculiar interest from the remarkable discovery made by General Sabine, that there is a *decennial* period exactly corresponding with it, in the greater frequency, duration, and occasional magnitude of the magnetic disturbances, when the Sun's disc is most obscured by dark spots, and in the less frequency of these disturbances when the Sun is less obscured by spots. This decennial period is shown separately in each of the three magnetic elements, namely, the declination and inclination or dip of the needle, and the intensity of the magnetic force. The connection of all these disturbances with the Sun is also proved by another discovery of General Sabine's, that their *mean effects* in every part of the world, and in each of the three elements, are invariably governed by periodical laws, whose period is a *mean solar day.*

The connection of the Solar Spots with Terrestrial Magnetism has been studied also by M. Rod. Wolf, Director of the Observatory of Berne.* By comparing the observations of Schwabe with the annual means which our countryman, M. Lamont of Munich, has obtained for the variations of the needle in declination, he has found "that the numbers of spots, and the mean variations in declination, are not only regulated by the same period of 10⅓ years (assumed by Lamont), but that these periods correspond, even in the minutest details, with the manner in which the number of spots reach their maximum at the same epoch with the variations."

In continuing the study of these phenomena,† M. Wolf has collected, from nearly 400 volumes, all the observations on solar spots from the time of Fabricius, Galileo, Scheiner, to Schwabe; and he has found, by means of the sixteen different epochs established by the minimum and maximum of the solar spots, that the mean duration of these spots is—

$$11{\cdot}111 \pm 0{\cdot}038 \text{ years};$$

so that nine periods are exactly equivalent to a century. M. Wolf has also found, that in each century the years—

0·00, 11·11, 22·22, 33·33, 44·44, 55·56, 66, 67, 77·78, 88·89,

correspond to the minimum of Sun spots.

Not content with confirming and correcting his former law, M. Wolf has studied *the connection between the weather and the*

* In almost every year, except those of the *minima*, M. Schwabe observed spots visible to the naked eye, their diameter being about 50 seconds. The largest appeared in the years 1828, 1829, 1831, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1847, 1848.

* *Comptes Rendus*, etc. 1851, tom. xxxv., p. 364; Lett. of M. Arago, 2 Avril, 1851.

† Id., id., p. 704, Nov. 1852.

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spots on the Sun; and has devoted the last chapter of his Memoir to "a comparison between the solar period and the meteorological indications contained in a Zurich Register for the years 1000–1800." "The result," he adds, "is in accordance with the opinion of Sir William Herschel, *that the years in which the spots are more numerous, are also drier and more fertile than others; the latter, or those with few spots, being more moist and stormy.*" M. Wolf has added another most interesting fact, *that the aurora borealis and earthquakes predominate strikingly in the years when the solar spots are numerous!* If this law shall be established by more extensive observation, the character of the seasons may be predicted with at least some degree of certainty.

Interesting as these speculations are, and useful as they may be, the theories of Mr. Waterston and Professor William Thomson are of a bolder and more speculative character. Every theory of the constitution and life of the Sun, says Professor Thomson, "that has hitherto been proposed, as well as every conceivable theory, must be one or other or a combination of the following three:—

"1. That the Sun is a heated body losing heat.

"2. That the heat emitted from the Sun is due to chemical action among materials originally belonging to his mass—or that the Sun is a central fire.

"3. That meteors falling into the Sun give rise to the heat which he emits."

The first of these theories Professor Thomson regards as demonstrably untenable. The second, which is the one generally adopted, he has also proved to be indefensible; and the third he regards as therefore necessarily true.

The meteoric theory of solar heat was first proposed by Mr. Waterston to the meeting of the British Association at Hull. In that communication, which is neither published nor noticed in the report of the year, Mr. Waterston suggested that solar heat may be produced by the impact of meteors falling from extra-planetary space, and striking his surface with velocities which they have acquired by his attraction. Professor Thomson calls this the gravitation theory of solar heat, and considers it as included in the general meteoric theory which he maintains. The following is the general view given of the theory by Professor Thomson:—

"The source of energy from which solar heat is derived is undoubtedly meteoric. It is not any intrinsic energy in the meteors themselves, either potential, as of material gravitation or chemical affinities among their elements; or actual, as of relative motions among them. It is altogether dependent on mutual relations between those bodies and the Sun. A portion of it, although very probably, not an appreciable portion, is that of motions relative to the Sun, and of independent origin. The principal source, perhaps the sole appreciably efficient source, is in bodies circulating round the Sun at present inside the Earth's orbit, and probably seen in the sunlight by us, and called the *zodiacal light.* The store of energy for future sunlight is at present partly dynamical, that of the motion of those bodies round the Sun; and partly potential, that of their gravitation towards the Sun. This latter is gradually being spent, half against the resisting medium, and half in causing a continuous increase of the former. Each meteor thus goes on moving faster and faster, and getting nearer and nearer the centre, until, sometime, very suddenly, it gets so much entangled in the solar atmosphere as to begin to lose velocity. In a few seconds more it is at rest on the Sun's surface, and the energy given up is vibrated in a minute or two across the district where it was gathered during so many ages, ultimately to penetrate as light the remotest regions of space."

Professor Thomson has made it very probable that the deductions of physical astronomy are opposed to the extra-planetary meteoric theory, which ascribes the heat of the Sun to solid meteors striking him, or darting through his atmosphere; that the heat is produced by friction on an atmosphere of evaporated meteors drawn in and condensed by gravitation, while brought to rest by the resistance of the Sun's surface; and that the meteors thus supplying the Sun with heat have been for thousands of years far within the Earth's orbit. Considering the Sun's rotation in 25 days 4½ hours as produced by the incorporation of meteors, he computes that $\frac{1}{310}$th of the Sun's mass would have to fall in to produce his present rotation; that 32,000 years would be the time in which this would take place; and that "it is improbable that the Earth has been efficiently illuminated by the Sun alone for not many times more or less than 32,000 years."

The last speculation of an astronomical, and probably of a meteorological character, which is exciting an interest in the scientific world, is the doctrine of a repulsive force emanating from the Sun, which is maintained by M. Faye, a distinguished mem-

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ber of the French Academy of Sciences.* There are two grand astronomical facts which are not explicable by the theory of gravitation,—namely, the form of the tails of comets, and the acceleration of the motion of comets. The form of the tails of comets, and their direction opposite to the Sun, have been ascribed to an impulse from the solar rays, which is equivalent to a repulsive force; and the acceleration of the motion of comets has been explained by the retardation which they experience in moving through a resisting medium; but these explanations are not admitted by philosophers, and hence M. Faye has been led to call in the aid of a repulsive force exercised by the Sun as an incandescent body. The only conditions upon which any new force can be introduced into the system of the world are, that it will not sensibly disturb the general harmony, and that it must be susceptible of an experimental verification.

That the *first* of these conditions is satisfied by a repulsive force emanating from the Sun, is shown by M. Faye. Such a force will not affect the planes of the orbit of the planets, nor the direction of their axis, nor their eccentricities. It may affect, he admits, in a slight degree, the revolution of the planets nearest the Sun, and it is possible that so small a force may disturb the delicate numerical relation which La Place has proved to exist between the mean motions of the three first satellites of Jupiter. That this is not the case he has satisfactorily proved, and it remains to be seen whether or not he can satisfy the second condition, by proving that a repulsive force really emanates from incandescent surfaces.

For this purpose M. Faye proposed to observe the effect of an incandescent surface upon highly rarified matter in the receiver of an air-pump, and to make this matter visible by the spark from Rhumkorff's induction coil. A thin slice of platinum, about an inch in diameter, was placed in vacuo, and brought to a red heat by a double current of gas and air. Phenomena indicating a repulsive force were seen in the action of the platinum upon the stratified light produced by the electricity of the coil, but M. Faye does not regard this experiment as a decisive one.† The repulsive force of the Sun's incandescence cannot be verified, as our author remarks, by direct experiments, as it is exhausted on the upper strata of our atmosphere, where it produces effects still unknown. A repulsive force arising from the magnetic action of the Sun, has been employed by Bessel, Herschel, Pape, and Professor Pierce, to account for the phenomena exhibited by the tails of comets.

Various attempts have been made to deduce meteorological laws from the influences of the Sun and Moon. As these bodies exercise so powerful an influence over the waters of our seas, it was a natural inference that they would produce analogous changes in our atmosphere. By comparing the results recorded in meteorological registers, M. Toaldo, an Italian observer, was led to believe that changes of weather took place more frequently two or three days after new and full moon than at any other time, and to a less degree when the Moon was in quadrature. The more accurate observations, however, of modern times have placed it beyond a doubt, that the Sun and Moon exert no influence over the Earth's atmosphere, in virtue of the force of attraction by which they produce the tides. Other meteorologists have studied the phenomena of the weather in connection with the solar and lunar period of eighteen years, when those luminaries return nearly to the same relative position; and Mr. Luke Howard, an able and industrious observer, believed that he had established "A Cycle of Eighteen Years in the Seasons of Britain."* If the most careful and long-continued observations with the barometer do not indicate any lunar influence, we can hardly suppose that such an influence would show itself periodically. There may, however, be forces emanating from the Sun and Moon of whose existence we are entirely ignorant, and which may yet show themselves when our registers of the weather are more correct and numerous. It is only, indeed, by comparing the most ancient observations on the state of the weather, as accidentally recorded in history and contained in meteorological registers, that there is any chance of discovering those periodical changes which may take place in our atmosphere.

An interesting attempt of this kind has been recently made by M. Buys-Ballot, in the memoir "On the Connection between Meteorological Phenomena and the Solar Rotation," which we have placed in our list of books at the head of this article. In a previously published work,† which we have not seen, M. Buys-Ballot makes the following observations:—"The ring which may

* *Astronomische Nachrichten*, No. 1240, *Comptes Rendus*, etc. Motions. 9 Avril, 1860. Tom. 4, p. 703.

† *Astronomische Nachrichten*, Tom. iv. p. 894.

* This is the title of a work which he published in 1842.

† *Changemens de Temperature dependants du Soleil et de la Lune.* Utrecht, 1847.

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have produced the phenomena observed in the eclipse of the Sun, which M. Babinet regards as a planet in the act of formation, to which he has given the name of *Vulcan*, can be of no use to us (in explaining the connection between temperature and solar rotation), for its revolution would be too short for our purpose. We must, therefore, admit other rings,—one for a period of 27·68 days, for which I have already admitted this hypothesis, and one, as I suppose, for a period of 27·56 days. These two rings will have for their great semicircle 16 and 19 diameters of the Sun; and in the same manner as the ring of Saturn is composed of several sections which revolve independently of one another, we may consider the two rings which I assume as originally only one, but which have subsequently separated. If such a ring is elliptical, it ought to emit most heat when we are near the part most distant from the Sun; but this would only produce an annual variation of temperature. We must, therefore, seek in the ring itself the cause of the variation of temperature. If we refuse to regard the ring as a heated mass, we may consider it as absorbing heat —that is, retaining the heat of the Sun, which traverses it."

From a comparison of meteorological observations made in the Netherlands, from 1729 to 1846, M. Buys-Ballot had found that there is a period of maximum and minimum heat emitted by the Sun, and that this period is 27·682+0·004 days. This period was confirmed by observations made at Dantzic, Munich, and other places, but particularly by those made at Breslau from 1791 to 1855. This period is obviously too long to be explained by the solar spots, which make the time of the Sun's rotation from 25·25 to 25·4 days. M. Buys-Ballot's period supposes a rotation of 25·75, which appertains to a ring, the diameter of whose medium is about 36 diameters of the Sun.

The period being 27·682 + 0·004 days, we have 65 of them in about 5 years and a day, and the epoch of maximum heat is the 6th–9th January 1850. In order to confirm this result, M. Buys-Ballot calculated anew from the series of observations made at Breslau between 1791 and 1855, by Dr. Galle. He divided them into groups of *five* years, and distributed them into 28 columns, so that in the same column were conjoined the observations of *Feb.* 7, 1791, the day of the maximum, and those of Feb. 8, 1796; Feb. 9, 1801; Feb. 18, 1841; and Feb. 20, 1846, as well as all those made after an exactly whole number of periods. The result of this was, that *fourteen* numbers, representing the sums (after an unequal diminution of all of them) of the temperature taken on all the days distant, by a number *n* of periods, of the day of maximum, of the *six* days which succeed, and of the *seven* days which follow this day of maximum, are all greater, without exception, than the other *fourteen* sums of the temperatures observed on the days when (according to the hypothesis) the other side of the sun is turned towards the earth.

By uniting the partial results into four groups every fifteen years, as follows

In column A, the sums from 1791 to 1806
" B, " 1806 " 1820
" C, " 1820 " 1835
" D, " 1835 " 1854

it appeared that the final result above mentioned was shown in the individual groups as well as in the whole table.

Hence M. Buys-Ballot concludes, "that the observations at Breslau from 1791–1855, distributed according to the period of 27·682 + 0·004 days give absolutely the same result, as much with respect to the epoch of the maximum at the 6th–9th Jan. 1859—the duration of the period—and even the magnitude of the periodical quantity, as those which he had deduced—

1. From the Netherland observations of 1729–1844.
2. From the observations made at Dantzic.*
3. From the observations at Munich.†
4. From the observations of magnetic declination at Greenwich and at Utrecht, which augment and diminish with the same period. And
5. From the observations at Iceland and Labrador.

A more recent and important attempt to establish a meteorological law on the authority of historical facts and direct observations, has been made by M. Renou, in the Memoir "On the Periodicity of Severe Winters," which we have placed at the head of our list of works as the principal subject of this article. M. Renou is Secretary to the Meteorological Society of France, and the author of some important memoirs, which have been published by the Academy of Sciences; and he has certainly rendered it very probable that rigorous winters occur in groups at a certain distance from each other. The difficulty of discovering long meteorological periods arises, as he observes, from thermometrical registers having been only recently established, and from historical facts being vague and incomplete, when we recur to times long past. Some phenomena, however, and among these, rigorous winters,

* Poggendorff *Annalen*, lxxxiv. 521, 1851.
† Id. Id. lxxxvii. 541, 1852.

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make such an impression upon us, and have had otherwise such effects, that they are not only well characterized, but carefully recorded.

In proceeding to treat of this class of meteorological facts, M. Renou is of opinion that the difficulty of discovering long meteorological periods arises from the want of regular observations with the thermometer, and other instruments for observing atmospherical phenomena,* and from the necessity of appealing to the vague and imperfect facts which history records. He thinks, however, that certain phenomena, among which he places in the first rank rigorous winters, will leave a deep impression behind them, and produce, also, effects which distinctly characterize them.

M. Renou defines a rigorous winter as one which ought to give rise at Paris to minima of temperature from 5° of Fahr. to zero, and of a mean temperature kept up during a month at several degrees below 32°, or the freezing-point. The simultaneous freezing of the Seine and the Po, of the Rhone, the lakes of Venice, or the ports of the Mediterranean, which must be the result of a continued cold of more than 4°, are the necessary characteristics of a rigorous winter.

On examining meteorological registers, published at different epochs, such as those of Dr. Fuster and Arago, extended and completed by M. Barral, M. Renou found that severe winters were very unequally distributed; but that, in place of occurring in an arbitrary manner, they formed natural groups of from *four* to *six*, surrounding a winter more rigorous than the rest, to which he gives the name of a *central winter*, calling those which accompany it *lateral winters*. By uniting these groups, he discovered the law of their distribution, namely, that they were reproduced after an interval of a little more than 41 years. Occasionally, however, the period is effaced, or rather masked, the cold distributing itself over a great number of shorter, less rigorous, and more separated winters; but, on an average, the great winters occupy a space of 20 or 21 years, leaving another equal interval without remarkable winters. In this last interval there is, in the climate of Paris at least, winters of a certain severity; but sometimes the *minima* of temperature are very much insulated, as in the winter of 1847; sometimes the mean of a month is sufficiently low, as in January, 1848, without the minimum of an ordinary winter. "We are then," says M. Renou, "struck with the difference of character which the two periods present, and the differences of the extreme minima under atmospheric conditions, which appear identical."

The following is the Table of Rigorous Winters given by our author, with the extreme *minima*, which are all of temperatures below the freezing-point:—

Groups without the Extreme Minima.

Year.			
1416.	1408	1490	1656
	1426	1494	1658
	1422	1499	1660
		1500	1663
		1503	1666
1458.	1443	1508	1665
	1458	1511	1670
	1460	1571	1672
	1464	1584	1677
	1469	1582	
		1591	
		1595	

Groups with the Extreme Minima.

Year.			Year.		Extreme Minima.
1707.	1695	—0°·0	1789.	1776	— 2°·4
	1696	— —		1784	— 2°·4
	1709	—9°·6		1789	— 7°·5
	1716	—3°·0		1795	—10°·3
				1799	+ 0°·6
1748.	1764 (Leap).			1802	+ 4°·1

Year.		Extreme Minima.
1830.	1820	+6°·2
	1823	+5°·6
	1820	+1°·4
	1830	+ 1°·0
	1838	+ 2°·2
	1840	— 3°·3

The minima of the winters of 1795, 1709, and 1665, and the great analogy of the effects produced by the cold in these years and the great winters of the preceding centuries, show us, according to our author, "that –90·4 is a fixed term, which is reproduced at least in the conditions which are observed in Paris; and that, far from constituting an exceptional temperature, it represents a normal atmospherical state at each recurrence of the period. We observe, indeed, that in 1830 the cold did not exceed + 1°·0 at Paris; but this cold singularly moderated in connection with an extension a little more easterly than usual of the marine climate between the Loire and Brussels, coincided with an atmosphere more calm, and a steadiness of weather so great, that the mean of the three winter months was certainly lower than in 1709, 1789, and 1795. We know, indeed, that the extremes of heat or of cold quickly bring with them south-west winds

* M. Renou seems to express his belief in the short period observed by M. Buys-Ballot which we have already mentioned.

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and changes of weather. Besides, this immunity, which Paris enjoyed in 1830, did not extend itself far, for the following degrees of cold were observed at

	Fahr.
La Chapelle, near Dieppe, . . .	— 3°·7
Agen, ...	—10°·9
Aurillac, ...	—10°·6
Nancy, ...	—15°·4

"We therefore find the temperature of from — 10 to — 12, a little less towards the sea, and a little greater towards the continent.

"The principal lateral winters present the same regularity, as in the following table, which shows the minima observed in Paris:—

1695	0°·0	1799	+0°·6
1716	—3°·8	1838	—2°·2
1776	—2°·4		

All these minima approach to–1° or–2°.

"In the interval between two periods the minima are infinitely lower. Thus, from 1802 to 1820, the thermometer did not fall below + 9°·5; and, from 1840 to 1859, the cold did not exceed + 5°·7 — a minimum much insulated, which took place on the 19th December 1826, after an exceedingly warm summer.

"The period which ought to follow 1830 is that of 1871. But we have now (1859–60) reached the first winter of this group; and the cold of the 19th and 20th December falls too completely under my prediction to make me delay the publication of this note. I shall not be surprised if, at the next return of cold, the thermometer at the Observatory descends lower than in December. *We shall have, after this winter, one, or probably two, rigorous winters, increasing in severity to a central winter, which will be towards* 1871; *then a decreasing series, even to* 1881."

In the preceeding table, M. Renou has left blank the periods of 1748 and 1624, because these years correspond to disturbed periods, in which the rigorous winters are not concentrated in a space of 20 years, but are extended, on the contrary, so as almost to join the neighbouring periods. Thus, from 1729 to 1760, we meet with a great number of winters sufficiently rigorous, especially those of 1740, 1742, 1754, 1767, 1768. The period of 1624 is replaced by several severe winters from 1600 to 1638.

M. Renou states that he could have prolonged the Table of Rigorous Winter beyond the fifteenth century, but the documents became incomplete. He nevertheless found frosts, which could not be mistaken, such as those of 822, 860, and 864, in which the Rhone and the lakes of Venice were frozen. In order to have introduced these winters into the table, it would have been necessary to lengthen the interval of 41 years to 42, at least during several centuries.

With the view of ascertaining the cause of severe winters occurring in groups, M. Renou studied, month by month, the years in which rigorous winters did not arise from any cause from which cold is produced, but from unusual irregularities. Beside great winters were found winters exceptionally mild, as those of 1796, 1822, and 1834,—summers very cold, and summers very warm.

Rigorous winters, according to our author, may extend themselves indefinitely towards the poles; but they do not affect the equatorial regions, excepting, perhaps, in modifying in a small degree the temperature of some months, and in producing more copious rains and stronger winds. Their influence seems to stop at the 30th degree of latitude,—a remarkable limit, which is nearly the limit of winters properly so called, and which divides each hemisphere into two equivalent parts. "It is probable," says M. Renou, "that, in the half that has winters, each country will be visited in its turn with a rigorous winter; and as in this case the Earth ought to be thus visited in 41 years, the winter ought to extend itself each time over the 82d part of the globe, or a surface equal to *twelve* times that of France. This, indeed, is nearly the extent which great winters seem to embrace. They appear to occupy a space a little elongated, from the north-east to the south-west; and I am led to believe that they propagate themselves from the east to the west, so as to run through the northern hemisphere in 20 or 21 years, and then through the southern hemisphere in the same time, and while we have only ordinary winters. The essentially maritime character, however, of the southern hemisphere ought to render its severe winters much less distinctly marked than they are with us."

Art. XI.—Recent Publications.

*Eastern Africa.**

If we take up a map of Africa, published before the accession of her Majesty to the

* Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa, etc. By the Rev. Dr. J. Lewis Krapf. With a Concise Account of Geographical Researches in Eastern Africa. By E. G. Ravenstein. London, Trübner and Co. 1860.

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throne of these kingdoms, and compare it with one of the present day, we are sure to be struck with the different aspect it offers to its more recent companion. In the latter, the coast line presents us with a mass of names of native towns, villages, and markets, which replace the naked outline of the former; whilst in the interior, deserts become fertile wildernesses,and mountain ranges are supplanted by lake-regions, only to be excelled by those of America. In no portion of the maps of Africa, which in boyhood were placed in our hands, is this more apparent than in that which delineated the countries south of the so-called Mountains of the Moon; and of that portion none was so destitute of names as the large tract which stretches from the country of the Adal to Mozambique, and is subject to the Imam of Zanzibar.

It was owing, in some measure, to this absence of names in the map of Africa of that period, that we are indebted for this interesting narrative of Missionary Travels of Dr. Krapf, who, during an eighteen years' residence on the eastern coast of Africa, has been the means of adding considerably to our geographical knowledge of those regions, no less than to our acquaintance with the languages, religion, manners and customs, and resources of the independent tribes which form its population.

The son of a small farmer in the vicinity of Tübingen, Dr. Krapf early evinced an ardent desire for knowledge, and a somewhat morbid temperament, more of fear and dread than of love, gave his mind his first and strong religious bias. He tells us himself:—

"My father, whose circumstances were easy, followed farming, and lived in the village of Derendingen, near Tübingen, where I was born, on the 11th of January, 1810, and baptized by the name of Ludwig, the wrestler,—no inapt appellation for one who was destined to become a soldier of the cross. Many were my providential escapes in childhood from dangers which beset my path, from falling into the mill-stream which flowed through the village, from accidents with fire-arms, or falls from trees in the eager pursuit of bird's nests. The inborn evil nature of the child was somewhat held in check by a nervous susceptibility, and the consequent dread I experienced in witnessing the contest of the elements in storms, or which shook my frame at the sight of the dead at the grave, or even when reading or listening to the narrative of the torments of the wicked in hell. On these occasions I secretly vowed to lead a pious life for the future, though, childlike, I soon forgot the promise when the exciting cause had passed away, as is ever the case throughout life with the natural, unregenerated heart of man. Thus, but for an apparently trivial event in my boyhood, though in it I gratefully recognise the hand of the great Teacher, the evil of my nature might have choked the good seed with its tares, or destroyed it altogether."

That event was a brutal assault by a neighbour, who, mistaking the lad for another who had given him offence, nearly murdered the child in the heat of passion. An illness of six months' duration followed, and to that bed of sickness our missionary ascribes the incipient awakening of his heart to its best and truest interests. His hours were spent in reading the Scriptures; and, soothed by the care and affection of two true-hearted women, his mother and sister, of whom we have but an occasional glimpse in the autobiographical sketch of his boyhood, with which the work opens. His greatest delight was in those portion of the Old Testament which recorded the history of the patriarchs, and their intercourse with the Creator, originating an earnest desire that he "too might be permitted to listen to the voice of the Most High, even as did the prophets and apostles of old." In the autumn of 1822, during the period of his convalescence, he spent much of his time in the harvest fields amongst the farm-labourers, and to them he would relate such Bible stories as had taken a strong hold on his boyish imagination; and so earnestly and vividly did he do this, that more than one of the men would say to his father, "Mark my words: Ludwig will be a parson." In the beginning of the ensuing year, his sister had to visit Tübingen to buy an new almanack, and, mistaking the house of the widow of a former vicar for that of the bookbinder to which she had been directed, she entered into a long discourse with that lady, who treated her with much kindness and affability, inquiring after her brothers and sisters, and eliciting from her that her youngest brother, Lewis, was clever at figures; upon which the widow expressed a desire to see the lad, and to promote his welfare, suggesting that he should be sent to the grammar-school, and afterwards to college. To this lady's interference, and the zeal and affection of his noble-hearted sister, it was owing that, instead of following the plough, the boy was sent to the Anatolian School at Tübingen, and, showing considerable ability,soon became a favourite with his teachers, and gradually rose to the head of his class; and so on, till he reached the fifth and highest form, when he added the knowledge of Hebrew to that of the

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languages of classical antiquity, and those of Italy and France, which he had already studied along with his own native German. At first the the early morning always found him on the road from home—a distance of some four or five miles from the town—with satchel on his back, in which, besides his books, were a bottle of sweet must and a great hunch of bread, to constitute an *al fresco* mid-day meal, and which he "quickly swallowed, between twelve and one o'clock, under the willows on the banks of the Neckar, in order more leisurely to devour his Latin Grammar and Scheller's Vocabulary, which he soon learnt by heart;" and thus in boyhood, almost intuitively, acquired a method of learning languages,which, in his missionary life, was most serviceable to him.

Whilst yet on the fourth form, the rector read to the whole school an essay upon the results of missionary labour for the conversion of the heathen. The reading struck a kindred chord in the soul of the future missionary. A small still voice asked, "Why not become a missionary, and go and convert the heathen?" The Easter holidays of 1825 were at hand; and, as the boy walked homewards to Derendingen, the thought arose in his mind with the force of a command, "to go to Basel and announce himself willing to devote his life to the labours of a missionary." His future career was fixed; and again we have a glimpse of two true-hearted women upholding and strengthening the boy's resolve, furnishing him with the means, and a letter to Missionary Inspector Blunhardt, a former vicar of their own village. The journey from Derendingen to Basel, by way of Shaffhausen, and back through Freiburg, altogether some two hundred and fifty miles, was performed on foot,—no small testimony to the zeal and determination of purpose in a boy-missionary of fifteen.

But even earlier the idea of African travel had become familiar to the boy's mind. He was still on the lowest form in the lower school, when his father sent him an atlas of maps, and, by a singular coincidence, just at the moment a bookseller in the town had lent him an odd volume of Bruce's Travels in Abessinia, which had fascinated his boyish imagination by the frequent mention of hyænas. With the natural eagerness of a young and inquiring mind, he at once turned to the map of Africa to trace the scene of the traveller's adventures, and, to his astonishment, found but few names put down in the districts of Adal and Somali upon the map. "Is there, then, so great a desert yonder," was his first exclamation, "which is still untrodden by the foot of any European?"—a curious thought to have been instilled into the mind of a child, who, in manhood, was to be the means of expanding the knowledge of those very regions of which then so little was known.

His visit to Basel led to a rejection of his services for the time, but accompanied by the prospect of future employment, when he should have fitted himself for the missionary calling by self-imposed preparation, and a long course of preparatory study at the Missionary Institute. At length in February 1837, he was employed by the English Church Missionary Society, and set out on his long and difficult journey to Abessinia, the land of his youthful dreams and aspirations. "Yet," he adds, "it was not without tears at parting, and with fear and trembling, that I took up my pilgrim's staff, and bid adieu to my dear friends, and to the home of my childhood."

After a short residence at Adowa with the Protestant missionaries at the Court of Ubie, the Abessinian Regent of Tigre, where they were at first well received, he and his companions were forced to retire, through the intrigues of some French Roman Catholic priests, who managed to poison the black prince's mind against the English, by alleging that the excavations they were making for the foundations of a missionary house were, in fact, the commencement of a tunnel by means of which English troops were to be smuggled in to conquer Abessinia. It is not very likely that Ubie, who appears to have been a shrewd and sensible man, should have been duped by such a representation. It is far more probable that he was compelled by his wily new friends, backed by his own priesthood, to whom the Protestant mission was distasteful, to make choice between the friendship of France and England, between that of a country seeking by every means in its power to conciliate the native princes of Africa, with the sinister intention of ultimately founding in that continent a French equivalent to British India, or of one whose only object was the disinterested purpose of spreading the Gospel and distributing the Bible amongst the Monophysite Christians of an expiring branch of Christ's Church. No doubt French gold was not wanting, as, in the end, France acquired the port of Zula, to the south of Massowa, in the Red Sea.

"It is," says Mr. Ravenstein, "the avowed design of France to found in the Eastern Sea an empire to rival if not to eclipse British India, of which empire Madagascar is to be the centre. Hence, notwithstanding that engineers of eminence have pronounced against the practicability of such a canal as

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that of Suez, the enterprise is being persevered in under the auspices of the French Government, or rather the isthmus has been occupied within the last few weeks by a party of *armed ouvriers.* Across the Isthmus of Suez leads the shortest route from Southern France to Madagascar and India; its possession by a power desirous to extend her dominions in that quarter, and capable of availing herself of its advantages, would therefore be of the utmost consequence. The mere fact of the isthmus being part of the Turkish empire, or of Egypt, would not deter France from occupying it; for scruples of conscience are not allowed by that nation to interfere with political 'ideas.' Zula has been chosen as the second station on the route to Madagascar, and while the occupation of Suez may at will furnish a pretext for seizing upon Egypt, that of Zula may open Abessinia to French conquest.

"Fortunately there is a power which can put a veto upon those plans of aggrandisement in North-Eastern Africa, and that power is Great Britain. Gibraltar, Malta, Perim, and Aden, form a magnificent line of military and naval stations on the route to India, and perfectly command it; and Perim, though at present only destined to bear a lighthouse, properly fortified, would command the entrance of the Red Sea even more effectually than Gibraltar does that of the Mediterranean. Therefore, only after having converted the last three into French strongholds, and thus striking a decisive blow at the naval supremacy of Great Britain, could France ever hope to carry out her designs."

Whatever may have been the true causes of the expulsion of the Protestant missionaries from the territories of the ruler of Tigre, it is chiefly to it that we are indebted for our knowledge of the Galla, whose conversion to Christianity Dr. Krapf looks upon as the future and surest means of spreading the Gospel throughout the interior of Africa. Driven from Andowa in March 1838, the three Protestant missionaries reached Massowa in safety,—the two senior, Messrs. Isenberg and Blumhardt, proceeding thence to Cairo to await orders from the Committee of the Church Missionary Society as to the field of their future labours; whilst Dr. Krapf, full of zeal, and with a fixed purpose not to give up Abessinia entirely to the Roman Catholic missionaries, determined to penetrate into the Christian kingdom of Shoa, whose friendly ruler, our old acquaintance, Sahela Selassie, introduced to us years ago by Sir Cornwallis Harris, had formerly sent a message to missionary Isenberg, inviting him to visit his dominions. Having reached Mokha, on his way to Tajurra on the Adal coast, the proper landing-place for penetrating into Shoa, he was taken so seriously ill as to be compelled to return to Cairo; and it was not till the spring of the next year that, in company with his friend Isenberg, he at length reached Tajurra. The old Sultan, who affects to be the king of all the Adal tribes, gave them permission to land. The Adal call themselves in their own language Afer, and hence Dr. Krapf seeks to identify their country with the Ophir of the Bible:—

"That the Ophir of the Bible is to be sought for on the eastern coast of Africa, is evident from two circumstances. One is, that right opposite to Arabia Felix there is a people who call themselves Afer, and called by others Adals and Danakil from their chief tribe Ad Alli, but whose designation in their own language is Afer. In the second place, it must be considered that Ophir, beyond a doubt, means gold dust; for, in Job xxviii. 6, the words 'dust of gold' in Hebrew are 'Ophirot Sahab.' Hence, by easy transition, the word Ophir was made to comprise two things, the name of a people and of a substance; and the Land of the Afer was simply the land where Afer Sahab, gold dust, was found."

Our missionary was detained four weeks at Tajurra in making the necessary preparations for his journey into that land which, he says, he "had found so barren and empty in the map in his boyhood." The Adal desert of the maps is a wilderness with elephants, gazelles, and ostriches amongst its wild animals, but badly watered, and hence little visited by man; and as our travellers approached the river Hawash, and camped out for the night in the open air, a hyæna glided so near their resting-place, that they might have grasped it with their hands. The plate which illustrates the passage of this river, is the pictorial representation of a rich and fertile country, which the old maps have represented as a desert waste, and the broad river and old timber trees are worthy of the pencil of a Wilson or a Gainsborough.

Dr. Krapf and his companion, Isenberg, were at first well received by the ruler of the Shoans; but Sahela Selassie was a man of progress, and took more delight in watching the operations of the artizans, gun-makers, smiths, and weavers, than in listening to the polemics of the missionaries. We know of old that Africa was the land of dreams, and so it is still. The father of Sahela Selassie had had a dream, when his son was yet a boy, that when he should come to the throne Europeans would arrive and teach the Shoans all arts and knowledge

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The dream seemed about to be realized. Since 1835, Combes and Tamisier, Martin, Dufey, Isenberg and Krapf, Rochet, Airston, Beke, and Harris, had all visited Ankober and Angolala in quick succession. After the establishment of the Protestant mission, with the king's sanction, at the former place, missionary Isenberg returned to Europe, leaving Dr. Krapf the only Protestant missionary in the whole of Abessinia; but before his departure, M. Rochet, a French agent, had arrived at Ankober, bringing with him a powder-mill and other valuable presents, things which could not fail to find more favour in the sight of his half-savage majesty than the dispersion of the Scriptures by those whom, as a Coptic Christian, he could but look upon as sectarian missionaries. French influence was then already gaining the ascendancy in Abessinia, and the policy of Louis Philippe has been carefully followed up by his successor. As far back as 1835, M. Combes purchased of the Regent of Tigre the Turkish port of Ait for L.300, and subsequently that of Zula, though Ubie had never held the slightest authority at either, and France was at amity with Turkey, to whom they belonged. It was, however, the small end of the wedge for France, and she has never ceased driving it home since then. A correspondent of the *Times*, writing from Aden under date of the 18th of April last, calls attention to the increased activity of the French in the Red Sea. He says:—"By advices just received, I understand that a French steamboat, laden with the requisites for forming a new settlement, had reached La Réunion, and a steam frigate was expected to join her in a few days. The destination of these two vessels is avowed to be Adulis, on the coast of Abessinia, though there can be little doubt that the island of Dissee will be the first point in the Red Sea occupied by our allies. It will be interesting to note the reasons which will be advanced for this new move on the part of France in this region. As a counterpart of what is going forward on the other side of the water, the *tableau* will in all probability represent Dissee and Adulis as the slopes of the Alps; the rebel Dejai Nagoosi will stand in the place of Victor Emmanuel, and the acquiescence of forty families of poor fishermen, who at present occupy the island of Dissee, will answer well enough for the votes of Nice and Savoy."

More recently still, news has reached England of the death of Mr. Plowden, Her Majesty's Consul in Abessinia, from wounds received in an attack made upon him by one of the chiefs under this very Nagoosi, whom the French are upholding in Tigre, while he was travelling through that province on his way from Gondar to Massowa. His loss cannot easily be supplied, and his memory is endeared to all travellers who have visited Upper Egypt and Abessinia, since he has held the appointment, by his numerous acts of courtesy and unbounded hospitality.

This increased activity on the part of France has been called into being by the favour shown by Kasai, or King Theodorus, to Protestants, and the English in particular, in which he is upheld by the Abuna, the Coptic Archbishop, at whose instigation all the Roman Catholic missionaries have been expelled from Abessinia, and who had to settle an old score with them for the part they played in the controversy about the three births of Christ,—the Abuna's party, the believers in the two births only, having been expelled by Sahela Selassie.

"In a general way, the Abessinians are acquainted with the chief truths of the Bible, with the Trinity, and the nature and attributes of God; with the creation, the fall of man, and his redemption by Christ; with the Holy Ghost, the angels, the church, the sacraments, the resurrection, and the last judgment; with rewards and punishments, and everlasting life and torment. But all these articles are so blended with, and obscured by, merely human notions, that they exert little influence on the heart and life. The mediatorial function of Christ, for instance, is darkened and limited by a belief in the many saints who, as in the Romish and Greek Churches, must mediate between the Mediator and man. Especially a great office is assigned to the Virgin, of whom it is maintained by many that she died for the sins of the world. The Holy Ghost, they consider, proceeds only from the Father, not from the Son, who, in the presence of the Father, recedes into the background, just as before the Father and the Son the Holy Ghost almost dwindles into nothingness.

"As regards the doctrine of the two natures of Christ, the Abessinians are extreme Monophysites; for they admit only one nature and one will in Him. For sixty years the Abessinian Church has been rent by great controversies arising out of the dogma of the three births of Christ, broached by a monk at Gondar, and which consists in the assertion that the baptism, or conception of Christ with the Holy Spirit in Jordan, constituted his third birth. After a long war with the opposite party, which acknowledges only two births of Christ—begotten of the Father before all worlds (first birth); made man (second birth)—this doctrine of the three births, which evidently harmonizes

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with the rigid Monophytism of the Abessinians, was elevated into a dogma of the national Church by the decision of the king, Sahela Selassie, who received it from a priest many years before, and a royal ordinance deposed all priests who did not believe in the three births."

When Kasai became King of Abessinia, he at once invaded Shoa, and made it subject to his rule and obedient to the Abuna; and by this subjection the doctrine of the three births was made to give way in its turn, and that of the two births restored as the dogma of the Church.

No Christian people are such rigid observers of the fasts, and of all the outward observances of a severe ritual, as the Abessinians; yet, in spite of this, immorality is the order of the day, and even priests and monks break the seventh commandment. Monogamy is the rule of the Church, but concubinage is habitual and general,—the king, with his five hundred wives, leading the way with a bad example; for whenever a beautiful woman was pointed out to him he sent for her. Indeed, when Sahela Selassie entered into the treaty with England, through Sir Cornwallis Harris, he actually wished for an English princess to consolidate the alliance.

It was during his three years' residence at Ankobar that Dr. Krapf had frequent opportunities of accompanying Sahela Selassie in his expeditions against the Galla, and other tribes south of Shoa. Bruce knew the Galla only by name, whilst more recent travellers have not hesitated to represent them as a kind of link between man and the inferior animals. Dr. Krapf solves the mystery by describing them as he found them, as one of the finest of the African races, strong and well limbed, and of a dark brown colour; living in a beautiful country, with a climate not surpassed by that of Italy or Greece; speaking a language as soft and musical as pure Tuscan; cultivating the soil, and rearing cattle; extending from the eighth degree of north to the third degree of south latitude; and numbering from six to eight millions,—an amount of which scarcely any other African race can boast.

They form no remnant of any degenerated Christian Church, as Dr. Beke surmises; but their religion, like that of all African savages, is *Fetish*, acknowledging a Supreme Being, whom they call Heaven (*Mulungu*, *Wak*, or *Waka*), and having a notion of a future state. They have also an undefined idea of the Trinity, of which *Wak* is the supreme, and *Oglie* a masculine, and *Atetie* a feminine embodiment; and the northern tribes hold both Saturday and Sunday in respect, not working on those days in the fields, calling the first *Sanbata Kenna*, little Sabbath, and Sunday *Sanbata gudda*, greater Sabbath. The conversion of the Galla became a favourite idea with Dr. Krapf, and early in 1842 he bid adieu to Ankobar, and started upon his perilous undertaking. At first he was well received, but ultimately plundered, and driven from the country by Adara Bille, a chief of the Lagga Gora, tribe of Wollo-Galla. One cannot but marvel at our missionary's indomitable courage and perseverance during the many trials and perils which he had to pass through, during his eighteen years' residence amongst the Hametic tribes of Eastern and Central Africa. Dr. Krapf not only travels well, but he tells his tale with a simple truth, and utter disregard of what his reader may think of the writer. His purpose is patent on every page.

"He has no desire to shine as a literary man, to which he here makes no pretence; and by eschewing that plastic elegance of diction, which has of late distinguished the writings of modern travellers, he believes his narrative has gained in accuracy what it thus lacks in word-painting."

His style is forcible and clear, and his narrative possesses a vigour far superior to that of any book of recent missionary travels which we have read, excepting Dr. Livingstone's, and, singularly enough, on many accounts, the two works should be read together; for both travellers, unknown to one another, were nearing the same point at the same time,—Dr. Livingstone proceeding from the south, and Dr. Krapf from the north, towards Mozambique, till, as their maps prove, they had approached each other within five degrees, the small section of the coast not visited by either being confined within ten and fifteen degrees southern latitude. The whole of the volume, from the first page to the last, will repay its perusal; but perhaps the most graphic portion is the second journey to Ukambani, which reads like an episode from the adventures of Sindbad, yet as simple and painfully true as those of Robinson Crusoe and Friday. It will do more to dispel the errors of our geographical knowledge of Africa than even Dr. Livingstone's travels; for to the missionaries of Rabbai Mpia, stationed opposite to the island of Mombaz, of whom Dr. Krapf was the chief, we are indebted for a knowledge of the snow-capped mountains of Equatorial Africa, and for the earliest information of the lake-countries, since explored by Captain Speke and Major Burton. We cannot close our notice of these exploratory travels in Africa, without calling attention to Mr.

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Ravenstein's admirable sketch of the recent geographical discoveries connected with that continent prefixed to the volume, which conveys the information of an octavo volume in the compass of a few pages.

The Year of Grace; or, The History of the Ulster Revival of 1859. By the Rev. WILLIAM GIBSON, Professor of Christian Ethics, Presbyterian College, Belfast. 2d edition. Edinburgh: And. Elliot.

IT would not be easy to write a complete history of Ireland, and the reason is, that there has been little unity in the events or in the character of the inhabitants, who consist of various races, with different religions, and aiming at different ends. It would not be difficult, however, and it would be very instructive, to write a history of certain great events in Ireland, of certain parts of Ireland, and of certain portions of the Irish: it would be easy, for instance, to write a history of Ulster since the time of the "Plantation," in the beginning of the seventeenth century (we have, in fact, an admirable history, by Dr. Reid and Dr. Killen, of the Presbyterian Church of that province), and the reason is to be found in the oneness of the character of the people, and of the series of occurrences. It would by no means be an easy task to give a full account of the widespread Revival which has of late years visited the Churches of Christ, for the work has extended over many countries, over many different sects, and has assumed various phases. But it is quite possible to give a clear and accurate narrative of the Ulster Revival, inasmuch as the movement began at a particular time, has taken place in a defined district, and is marked by certain prominent characteristics. We have already a wonderfully complete history of this remarkable movement, by Professor Gibson, of the Presbyterian College in Belfast.

We are glad that the Professor has undertaken this work. Living in the very heart of the scenes, enjoying the confidence of his Presbyterian brethren, who have supplied him with full replies to certain queries, having the good will of other denominations, which have also furnished him with materials, he was most favourably situated for collecting the facts; and we reckon it a most fortunate circumstance that he has written them fully out when they were yet fresh in the memories of those who witnessed or took part in them. He has shown great judgment in the use of the materials placed at his disposal, and these, we may remark, are highly creditable to the intelligence of the Presbyterian ministers and others who furnished them; he has drawn out a perspicuous, lively, and intensely interesting account of the occurrences; he has fully brought out all that is good in the movement, while he has by no means commended the few incidental evils associated with it; and he has done all this in a flowing, graceful style of language, and in an evangelical and truly catholic spirit.

He commences with a brief account of the religious state of Ulster two centuries ago, and of the revivals with which the country was then visited. He then enters upon the state of religion in Ulster immediately previous to the late revival, and shows that there had been a large sowing of precious seed and many prayers for a time of refreshing. This brings him at once to the movement itself. He traces it from its rise in Connor, under the ministry of the Rev. John Moore, and in connection with a prayer-meeting held by a few young men in Connor, onward in its extension to Aghoghill and Ballymena and the adjoining districts, and then follows it to Belfast, Coleraine, and other districts of Antrim, and shows how it spread into the counties of Down, Derry, Tyrone, Armagh, and Monaghan. We must ever hold that in this movement there has been a great display of the sovereignty of Divine grace. There had been preparatory means employed in Ulster, but not more so than in other countries which have not been so visited; and in some of the districts in which the work was most intense, there had not been a very lively ministry of the Word, nor very much prayer among the people. Nor can we point to any one man, and say of him that he has been the leader of the work: some of those who were mentioned so often in the newspapers, and to whom gaping visitors were directed by friends or foes, did not, in our humble opinion, very much help the spiritual work. Much has been ascribed to the large religious meetings, but these were fully as much the effects of an excitement already begun as the causes of the life that sprung up. The main immediate means of carrying the work to new districts for the first time were undoubtedly the report of what was done in other districts; and this was always brought most effectually by converts. Some have sought to conceal this, as if it were not sufficiently honouring to the regular ministry. But we are prepared to show it to be the fact, and that it is not dishonouring to the regular pastorate, which is nowhere more respected than it is in Ulster at this moment. It was often when a large mixed audience saw before them a man who declared in a few burning

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sentences that he himself, formerly careless and ungodly, had lately been arrested, that numbers were melted as wax is before the heat. Yet these converts were blessed only in one particular kind of work. When they went beyond their province, and instead of saying simply what the Lord had done for their souls, they began to deliver long harangues, it was found that their power for good ceased,—in fact, the people forsook them, and they could not get audiences. The people went back to the ordinary means of grace, and listened with greater eagerness than ever they had done before to their educated ministers sharing with their people in the showers of blessing.

Professor Gibson has a judicious, if not a very profound chapter, as to the pathological affections which accompanied the Irish revival. He accounts for them by mental feeling, by nervous action, and by sympathy. He refers with greater suavity than we should be inclined to do, to the speculations on the revival by such journals as the *Psychological*, the *British and Foreign*, and the *Edinburgh Medical*. The writers sitting in London or neighbourhood, and never having seen a person under a conviction of sin, and getting reports only at second-hand, talked the most arrant nonsense on the whole matter. These persons might have really got further insight into the relation between mind and body, and probably some spiritual good too, had they thought it worth while to visit Ulster last summer. But the physiologists, in their crude speculations on vague reports, only show how little progress their science has made. Some were inclined to refer the whole to hysteria, but without being able to explain or define what hysteria is,—which is, in fact, a loose name for a great variety of affections which should be carefully distinguished. Others talked of sympathy, but never ventured to express what sympathy as a mental affection is, and what its precise physiological effects. The truth is, physiologists have not seriously set themselves to determine the primary elements of the science of the relation of mental and nervous action. Were they to follow the proper method, they would begin with a classification of the emotions, and then they would seek to determine what precise kind of effect on the nervous system each species of emotion was fitted to produce. What, for example, are the precise nerves influenced by fear, or by hope, or by love, or joy. This would lead them into the more difficult question of the precise influence of the specially religious emotions upon the nerves and muscles. In all ages and countries, deep religious feeling, whether pure or superstitious, has had bodily effects. It would be worthy of a man of the highest science to determine what precise effect a sense of sin has, what peace has, and what religious joy has. The history of Mahomet and his convulsions, and of the dancing dervishes, and of the religious fervours of the middle ages, and of the ranting Methodists in latter times, would only exhibit to us in excess what was truly a natural tendency in man, and might impart the highest instruction as to man's being essentially a religious being, and of the connection of feeling and nervous action. We find very striking illustrations of this power of religious feeling over the body in the Ulster revival of last year. We see it, at times, in extravagance more or less sinful; but we see, too, that a ministry of the Word, carefully educated, both in the spiritual nature of religion and in the ordinary truths of science, was quite able in the end to subdue and remove all excesses, which have now all disappeared, while the spiritual good has remained.

As Professor Gibson's work passes through edition after edition, we recommend him to be careful in giving an exact summary of the moral results, which will tell best, after all, on the world. We are in a position to be able to say that the Ulster revival has stood the test of time. It is true that the awe, which was over the whole community in certain districts of Ulster last year, has in a great measure passed away. Men that would not have entered a public-house last summer are now drinking as greedily as ever; but then these persons were never supposed,—they never professed,—to have got any spiritual good. Those who were supposed to have been converted, have, with very few exceptions, kept steadfast all over Ulster. During the winter, they met for mutual edification in delightful little prayer-meetings, held weekly in nearly every street of the towns and every townland of the rural districts of Ulster. The converts, we suspect, got more good from these, and from the instruction given by their pastors, than they are likely to get from the large meetings which are being resumed in the summer. These large meetings may, however, still be blessed to the careless, provided the trust be not in them, but in the power from on high. Every one sees that there has been an extraordinary increase of attendance on public worship, and in family worship, in Ulster. We are happy, too, to find some traces of increased liberality in missionary causes; but we have to add that Christians in Ulster are still, in this respect, far behind many of their brethren in England, Scotland, and the United States.

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Real-Encyclopedie f. Prot. Theologie u. Kirche. Herausgegeben von D. Herzog. Band XII. Gotha: Besser. 1860.

In this twelfth volume of the Real-Encyclopedie, the articles embrace from Poland to French Revolution. Especially worthy of notice are the papers on the Psalms, by Delitzsch; on Ecclesiastes (Prediger), by Vaihinger; on Prussia, by Erdmann; and on Rationalism, by Tholuck. The biographical articles, where they have reference either to personages of older date, or to modern German and French theologians, Protestant or Romanist, are generally informing, accurate, and thoroughly satisfactory. We find, however, no mention of the elder Pomerius (of Arles); and while under Remigius (of Rheims) there is a passing reference to the other R. (of Auxerre), there is no special notice of the latter. In this, as in the former volumes of the Encyclopedia, we have to note considerable deficiency in regard of Spanish and Italian divines. Britain too, as usual, is far too much overlooked. Thus we have no account of Poole, Porteous, Potter, the two Prideaux, or John Rainolds. The Romanist Kirchen-Lexicon is more fair by far to British names. The only English theologian mentioned in this volume is Priestley; and in the half page devoted to him, several inaccuracies are found. From the care with which Schoell has applied himself to the study of earlier British Church History, we went to the perusal of his article on the Puritans with high expectations. Its length, thirty-seven pages, is indeed such as the importance and interest of the subject demanded. But, neither in regard of research nor of correctness, is it worthy of much commendation. Schoell is obviously unacquainted with the modern authors who, from an Anglican stand-point, have treated the subject, such as Carwithen, Lathbury, Short, and others. Marsden's two fair and informing volumes have escaped his notice. Nor have contemporary Dissenting writers, as Vaughan, Brook, Hanbury, etc., been availed of by him. It, of course, could not have been expected from a German, that he should have studied the many older memoirs, pamphlets, etc., which are hardly to be obtained, except in the public libraries of this country. But it was not valuing aright his subject, nor justly treating his own reputation, for Schoell to prepare his article merely by the help of Strype, Neal, and Carlyle. We consequently see without surprise, though with much regret, that one of the most interesting periods in the History of the Church, whether we regard the principles involved or the great men who then played their part, is given forth to the cultivated German mind full of misstatements, concealments, and anachronisms. They who might expect, in a valued contributor to the "Encyclopedie," to find on such a theme fulness of information without partisanship of feeling, will be greatly disappointed. Of so important a feature in the Elizabethan Puritanism as the Marprelate Tracts, we find no mention. Several of the most distinguished of the Puritan leaders, as Rainolds, by many considered the most learned Englishmen of his time, are not even mentioned. The work of Hall, in defence of Episcopacy, is entirely misplaced in regard of time of appearance. Not almost an equal number of the judges, but only two, decided in Hampden's favour, in the shipmoney case. It was not in the Westminster Assembly, where he never sat, that Usher brought forward his plan of moderate Episcopacy. Neither was 1646 the year, nor Oxford the place, where the standard of Charles was finally lowered. It is partisan exaggeration to assert, that in Scotland Independency was hated and persecuted more than Popery. But in regard of this last statement, what better could be looked for from a writer who has not taken the trouble to consult one writer, older or more recent, holding Presbyterian views? We give these merely as samples of the numerous deficiencies of this unfortunate article. But, on the whole, the volume before us amply sustains the reputation which previous issues have acquired for the Encyclopedie. Should, however, an "Erganzungs-band" be published at the conclusion, no small part of it would be needed to make up for the deficiencies in regard of British theologians of all theological and ecclesiastical views; for Dr. Herzog's publication has from the outset been most impartially wanting in fair appreciation of them all. In an age when theological and literary communication has been so multiplied, this is really the reverse of creditable to the editor and contributors to the valuable work before us.

Geschichte d. Thomismus. Von Dr. Karl Werner, Regensburg. Manz. 1860.

A generation back, it seemed as if to no volumes more truly than to those of the schoolmen would Crabbe's words apply:—

> "Ah! needless now this weight of massy chain:
> Safe in themselves, the once-loved works remain;
> No readers now invade their still retreat,
> None try to steal them from their parent-seat.

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> Like ancient beauties, they may now discard
> Chains, bolts, and locks, and lie without a
> guard."

Of Aquinas, Waddington says, in his Church History, that his works are now confined to the shelves of a few profound students, whence they will never again descend. But the Dean of Durham has lived to see his statement convicted of rashness. Subsequent writers in our language on Church history—Hardwick, for example—write in very different terms of the Angelic Doctor. No small credit is due to those who, as Bishop Hampden, have by original research, qualified themselves to speak of the merits and deficiencies of this greatest of the schoolmen, and to give to the general opinion of cultivated minds a more fair direction than it previously possessed.

The work of Dr. Werner is not by any means so well arranged, or so attractive in style, as the recent book of M. Jourdain on Aquinas. But it is more comprehensive in range, and more complete in erudition. It is divided into three books, of which the first—which is as large as both the other two put together—embraces the history of Thomism as a theological-peripatetic doctrine; the second goes over the same as a scholastic-peripatetic doctrine; and the third narrates the bearings of the theme in its merely speculative aspects. The various parts of the extensive subject have been very carefully treated, in so far as the middle age and modern issues of Thomism in France, Germany, and Italy are concerned. A great deal of information is communicated, of which not a little will be new, even to those who have given special attention to the history of theological speculation. The influence of the revived study of the scholastic philosophy within the present century is well traced, in so far as its principal continental results are concerned. But Dr. Werner appears to have paid little attention to the English department of his subject; and his knowledge of Thomism, in its Spanish phase—one of the most distinctive and continuous of any—is superficial, and in a good measure from secondary sources of information. On the whole, however, the book may be recommended as one of careful research on most points, characterized by a well-trained familiarity with theological and philosophical speculation. The book is also enlivened to the general reader by narrative and anecdote, connecting theological with general history. A carefully executed summary of contents commences, and an equally useful index concludes, this portly volume.

Concilien Geschichte. Nach den Quellen bearbeitet. V. Dr. C. J. Hefele. Vierter Band. Freiburg: Herder. 1860.

This fourth volume of Dr. Hefele's History of the Councils embraces the period from the death of Charlemagne to the accession of Gregory VII.—rather more than two centuries and a half. Originally intimated to be comprised in five volumes, it is now obvious that it must extend to seven or eight. There is the same beauty of typography, completeness of list of contents, and accuracy of index, as in former volumes.

Probably few of the readers of our most popular historian have adverted to the circumstance that, in referring to a question of ecclesiastical antiquarianism, he speaks of the Council of Toledo; leaving us in doubt to which of the eighteen synods held in the capital of Gothic Spain he is making allusion. This vagueness of reference was only likely to be detected by professed students of Church History; but it was one which Macaulay's master in constitutional learning, Hallam, would not have made. The Councils of the Council, general or local, mixed or purely ecclesiastical in composition, are eminently worthy of attention, not only from the professed theologian, but from all to whom the modes of thinking and habits of living of past ages afford interest. In the main, Dr. Hefele's work is a good guide to the historical student. But he would have given a wider interest, and afforded a fuller picture of the times, if he had relieved his narrative by the occasional introduction of anecdote, and poem, and even legend. It is one of the better features of Waddington's Church History, that it does this to as great an extent as the brevity of his general treatment allowed. The proceedings of the eighth Œcumenical Council, and those of the synods held in France, Germany, and Italy, during the period embraced in this volume, have been traced by Dr. Hefele with much painstaking research, except that to Milman, and other English writers on the Church History of that era, is no reference. But with regard to the synods of the flourishing and declining times of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty in this country, he is by no means satisfactory. His volume closes shortly after Harold fell before William, and Stigand gave place to Lanfranc. To no department of history have recent researches been more closely, and, on the whole, more successfully applied; and, from the mixed nature of many of the Anglo-Saxon Councils, it was peculiarly requisite that their historian should give large attention to the connection of civil with

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ecclesiastical annals. But of the researches of Allan and Palgrave, of Thorpe and Kemble, Dr. Hefele is quite unaware. Nor has he taken the pains to acquaint himself with the ecclesiastical works of Spelman, Johnson, Inett, with the Bampton Lectures or the History of Soames; and ancient works, such as the Saxon Chronicle, and the Lives of Dunstan and other Saxon saints, by Eadmer, have equally remained unconsulted by him. This stands out in signal and painful contrast to the course pursued by some other German divines; as, for instance, in the articles on ancient British Church History in Herzog's Cyclopedia, by Schoell.

The consequence of such imperfect preparation for this part of his task has been, that Dr. Hefele has left obscure various parts of Saxon Church History. He has omitted some Councils; to some, as that of Enham (p. 636), he has given a wrong date; such places as Glastonbury and Amesbury are not easily to be recognised in the forms in which he quotes them. Of the very important legislation of some of these Councils on Sabbath observance we have a very imperfect notice. The general connecting narrative is superficial and defective, and stands in most striking and unpleasing contrast to the carefulness of other similar parts of the volume. Of the pains which, elsewhere, Dr. Hefele has taken, in order to clear up difficult or contested points, there is, in this portion of the volume, no trace. Without claiming for the Church legislation of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors more than its due share of importance, we must remark, that this hurrying over the insular in favour of the continental part of his subject, is unfair and unbecoming. It is doing, and as unreasonably, the opposite of what some writers, as Hardwick, has done, who give a disproportionate share of attention to the ecclesiastical minutiæ of the Anglo Saxon period. Dr. Hefele has given considerably less attention to the Church History of Britain than has been done, we shall not say by grave historians, but by our poets, Wordsworth and Henry Taylor — the former in his "Ecclesiastical Sketches," the latter in his "Edwin the Fair." We hope that, in Dr. Hefele's future volumes, the injustice of the present one will be repaired. Filling up a gap, as his work does, its circulation should extend beyond Germany; and the better filled up its whole plan, the more likely is this to be the case.

Schleiermacher. Ein Characterbild. V. Dr. C. A. Auberlen. Basel: Dettloff. 1860.

If Schleiermacher has influenced Britain and the United States less than Neander and Tholuck, he has influenced Germany far more than either. No theologian since Luther's time has filled a larger place in the public mind. The little work before us seeks to give a thoroughly fair and judicial appreciation of his character and work. Schleiermacher is described in his family life; in his patriotic wishes and exertions, especially in Prussia's seven years' agony between Jena and Leipsic; in his capacities as a preacher, a lecturer, and a writer on theology and general literature. While full justice is done to his varied and signal merits, Dr. Auberlen's sense of duty to the living prevents him from delivering a mere panegyric on the great departed whom he commemorates. Schleiermacher's deficient views both of sin and of justification are clearly and faithfully pointed out.

Histoire du Merveilleux dans les Temps Modernes. Par L. Figuier. I. and II. Paris, 1860.

During the recent Revivals, persons hostile or indifferent to them called attention to various manifestations of enthusiasm on the Continent in former times. Of some of these the able and carefully-written volumes before us give an account. In a somewhat lengthy introduction, M. Figuier describes the marvellous, as it was professedly exhibited in the times of ancient heathenism, Oriental and Classical. The Demonopathy of the Middle Ages is next considered. Proceeding to his more special subject, M. Figuier narrates the terrible story of the Ursuline nuns of London, who, by their accusations of sorcery, sent the unfortunate priest, Urban Grandier, to the stake. This tragedy, the reader may remember, forms a very striking chapter of the "Celebrated Crimes" of Alexandre Dumas. The Jansenist "Convulsionnaires," in the early part of the reign of Louis XV., form the concluding portion of the first volume. The most generally interesting part of the second volume is that which treats of the "Prophets" among the persecuted Protestants of the south of France, in the first generation of the "Desert," the era of Jean Cavalier and Antoine Court. M. Figuier has prepared his readers for the circumstances in which these supernatural pretensions were made, by a carefully drawn-up account of the cruelties to which the Calvinists were exposed under Louis XIV. Their pastors exiled, their teachers silenced, their family life broken up, injury in deed only varied by insult in word, the name of Frenchman refused, that of man scarcely given, what

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wonder that the enthusiasm, which to a very small extent (among the Gibbites) appeared in Scotland under the Stuart persecutions, should have, on a far larger scale, pervaded the Camisards? M. Figuier recognises in these appearances "a special and epidemic malady of the nervous system, engendered by the long sufferings to which the Protestants of the south had been exposed." A considerable amount of interest in the supernatural claims of the "French Prophets" was excited in England at the time. Various persons of distinction professed belief in these claims; and eminent divines, both of the Church and the Dissenters, deemed it necessary to write, disproving their pretensions. M. de Felice, in his recent History of the French Protestants, draws a parallel between the peasant girl Isabeau Vincent and Joan of Arc. "The religious phenomena is absolutely the same. If the English had triumphed in the fifteenth century, the shepherdess of Vancouleurs would be, in the estimate of historians, only a poor peasant girl led astray by foolish hallucinations."

M. Figuier's work is an important contribution to Church History, as well as to the philosophy of the human mind in its more morbid appearances. The author has by it increased the reputation which his previous work on Alchemy had deservedly gained him.

Der Westgothische Arianismus. V. A. Helfferich. Berlin, Springer. 1860.
Uber das Leben d. Ulphilas. V. D. W. Pressell. Göttingen: Vanderhoeck. 1860.

The bypaths of Church History have furnished occasion to many carefully-executed monographs from German pens, and the two little works before us show that the list still increases. They are both (with allowance made for the theological laxity of the former author) interesting, as casting some light upon the extent to which Arianism prevailed, and the manner in which it was partially modified, among the Gothic invaders of the Roman Empire. General Church histories are by no means satisfactory upon this topic. The writings of the heterodox party have been consigned to destruction, and much must now be mere matter of conjecture. All the more on account of the obscurity of the subject must the labours of the learned writers before us be welcome to the student.

Histoire de la Reformation Francaise. Par F. Puaux. Paris: Levy. 1860.

Our school collections now include among their poetical extracts the noble lay of Macaulay on Ivry. But, if the least poetical, undoubtedly the most Huguenot stanza is generally omitted. What more in keeping with the glad exultation of the victorious Calvinists than

> "We of the religion have borne us best in fight,
> And the good lord of Rosny had ta'en the cornet white.
> Up with it high, unfurl it wide, that all the host may know
> How God hath humbled the proud house which wrought His Church such woe!"

The chequered, stirring, and bloody struggle, of which Ivry was the last great combat, was first adequately brought before the cultivated mind of Europe by Davila, in his "Guerre Civili di Francia." But the Italian historian has presented the civil rather than the religious aspect of the story to his readers; and, with all his merits of narrative, reflection, and character-painting, is too much "politique par livre," as De Retz says of Mazarin, to sympathise with the better part of the Huguenot section of Frenchmen. Since he wrote, the story of the French Revolution has been told in a variety of publications on the other side of the Channel and on this, and never more frequently than in this century. Sometimes, as in the Chronique de Charles IX., of Merimée, fiction has found a fertile theme in the vicissitudes and intrigues in which the chiefs of the party were involved. On other occasions new light has been thrown on obscure or contested portions of the Huguenot story, by the publication of letters, memoirs, and miscellaneous writings of the Reformation era. Attention has been of late especially paid to provincial Calvinist history. The materials accumulated in former times, or presented by contemporary research, have given to various German historians, as Soldan and Ebeling, opportunity to narrate, with interest and vigour, the history of the revolt of a French minority against Rome. Ranke, intermediate between his former German and his present English historical labours, has given to a public, ever and justly welcoming his compositions, an authoritative work on the France of the sixteenth century. In this country, notwithstanding the works of Browning, Smedley, Sir J. Stephen, and others, there is still room for a history really worthy of the subject. If no Englishman soon rise to fill up this gap, perhaps the United States may furnish a worthy companion narrative to the great work of Motley.

Meanwhile, the work of M. Puaux is well worthy of the careful appreciation of the

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historical student. In no country have historical labours been, of late, prosecuted with greater continuousness, pains-taking, and success, than in France. The now venerable heads of the French historical school—Guizot, Villemain, Amedée Thierry—have had the pleasure of welcoming an uninterrupted band of younger writers, not unworthy to carry on this part of the literary succession. Among these may be, without hesitation, classed the writer before us. What of late De Broglie has done for the Empire of the fourth century, M. Puaux has effected for the French Protestantism of the sixteenth. His work is removed alike from the bareness and unsatisfactoriness of an abridgment, and from the overdone accumulation of a too prolonged chronicle. Availing himself of the labours of predecessors, turning to account the researches of contemporaries, he has made the work completely his own by the spirit in which it has been composed. Industry is competent to collect materials; literary power only can assort and fuse them. Differing sometimes from his view of occurrences, dissenting here and there from his estimate of characters, now and then holding an opposite view as to the proportion and the colouring of parts of his historical picture, we still warmly and confidently recommend M. Puaux's volumes to our readers. The work has placed its author among the first authors of the French Protestant Church.

The Works of the Rev. John Maclaurin. Edited by W. H. Goold, D.D., Edinburgh. In two vols. Edinburgh: John Maclaren. 1860.

Among the Scottish Presbyterian divines of last century, none is entitled to a higher place, or has actually obtained a greater name, than John Maclaurin. Though his writings have never been so popular or so extensively useful as those of Boston, Willison, and the Erskines, yet, in intellectual power, and in many of the attributes of true genius, Maclaurin will by most be considered superior to these distinguished men. His was an understanding of a very uncommon order, at once profound and subtle, remarkable alike for its vigour and its comprehensiveness. He was also a man of fine culture and high accomplishments. His noble faculties were well trained and fitly exercised; were called into play by worthy literary labours, and directed to the elucidation of the grandest themes. As a theologian, a preacher, and a pastor, he held in his own day the highest rank; and with all competent judges he will never suffer any diminution of his fame.

The late Dr. John Brown, no mean judge of theological merit or literary excellence, styled Maclaurin "the most profound and eloquent Scottish theologian of the last century;" and also declared him to be "scarcely less intellectual than Butler, while as spiritual as Leighton." This is high praise; but not too high in the estimation of those who have studied Maclaurin's character in his works. These works show a philosophic power, a depth and subtlety of thought, a literary finish, and a majestic eloquence, seldom found united in any theological performances whatever, and certainly unequalled by any Scottish divine of his age. One sermon, "Glorying in the Cross of Christ," is enough of itself to make a high reputation. Though, perhaps, somewhat too rhetorical in style for modern taste, it must ever be regarded as a noble composition, charged with evangelical doctrine, abounding in original thoughts, and adorned with the finest imagery. Several other sermons of this truly remarkable man, such as, "The Sins of Men not Chargeable against God," "The Law Magnified by the Redeemer," and "Prejudices against the Gospel," are of the same stamp, and exhibit that deep philosophic power characteristic of their anthor.

Maclaurin's miscellaneous works, especially his "Treatise on the Prophecies relative to the Messiah," and his "Essay on Christian Piety,"—which last was unfortunately left unfinished,—are all worthy of his powers as a philosophic theologian. They contain views which seem to anticipate some of the most important speculations of the present age, and show how much at home their author would have been in a chair of theology or of moral philosophy. The pulpit and the Church courts claimed such a man, and greatly needed him in his day; and probably it was better that he was never tempted or rewarded with the honours of an academic chair. But no position in a Church nor in a Scottish university would have been too high for a man of his exalted character and extraordinary powers.

John Maclaurin was born in 1693, and was the eldest son of the minister of the parish of Glendaruel, Argyleshire. He had two brothers, the elder of whom, Daniel, died young, after giving proof of great genius, while the younger, Colin, lived to be one of the greatest mathematicians of his age. Having studied divinity at Glasgow and at Leyden, he was in 1717 ordained minister at Luss, a well-known parish situated on the shore of Lochlomond. His high theological attainments and remarkable pulpit eloquence

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soon made him extensively known in the west of Scotland, and procured him, in 1723, a call to Glasgow, where he became minister of what was known as the North-west Parish. As a parish minister, on whom devolved most onerous and constantly increasing duties, as an eloquent preacher, as a leader of the Evangelical party in the Church courts, and as a public-spirited citizen, ever forward to promote the good of the community, Mr. Maclaurin took his place among the foremost, and won the affectionate admiration of a large circle of friends. Thus, while one distinguished brother filled with the highest credit the chair of mathematics in Edinburgh, the other was acknowledged to be one of the most prominent men in the rival city of Glasgow, then rapidly increasing in importance.

As might have been expected of such a man, Mr. Maclaurin supported the popular or Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland, and especially endeavoured to mitigate the rigour with which a prevailing majority in the General Assembly were already beginning in his day to enforce the obnoxious law of patronage. Yet extreme counsels were foreign to his calm intellect, and he did not take such high ground on the popular side as some of his more ardent coadjutors could have wished. But all that was evangelical in principle, or spiritual in religion, found in him a firm and intelligent friend. He took a lively interest in the revivals at Kilsyth and Cambuslang, and has left on record his deliberate, though guarded, testimony to the reality and power of these famed religious movements. Mr. Maclaurin was also the friend and correspondent of Jonathan Edwards, and other eminent American divines, who looked very much to Scotland for sympathy and support during their numerous trials. He was worthy of the friendship of Edwards; and on one occasion collected contributions among his friends in Scotland, to assist that great man in a period of difficulty. His life of usefulness and honour was suddenly cut short, by a brief but severe illness, in 1754. He died in the 61st year of his age, in the fulness of his powers and fame, leaving behind him works which posterity will never cease to admire.

Dr. Goold has performed his editorial task with his usual accuracy and judgment. He has prefixed to the first volume a short memoir of Maclaurin, written by his son-in-law, Dr. John Gillies, the well-known author of the "Historical Collections;" and he has appended a variety of notes and letters illustrative of Maclaurin's life and times. But this supplementary matter has a somewhat confused appearance. Indeed, notwithstanding what Dr. Goold says about the scantiness of the materials for a life of Maclaurin, we are inclined to think that he might have used for that purpose such materials as he has collected with considerable success. Maclaurin, and other men of his stamp, lived before the biographical mania, which rages at present, had made its appearance; but it is due to such men that their lives should be carefully and classically written from what materials the industry of the present age can collect. A good life or memoir of an eminent man need not be a long one. It need not be copious in its details, or swollen out with journals and correspondence; yet, however succinct it may be, philosophical, and, in a sense, complete. We are persuaded that the lives of a goodly number of our Scottish worthies have yet to be written. The materials for such biographies are not so scanty as many suppose. What is wanted is the skilful and philosophical use of the materials that exist, or may be collected.

We heartily commend this new and complete edition of Maclaurin's works, and hope it will find a place in every theological library. Its outward appearance, as well as its intrinsic worth, ought to gain for it universal favour.

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THE

NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

No. LXVI.

FOR NOVEMBER, 1860.

ART. I.—1. *Thoughts in aid of Faith, gathered chiefly from recent works in Theology and Philosophy.* By SARA S. HENNELL. Manwaring, 1859.

2 PRIZE ESSAY.—*Christianity and Infidelity: an Exposition of the Arguments on both sides. Arranged according to a plan proposed by George Baillie, Esq.* By S. S. HENNELL. Hall and Virtue, 1857.

3. *Essay on the Scriptural Tendency of "Butler's Analogy."* By S. S. HENNELL. 1859.

MINDS of high order, as to originative force, throw off from themselves the reflex quality of any scheme of doctrine which has sprung from them. The author of a philosophy is not always—he is not often—its truest representative, either intellectually or morally; perhaps he is not even its best expounder; and instances might be named in which a coherent notion of a system is better taken from the disciple than from the master. It will be so especially, if the disciple, while he is zealously affected toward the master, be also well schooled in the system itself, and be of such intelligence as that he is able to exhibit what is peculiar to it in its relation to the teaching of others. Thus it is that the Recipient Mind is to be looked to rather than the Originative Mind, when it is our purpose to acquaint ourselves authentically, and in the shortest time, with the doctrine of a sect or school.

Certainly it is not with an intention to speak disparagingly of the accomplished author of the books named at the head of this article, that we thus introduce her to our readers. She herself would, we think, choose so to be spoken of. In truth, the intellectual modesty and the candour which shed a grace upon her pages, assure us that we shall not offend her in availing ourselves of her last book—regarding it as the product rather of a Disciple-Mind than of a Master-Mind. And yet it is only justice to her to say, that she is far from occupying the position of an *obsequious* listener to any one of the leading spirits of the time; for she writes *eclectically*—freely taking from each what she approves, and leaving what she disallows, in the systems of these noted Guides of "MODERN THOUGHT." She writes in a tone of independence, as well as with intelligence and candour. There is one other point on which we would preclude misapprehension. The author is—an awkward phrase!—an *authoress;* but let it not be imagained that the courtesy to which she is so well entitled—her sex not considered—is now rendered to her *because* it is "a lady" we have to do with. A courtesy of this sort she would rightly regard as an insult; and we should further say, that a critic who, in this instance, might assume the knightly style, would do well first to make himself sure that he is himself this lady's superior, either in power of thought or in accomplishments. No arrogance of this species will, we think, show itself in these pages. Be it at the same time well understood, that while we should scorn to treat Miss Hennell in the style of a spurious politeness, and are not professing to be gentle because she is the "weaker vessel," we must use a liberty that is quite regardless of sex in speaking of her principles—her doctrine—her conclusions; for with these we must deal, according to law, rigorously, and in no other mood than that of inexorable reason. Inexorable reason! and let the import of this phrase be duly regarded by those, on both sides, who owe it to themselves well to consider it. What, then, does it mean in relation to the momentous controversy now in view? It does not mean interminable argumentation—the endless See-Saw of evenly balanced "Considerations," now up, now down: it does not mean the carrying on of a hopeless antagonism, marked on the one side by phi-

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losophic arrogance, on the other side by irritation and petulant anathemas. What we intend in this instance by invoking the aid of inexorable reason is this:—we ask for fixedness of purpose in holding fast to *the matter in hand;* and in doing so, a strict adherence to those logical canons which belong to the subject in its two main branches—namely, of Abstract Thought, or Metaphysical Speculation; and of Historical Criticism. Thus, for example, as to the first of these departments, the requirements of rigid argumentation should include a "reporting progress" on the part of those who so often affirm that great progress has actually been made under their guidance. There are those at this time who, if they do not call one another "the most Advanced Thinkers of the age," yet quietly accept the designation when it is bestowed upon them by their admiring disciples. Now, we may fairly require it to be shown, on the part of these "Advanced Thinkers," that, in fact, "Thought" has been advanced—has been set forward, at least a step or two, since it has been in their keeping. But if, on the contrary, it shall appear—and appear on the evidence of so well-informed a disciple as is the author of the book before us, that Abstract Speculation has, at this moment, come to a dead stop at the very point where it stood in the young days of Oriental Buddhism, then this Inexorable Reason, the aid of which we invoke, will demand that a three thousand years or more of unproductive toil on this field should now be accepted as proof more than enough of the hopelessness of any such endeavours to create a Theology on that ground. Miss Hennell will enable us to show that the newest issues of Modern Thought are resolvable into a scheme which, if it be a Theology, is less coherent than was the ancient Buddhism; which, if it be regarded as a Philosophy, can boast of no particle of scientific evidence beyond that which sustained the more ancient system; which, if it were looked to as a scheme of morals, is equally ineffective for any good—is impracticable—is powerless—is inane; and which, if it does not dispel the instinctive fears, quashes the instinctive hopes of the human mind.

The other branch of this great controversy in respect of which we invoke the help of unsparing logic, is that of Historical Criticism; for, by the evidence of a series of able writers, on the side of disbelief, it may be shown, at this time—*first,* that a final solution of the problem of Historical Christianity is imperatively needed; and next, that a strict adherence to the reason of the question will not fail to bring us to that issue—namely, a *final decision* concerning the Mission of Christ, as either authoritative toward the human family, or not so. It has long been felt, and it is now frankly admitted, that so long as Christianity maintains its position as a Theology from Heaven, and is looked to as a determinative source of religious belief, it blocks the way of Modern Thought upon the otherwise open field of abstract speculation. Christianity—if it be from God in its own sense, and if it is to give law to our beliefs, then must it be allowed to preclude speculation upon those matters over which Abstract Philosophy claims a right of control. If Christianity be from Heaven, then it is clear that those vital questions concerning a Personal God, and concerning the reality of a moral system and a future retribution, and especially concerning the continuity of individual consciousness after death, are already determined for us. The Court of Heaven has long ago given judgment on these points; and, therefore, any further debate concerning them must be idle; not to say that it is a "contempt of Court." But as to any such restrictions as these, they are felt to be intolerable by the Masters of Modern Thought!—how shall those submit to be so restricted, who have relished the pleasures of unfettered speculation? Miss Hennell expresses herself with great vivacity on this point: she thus speaks of—

. . . "the impression of *contraction* that strikes every one who turns back to the manner of thought that belongs to the period of theological belief, after having once indulged in the expansiveness of philosophical principle. Who is there who has not resented to himself the difficulty of forcing the mind again to submit to the conventional rigour that of right befits the limits of theological treatment? Immediately comes the consciousness that we are upon ground where there is always something to be taken for granted, beyond which we must be contented not to inquire. And in this indignant surmise, when it is thoroughly investigated, proves at last to lie the very root of the matter."—P. 95.

By all means, therefore, this power of restraint must be driven off from the ground of "expansive philosophical thought." And so it is that this writer, following the example of every one of her noted predecessors, on the same side, addresses herself at the outset to this task—namely, that of dismissing Christianity, and of showing that, whatever use we may continue to make of it, we may henceforth safely think and speak of it as itself "a fable." We shall presently see that although she acquits herself of this preliminary task much to her own satisfaction—just at the moment of winding up her argument, yet passages very frequently occur throughout the volume, some of which

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we shall cite, which give evidence of deep uneasiness still lurking in her mind, as if, after all her efforts, things were not right on this ground.

In long series, one after another, every writer of note on the same side has given proof of his feeling, that Christianity *must* in some manner be thrust aside, and be deprived of its assumed right of interference on the field of Philosophy. Each of these writers, therefore — German, French, and English—has propounded a scheme of historical criticism, by help of which the difficulty may be overcome. But now, as to these successive schemes or theories, whether they be four or five, or more, it should be understood that there are not, *at this time*, four or five independent solutions of the Problem, from among which we are at liberty to select the one which pleases us the best. This is not the fact; nor have we any such option; for the truth is, that the author of each of these schemes has rested its claim to be accepted on the plea that he has already demolished the hypothesis of his immediate precursor. On the showing, therefore, of these very writers, listening as we may to them in their turn, we may save ourselves the trouble of inquiring concerning the merits of any one except the latest: we may do so without fear, because the public verdict in each instance has been decisively given to this effect—namely, that whether or no the last comer has made good his own scheme, he has effectively annihilated the method of his predecessor. It was thus, and all the world knows it, that Strauss overthrew the preceding Rationalism :—and thus also, as is now acknowledged, has his own myth-doctrine been dismissed as an impracticable hypothesis. Miss Hennell, bringing forward anew the theory of her late brother, propounds it in her own way as—*The* solution of the problem of historical Christianity. Our readers need not be troubled with this solution, for the author herself dares not insist upon it; and for ourselves, we reject it as utterly futile, absurd, insufferable. In showing that this latest born hypothesis does indeed deserve to be thus spoken of, we shall invoke the help of the above-mentioned Inexorable Reason; and yet, in doing so, we need not infringe the rules of literary courtesy, or employ a single phrase which the author, or her most sensitive friends, could find fault with.

But what must follow if indeed this last and latest solution of the problem of historic Christianity must be rejected as—not better than its precursors? A result must follow—marvellous indeed, and more difficult of belief than any Gospel miracle:—it is this, to wit—the upshot of a century of the earnest labours of a series of accomplished men, working to the same end, namely, the exclusion of Christianity *as an Authority* from the field of Thought, leaves us in this predicament, that, while we refuse to solve the problem by admitting Christianity to be true, we ought to despair of ever giving any rational coherence to our conceptions of it as "a fable." We are firmly resolved, on the side of Modern Thought, never to submit to it as true; nevertheless, itself is so near to be true, that to think of it as false is impossible!

Miss Sarah Hennell is already favourably known as a writer: the second of the three books named above, and published three years ago, received encomiums from Believers as well as from Unbelievers—besides the award which made it "a Prize Essay." In that instance she endeavoured so to balance antagonist arguments as might attest her impartiality, and yet not indicate her personal opinions. In the volume first named, "Thoughts in aid of Faith," she proclaims herself decisively on the side of Disbelief; but she does this in a manner, and on grounds, that impart an importance to the book which (we still speak respectfully of the writer) it would not be thought entitled to on the mere plea of its intrinsic merits. We have said that Miss Hennell represents her avowed masters; but she represents also very many at this time who are following the same guidance; and to such readers, these "Thoughts," instead of rendering aid to "Faith," if we mean by the word any fixed, settled, determinate belief, whether it be philosophic or theological, atheistic, pantheistic, or Christian-like, can produce no other result than that of leading them into the midst of that dim region of universal unfixedness where she herself wanders, as she says, in hopeless moodiness and dejection. Let this averment not only be rejected, but condemned too, if we fail to make it good.

The title imports that these "Thoughts" have been gathered "chiefly" from recent works "in Theology and Philosophy." The reader will ask, Who are these divines?—They are the following, namely: the author's late brother, Charles Hennell; then come Feuerbach, and Mr. Herbert Spencer, and Mr. Buckle, and Baden Powell, and Auguste Comte, and Strauss, and Theodore Parker, and F. Newman, and Mr. G. H. Lewes, and Mr. Martineau, and Mr. Greg,—of whom the first four are, in her view, *authorities.* Those that follow, stand lower in her esteem; but yet, even as to the chiefs, she uses the liberty of criticism :—she insists upon what

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she thinks their errors or omissions, and she labours to bring out from their contradictions a consistent doctrine. Whether successful or not in these endeavours, they are prosecuted in a style at once (let us say it) of *manliness* and of modesty, which must win the esteem of every reader who himself has any consciousness of these qualities. In a word, the author of this volume is one whom every right-minded reader would earnestly wish to see fairly brought off from the infinite entanglements of her own speculations—"thin abstractions," as she confesses them to be.

It is reported concerning somebody, that he has lately thrown himself out of a very advantageous position, that he has abandoned a good income, and, moreover, that he has signed away from himself and his children a large reversionary interest! Be it so; nevertheless, he may be able to show you that he has made so great a sacrifice on very sure grounds of larger advantage, in possession or in prospect; and if you converse with him, you will find that he himself is free from misgivings on the subject. But we meet this somebody, and we see in a moment that the victim has become conscious of the rashness of the act which has sealed his fate. His countenance is overclouded with a settled gloom; his smiles are forced; his brow is knit, even while he laughs. The reader shall presently see whether this illustration has any pertinence in its bearing upon the instance now before us.

In many passages in this volume, sometimes formally, sometimes incidentally, the author gives judgment upon the Gospel of Christ. A noble outburst of Jewish fanaticism, she calls it, and it has left an impression upon the human system, the beneficial results of which must be permanent:—nevertheless, we of this time have done with it: it is a religion of the past. Notwithstanding the vast moral influence it has had, yet, "as a systematic whole, it is essentially true, that Christianity has indeed passed away from us, and has left us only an inheritance out of its influences."—p. 106. Again: "The external part of Christianity thus retires to a far-off place in the course of human events, where it remains an object of deep historical interest, and may even be regarded as exerting influence down to our own age, through the stimulus it gave to intervening occurrences; but with all the interest that is personal to ourselves in the matter of our religion, it seems to have no longer any connection. It has become a thing of the past, buried with the past, for any share we have in it."—p. 55. Referring to her late brother's "Inquiry," Miss Hennell says, that there was effected by it "an entire breaking up (as I believe) of the framework of miracle built around the life of Jesus."—p. 18. By what process of reasoning the author brings herself to this conclusion, we need not just now inquire; for she is far from thoroughly satisfied with the result. Let us hear her on this point. The Christian history having been reduced "to the natural level of all other history, and this external foundation for the authority of Christianity being given up," then we have "given up the belief in Divine Revelation altogether:" nevertheless, there will be a residue of unquietness; for, she says, "general experience will probably confirm individual feelings, that this phase of conviction, however it may be supported, in respect of the negative results already obtained, by corroborating evidence of a variety of kinds, still is one that rather requires submission than affords satisfaction. It is a stage where, just as much as the intellect is continually urging to go on, the heart is incessantly craving to turn back. The mind is haunted by a sense of deprivation; wanting so much, that, mingled as it was with incongruities now acknowledged to be as repugnant as they are absurd, yet gave a richness and fulness to the religious consciousness, that cannot be missed without a wistful lingering regret. It is useless for reason to convince itself to weariness that Christianity is a fable, and to go on showing plainly to our eyes how it grew out of its earthly root; while the heart keeps protesting that it contained a response to her need, whose absence leaves her cold and void. It would be much better for reason to cease his claim to be solely attended to, till her want have been supplied."

Is, then, the instance we have imagined just above, pertinent or not so? Is Miss Hennell well pleased to have lost, as she says, "all personal interest in Christianity?" Hear her again. Feuerbach, she says, has proved to demonstration that "the notion of a personal God necessarily clothed itself in Christianity; the former (Christian writers) prove, it seems to me with irrefragable power, that, with the extinction of Christianity, the notion of a personal God must become itself extinct. And hence results the conclusion, that, *in their own sense of the term*, Christian writers have entire right to say that Atheism is the necessary consequence of Infidelity,—that is, of unbelief in Divine Revelation. Looking at the conclusion from that Christian ground, there is truly a 'terror' that has to be calculated; and in every aspect of it, it must, at all events, be a good

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thing to make the intellectual consequence apparent to ourselves. If any minds are driven back by it, it is well: they are safe within their proper haven. Let them not quit the sheltering refuge meet for them;—it is a home of blessed feeling, domestic to their heart. Nor let the self-exiled wanderers, either, be denied the welcome of guests when they would fondly return to share the endeared associations of old familiar faith! Shut not up your feelings, Christians, nor your rites, against those in whose bosoms the silver chord is not yet broken which renders back the vibration of harmonic sympathy!—Christianity is the *true* religion, wherever feeling is predominant. While its tide is sweeping even occasionally over minds habitually differently constituted, no logic can prevent those which are the most convinced of its error from becoming Christians again.—And in this irresistible tendency, if we had nothing else to reason from, we might be certain that it is impossible there should be no more than illusion. Feeling is as *real* a thing as logic, and must equally have its real foundation. But the real foundation is actually seen when it is traced as the natural product of a certain stage of mental development; and it is all natural too, that into this stage wayward circumstances should often cause us to relapse."—pp. 102, 3.

Passages of a similar import are of frequent occurrence in this volume, but we need not cite them; they will be perused with deep feeling by every rightly-minded reader. Miss Hennell is not only painfully conscious of the loss she has sustained in rejecting Christianity as a solace, and as a source of the purest moral influences, but she betrays her distrust of the logical process that has brought her to this issue,—an issue that leads her in front of the "terrors" of Atheism,—which she admits to be the alternative when a belief in Revelation is abandoned. She has been tracing the course of that national fanaticism out of which the Gospel of Jesus took its rise, and then she is startled by the monstrous absurdity of her own hypothesis:—"And is it conceived possible, many will exclaim, that out of anything that is akin to frenzy like this could proceed a religion so pure, so holy, so calm and simple, as the Christian (religion)."—p. 50. She is of opinion that this supposition *is* just conceivable, and that the possibility of it need not be doubted by any who has seen or even "imagined the face of one who has borne and survived the conflict of earthly trial, and thence has learned to fix all hope in heaven! This was the expression that settled upon the lineaments of early Christianity, and it is no wonder that the world has worshipped it ever since."

In a word, "the noble enthusiast" took up a mighty project—"conceive the grandeur of it—to bring down a reign of righteousness on earth!" He failed in his enterprise, —he died a martyr,—but he first taught his disappointed followers thenceforward "to fix all their hopes in heaven." Thus it is that a heaven-like religion—pure, calm, holy —has sprung out of—a mad ambition! The author believes that, in following this explicatory hypothesis, "there is unfolded, in one unbroken stream, the most marvellous, though *strictly natural*, chapter in the world's experience." "As regards the hallowed person of Jesus Himself,—when we have been once compelled to part with that cherished image of Divine humanity, yet not to part with it, only to consign it to that ideal world where it stands enshrined in artistic beauty for ever!—there is a nobleness," etc.—p. 52.

It is no wonder that, with an hypothesis so monstrous as this, which she trusts to for relieving her from "the belief in Divine Revelation," she speaks often of the "suffering" that ensues from the "snapping asunder" of that belief, and of the "dissatisfaction that lurks in the consciousness" after the abandonment of it.—p. 59. Herself schooled, as she says (p. 60), amid the negatives of Unitarianism, she came, under the guidance of Feuerbach, to comprehend, "as she had never been able before, the deep meaning and adaptation to human wants of the orthodox creed,—the wonderful beauty of that device of the God-man bearing upon him, not the sins only, but the impassionate hopes, the proud self-consciousness, the urgent aspirations of all the world! It (that is—this new apprehension of things) inspired the *readiness*, at least, to return again even onwards to the whole of Christian faith, if, at the same time, a way could have been opened for reason."

Her German authority had shown how religious feeling may still take its free course, "although conviction be extinct. But at once the remonstrance arises, how can it be otherwise than a mockery and a parody this exhibition of feeling, when at the same time the product of it all is shown to be nothing but delusion?—when, according to the inexorable verdict of reason, Christ, after all, is but a romance of the heart;— nay, when God Himself, in like manner, is no more than a 'being of the understanding,' —a reflected image of the human intellect projected upon vacancy—not only in His attributes, but in His very existence, demonstrable to have no other than this deceitful origination!"—pp. 61, 2.

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The author thinks, indeed, that, from other sources, she will be able to improve a little upon Feuerbach's "inexorable demonstration." Nevertheless, it is a very little way in advance of her master that she can go; for it will still be true, or it will be all we can ever be sure of, that "God is henceforth to be thought of as the essence of the species of humanity" (p. 65); or, as this reasonable creed is elsewhere worded, "God is the Great Entireness of Humanity."

Several writers among those to whom Miss Hennell looks up as her masters, have of late expressed themselves almost as strongly as she does in their admiration of the "historic Jesus"—Mr. Greg, for instance; in fact, Mr. F. Newman stands almost alone among noted modern writers in the utterance of coarse blasphemies, that are an outrage equally upon good taste, moral consciousness, and piety. But there is not one of them, unless Mr. Jowett may be an exception, who gives expression, as she does, to the anguish that is caused by a relinquishment of the Gospel with its bright and substantial hopes, and an adoption in the stead of them of the cold phantasies of a Buddhist Faith. As a proper counterpart to the passages above cited, which convey the author's feeling toward the Christianity which she discards, we shall now bring forward a few in which her feeling of the desolateness and gloom of the region upon which she has entered comes to the surface. The truthfulness and the admirable candour of her natural temper here make their appearance; and they will win at once the approval and the sympathy of every reader whose own dispositions are of the same order.

But why should we bring forward the passages which we have now in view? Assuredly it is not done at the impulse of a petty exultation, or for the gratification of an ungenerous triumph over an opponent; nor, indeed, at the impulse of any small motive whatever; but for reasons which we believe to be weighty and warrantable. This accomplished writer's mental condition, as it is exhibited by herself, with its regrets, its hopeless perplexities, and its dreary dismay in looking forward, is—this we well know—the condition at this time of a very large number of thoughtful and educated persons in England, if not in Scotland; therefore it is that we judge it to be a duty to avail ourselves of a volume such as this, for the purpose—first, of spreading out to view the state of mind itself; and then of showing what must be its consummation. It is not that we are taking advantage of the inconsequential misgivings of a woman's inconstant nature.—Miss Hennell, who is not wanting in those truer instincts and impulses which are hers as a woman, possesses, in a rare degree, the faculty of apprehending abstract thought, and of holding on to the clue of speculation, even when it has become in the most extreme degree attenuated. Her masters may therefore well allow so accomplished a disciple to speak for them in relation even to what is the most abstruse in their philosophy; and she has this signal advantage over them, namely, that *she* is ingenuous where *they* might have been more discreet.

The passages cited above occur in the earlier part of the volume; those now to be adduced are taken from its closing chapters, where she is gathering up her argument, and is labouring to bring out its meaning, as it may be related to the individual mind, and to the hopes and the fears of each reader who may be like-minded with herself. It will be understood that the author not merely undertakes to show that the course she has herself followed is *inevitable;* but that, although much is sacrificed in following it, there does yet remain a *something* of peace or hope; or, if not hope, yet of expansive satisfaction, derivable from the ultimate creed of "Modern Thought." The author relinquishes the vivifying belief in a Personal God as a Real Being; or any such belief as that which is the groundwork of the religion of the Bible. Instead of this doctrine, and of its consequences,—such as the doctrine of a spiritual and providential relationship of God toward the individual worshipper, and of a bright futurity of this same relationship—it is inevitable to accept the vague conception of a relationship to the unconscious "Entire of Things;" and as to the future—the "theological belief" of the continuity of individual consciousness, and of a *personal* immortality — these must be abandoned; and we are advised to be content with the notion of a lapse at death into the "Universal Being." We must learn to renounce as *selfish* the wish for a bright personal immortality, and we should renounce those instincts whence has sprung the delusive hope of "an inheritance, incorruptible, undefiled, and not fading away, reserved in heaven for us." In the place of this false hope, we should be content with the fate which Nature provides alike for the leaf that falls in autumn, and for man, who, at the end of his few days of toil, returns to his everlasting home in the dust!

Yet the first few paces upon the road of Modern Thought are pleasant enough. Miss Hennell says:—"After tracking a painful way through the labyrinths of entangled theological discussion, hedged in all round by restrictive explanations, and burdened

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with an atmosphere of compulsive accommodation, irresistibly welcome is it to return to the free and open air of pure philosophic investigation."—p. 138. A few steps further on give the freest expansion to the now liberated mind, for it is found that "the idea of real origin is a thing that vanishes out of nature;" or, as it is elsewhere stated, as the conception of *Creation* is to be rejected, no room is left in the universe for a CREATOR. And not only does the solid world need no Creator; for the immaterial world enjoys a corresponding independence: "the proper beginning of intelligence" has—Miss Hennell assures us of the fact—been discovered by Mr. Herbert Spencer! Who is it now that does not breathe more freely than before, on the first hearing of this discovery? "Religious science sees the mind of man by means of its highest faculties, painting itself in the image of God,—forming a vast and shadowy representation of human lineaments thrown out before it upon the surface of the Unknown."—p. 153.

"The confidence of the mind in its own operations is the sentiment which answers to the religious idea of faith;" and it is this confidence which now lately has enabled it "to enter upon a new phase of Rational Trust."—p. 184. A correspondent comfort *ought* to be the result of this new corroborated "Rational Trust." Do we say comfort? exultation attends the progress of emancipated thought. "Our Faith seems to have earned the charity by which she can afford to believe in all things:—can look back with indulgence upon the fond follies of the past, and feel no shame while still she continues, from the veriest bubbles that are moulded by the enchanter's breath, and thinned out into beauty always rarest just before they burst, to draw the tender nutriment that subtly feeds her own strength, even in that from which, to the puzzled quest of dull prosaic Doubt, a single drop of useless sediment is all that will remain behind. The magnificent theory of God the Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, has formed the dome reared by human thought and piety over centuries;—its bounding arches, lost in the distance of the past, extending into the indistinguishable mist of the future. How much of truth and religion has been nurtured within the fostering sanctuary that could not have ripened without it, God knows now, and we may know some day; but, at all events, we have the actual benefit of it. In having been Christians, we have learned, and can never forget, the power of that principle of Faith which has possession of the world that now is, and of that which is to come. If our superstitious Imagery reared the Theory, the Theory has given to our nature its Religiousness: stamped and sealed upon our constitution by that Invisible and Inconceivable Spirit of Nature, which tries, as it originated, all our works."—p. 198.

A time comes, however, when a lower tone is of frequent occurrence in this volume; and it is found to be still deepening as we approach the end:—"The world's philosophic experience is constantly repeated by individuals, that there can never be a prolonged devotion of the prime of life to metaphysic thought, without a feeling of the same premature old age of the mind, the same sadness of utter vacancy, creeping over existence long before the time for its close! Fearful enough is the drying up of all the springs of mental life, to serve, in our contemplation, as a warning penalty against the condition, practically, indeed, far more than equivalent for the rude terrors of Theology, even while in a certain sense it justifies them."—p. 289.

Individual composure, or patient acquiescence in the forward flow of the "Whole of Things," must be preceded by an habitual renunciation or oblivion of the individual well-being. The individual man has grasped "his little handful—he has filled his little scoop—out of the mighty ocean, and therewith at least he has nourished his own minute existence, which yet is no longer minute while felt to be a working out of the linked connection of the whole. Let man be able to forget occasionally the share of doing that is his own, and feel how even his own thought is nothing but an outbreathing of the Universal Being, for the drawing back of vitality into the circulation of created life. Let him be able even to forget himself utterly, and see how, in primal creation, the Infinite Flood rolls onward its everlasting waves, and as each subsides into its own bosom, gathers and condenses purpose to narrow itself into the material limitation of form."—p. 388.

In her concluding chapter Miss Hennell gathers into one her inferences, so far as the general principle which she has laboured to elucidate may be thought to take any bearing upon the individual mind as a source of what should come in the place of the supports of the "Old Theologic Faith." To a few passages, conveying the author's own feeling on this ground, we now ask the reader's attention. The candour of the following admission deserves great praise:—

"In the assurance that we seem here to have obtained of an enduring outcome for our Faith, and of the world's glorious inheritance of it, what is there, we have still to ask, as the question that remains of urgent personal concern, that we have a right to consider as our own share of it?—or is it truly the case, as appears at first sight, that an

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abstract congratulation in the progress of mankind, is that which we need to bring ourselves to feel the *only* privilege that we are entitled to claim out of the general welfare? It is impossible to avoid the impression, that a religion which offers no more than this, as our individual portion in the great Truth, falls into such chilling contrast with the passionate promises of the elder phase, as to need the utmost of the aid that rational investigation can afford, to reconcile the reception of it with a true content."—p. 292.

What is implied in this passage should be fully understood, for it carries much meaning in relation to the inevitable consummation of "Modern Thought." The meaning is this. The author has convinced herself that "Christianity is a fable," which has, indeed, well done its office in the world; but as to the bright promises it has uttered, and the immortal hopes it has cherished, these all are a delusion! Moreover, she has come to see, that although a "Personal God" may still be spoken of as perhaps a Real Existence, beyond the human mind, and exterior to it, we have not, nor can ever have, any valid evidence in support of this belief. But now the abandonment of so much which the human mind has been wont to accept as certain, and to rest upon in its time of need, is followed by a painful sense of deprivation,—a loss incalculably great has been sustained! To what quarter, then, are we to look for that which shall come in the place of the rejected Theology? All that our author can turn to for assuaging her regret, is the belief that, although the individual man perishes, the "Entire of Humanity," the "Great Whole," the "All in All," is imperishable and eternal; and not only so, but that this never-dying humanity is, under the beneficent guidance of *Nature*, always advancing from an inferior and a ruder condition, to a higher and a more perfect condition. "Development" is always in progress. Miss Hennell therefore thinks that those who are wise will at length learn to be content with a "large hope" like this, although it wears a vague aspect, and sends a deadly chill to the heart. In truth, this doctrine of the Eternal Development of the "Universal Man" seems at times to leave the individual woman, large-hearted as she is, in a very disconsolate mood. So we must suppose, in listening to passages such as the following:—

"It has ever and again happened," she says, "that the large and aspiring hopes of the human mind, when their tenor has come to be dissipated, have left it in possession of 'a minute shade of gain,' which has in every instance been rejected by it at first with contemptuous scorn, as beneath its acceptance; and yet this small gain is a real gain, and abides with us as a sure possession; and thus now, in that aggregation of feeling which represents itself as the general anxiety for our own personal condition, it is in perfect harmony with all the previous plan of nature, that man's original desires should have to be corrected by the disappointments of real scientific acquaintance with facts, into the degree of expectation to which she will finally give her own sanction."—p. 395.

The disposition, therefore, which we should cherish, is that of "an extended concern for the abstract good of mankind, which is the source of real elevation of character," and which is superior to "that early sensuous phase of religion which limited itself to the obtaining of the magnified image of actual personal enjoyment." Our instinct of self has demanded "that it should be so, and that the promise of eternal individual existence should constitute the earlier religion."

But a new phase of this same instinct is now coming on:—

"The phase that is now taking form to serve for an indefinite period as a governing theory for the aim of the human being, is that which views self of importance only as it is a part of the whole. It has opened the two distinct points of view which, until the final adjustment of conception is effected, will necessitate a continual state of painful oscillation in the state of our own desires:—human nature, according to its own true and rightful instinct, necessary to the maintaining of it in its actual constitution, clinging to the notion of its own personality, and thence desiring that all things external should bend and become subservient to its own object, the attaining of complete perfection to its own being;—the object of Nature, on the other hand, being felt rather to use that being as only a temporary instrument for the accomplishment of purposes incomparably larger."—p. 396.

As to our "personal consciousness," Miss Hennell thinks it is scarcely possible to see "how it can ever be restored. Nevertheless, we are very far from the right to assert that nothing answering to it may really arrive to take place." But she says:—"This surmise of possibility, when even supposing it to have any solid foundation at all, is one altogether indistinct to reason at present, is so entirely slight and unsatisfactory as long as the former impression of the true personal fulfilment remains present to the mind as an object of desire for comparison with it, as would seem to render it a mere mockery when conceived in the light of a substitute."—p. 399. It is acknowledged, that for the mind to tear itself away from these personal instincts, is "an anguish from which it is impossible that it should not shrink, and the Religion that comes to demand it is ever that which, in this natural sense, the 'natural man' must truly resist with all his might. . . . To relinquish our personal hopes, and to take instead of them an abstract conception, thin as air, is a trial to our constituted instincts harder than any

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that has yet been undergone. What, however, would be the value of any new principle if it did not enable us to triumph over ourselves? How should we know it at all to be a Religion, if it did not bring with it its Cross?"—p. 400.

These several quotations, apart from their bearing upon our immediate purpose, will not fail to awaken the sympathies of every reader whose dispositions are kindly and true. To render the following passage quite intelligible, it should be said (so we gather from several incidental expressions) that this lady has mourned, and still mourns, the loss of a brother who was her guide and companion until of late. There is that in human nature which refuses to be comforted by means so unsubstantial as is the philosophy she professes:—

"There is all that part of our nature, the most sensitive and of the greatest present value to us, respecting which it is difficult to us to conceive to what class it is to belong: the whole region of our affections, respecting which it is next to impossible for us at present to determine whether we are to consider it as belonging to that which has to be left behind, or to that which has to go forward into the future. Here, therefore, is the real scene of our trial. If in our moods of tranquil reason we can be content to leave our future destiny altogether in the same guidance that has directed it hitherto, and can draw our full enjoyment of this actual existence, notwithstanding the frailty of the tenure on which we are conscious that we possess it; there is the season in which we find ourselves left in existence only as mourners for those who are gone, when the need for consolation within us seems that which ought to urge forth out of nature an answer for its satisfaction. Is such an answer to be found in a faith like the present?—is a question that we may well be asked, and that we must not at all events shun to ask ourselves. Surely not!—Let us, at least, not try to delude ourselves for the sake of a vindicatory disclaimer, where vindication can never really be needed.—Surely not! there is truly no such satisfaction to be found in this new form of faith; but must we not own to ourselves, that in the very want lies indeed that which only shows its harmony with all else that Nature has brought home to us as her own inevitable truth! Neither anywhere else is there sign of perfect satisfaction to be found in Nature."—p. 402.

But if her philosophy fails to afford comfort in grief, so does it fail to dispel the gloom that surrounds the meditation of death. Miss Hennell, in her concluding pages, labours earnestly at this point, but with slender success:—

"Under the absolute view of personality, it was inevitable that Death should wear no other form than that of Destruction and Annihilation; under the new principle, which regards consciousness as only a temporarily isolated phase of continuous existence, and from which the ideas of Destruction and Annihilation have vanished into the same unreality with that of proper Individuality, Death becomes at once no more than merely change."—p. 403.

"It is a cold comfort always," the author truly says, "to be told that we must learn to accommodate ourselves to circumstances, and that the improvement in our lot must take place in our own apprehensions of it." She finds it so in this instance. DEATH still shows a pallid aspect, even after the spectre has been brought in front of the Philosophy of Modern Thought; and she goes on to say—"The physical evil attending the actual experience (of death), together with the mental suffering inevitably accompanying the physical, is such as, in the normal process of dissolution, requires the aid of human sympathy, and not of abstract thought." It must be so, even to those in whom "the exercise of mature intellect has brought the disbelief in personal immortality." Nevertheless the instincts of nature will often regain their force, and it may be long before the child of philosophy will have learned the needed lesson of acquiescence.

"To enable us to obtain this victorious largeness of mind, is the aim of our Religion, as it has ever been the aim of all Religion whatsoever. We hope now, as experience has taught us, no longer for the change that in one sudden moment, in the twinkling of an eye, was to clothe upon us the spiritual investment of the new being, and transfer us to the new heavens and new earth; but we look for, in genuine faith, as we endeavour in true practical labouring to promote, the gradual, seed-ripening, unfolding of the season in which it shall be the purpose of the natural-divine ordaining to give unto us the kingdom, and enable us to trample our present sorrows and our present sins under our feet."—p. 409.

This last mournful passage may properly conclude the evidence which shall warrant the inference we have intended to derive from it. We here see "Modern Thought" reaching—shall we say so—its climax, or rather its lowest point of depression; yet this is a point toward which an irresistible gravitation is ever drawing it down.

To follow the author in the track of her reasoning through the mid chapters of this volume, would involve nothing less than an encounter, in turn, with the several philosophies out of which her own has been concocted. We should be required to deal, in order, with at least four independent and mutually destructive theories,—those, namely, of Feuerbach, Herbert Spencer, Auguste Comte, and Mr. Buckle. A labour so interminable and so irksome as this, we may well be excused from undertaking; nor could it serve any purpose which we have now in view to attempt it. It is enough that Miss Hennell's laudable candour, and

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her clear-sightedness too, have put us in a position to bring the upshot of the whole before the reader, *in her own words*. The same candour, moreover—a candour as admirable as it is unusual—spares the reviewer the pain of pronouncing a judgment upon her philosophy; for she does this herself in frequent incidental utterances of her own feeling concerning it. From the ground of "concrete investigation," she has been led onwards, she says, into a region of the "thinnest abstractions" (p. 7); which, whatever may be their importance, are "remote and nugatory as regards all interest of common sort;" and the speculations which are at present the only product, "must therefore be seen as looming only in the distance like chilling dreams." She believes, however, that these same abstractions, "thin and cold as they are, may be combined into something that shall ally itself to the world of feeling;" and in the end she believes that in her "own sphere of thought she has found a north-west passage through the dim icy region of speculation, out to a further issue, bringing her, not without glimpses of arctic glories by the way, round again into the genial clime of temperate habitation."—p. 8. The same tone of—is it not despondency?—occurs again and again throughout the volume. Often she exults in the achievements of the "leading thinkers of the day;" and yet, among them all, she finds little better than the "painfulness of being tossed to and fro:"—so she speaks of these speculations in the first pages of her work; and we have just now heard how she speaks of them in its closing pages. She acknowledges that she has wandered far through dry places, seeking rest, but finding none.

Why then this toil?—why these fruitless venturings out into the dark unknown? The answer is before us. This toil, never to become productive—never to bring the weary pilgrim into a region of light—is, by a stern necessity, inevitable. It is a rugged and interminable path which those are doomed for ever to tread who, rejecting the only truth whereupon the human mind may take its rest, wander forth upon the wilds of abstract speculation. We may indeed refuse to think at all:—we may be content to live out our seventy years gaily, or sensually, or sordidly;—but if we must and will live *thoughtfully*, and if we will not consent to be taught from above, then our choice must be made among those several phases of atheism which (though they are at the least three thousand years old) are, at this time, in course of being brought forth with acclamation, as the fresh triumphs of MODERN THOUGHT! Not one of these philosophies has an element of novelty to recommend it—whether we collate it with the Oriental, or with the Greek philosophies.

As to these "Thoughts in Aid of Faith," they fall into their places in the scheme of the venerable Oriental philosophy with surprising coherence. Only remove from the ancient Buddhism a few of its archaic phrases, and reduce it to the style of European and modern simplicity, and then the two philosophies show themselves to be—not two, but one:—the one collapses within the iron embrace of the other.

Let it be borne in mind that the Eclectic Philosophy brought before us in this volume is a digest of the principles of the most distinguished among the "Leading Thinkers of the day;" and that it is, as it professes to be, mainly drawn from the works of those "Masterly Expositors who of late years have awakened eager expectation:"—we have named them—they are Feuerbach, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Buckle, Lewes, Darwin, and a dozen beside, ranging themselves, although some of them profess themselves Christians, mainly on the same side; and all are agreed in their rejection of "Miracle" and "the Supernatural."

The ancient Buddhism has, indeed, exhibited considerable diversities, as well in the course of its transmission through twenty or thirty centuries, as in adapting itself to the genius and temper of the many races that have adopted it as their religion—in Thibet, in China, in the Peninsula of Hindoostan, and in Ceylon; nevertheless, as the religion of more than one-third of the human family—it is so now, and has been so for two thousand years at least—it is in substance the same. It is the shoreless ocean and the unfathomed abyss toward which human reason, by a grim necessity, gravitates, whenever it severs itself from, and renounces its hold of, concrete beliefs. Buddhism is that consummation of abstract thought which ensues when, in eager resentment of all restraints, man forgets his own limitations. In pursuit of an illusory liberty, it is easy to mistake *freedom from restraint* for an inherent power of boundless speculation, and for a capacity to grasp the Infinite. Intense is the fascination of this illusion when a discursive and finely constituted mind surrenders itself to the charm, and drinks of this cup to intoxication.

In stay of the downward progression toward the abyss, there are three forces, and three only, that are available—that is to say, when men are in quest of a religion: the one is the multiform belief in, and worship of, invisible powers, sensuously conceived of, and materially embodied in forms

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either of beauty or of terror. Thus, throughout the Eastern world, from the remotest ages, has Brahminism withstood, and has striven to crush and exclude, its tranquil but potent rival, Buddhism. Between these two august powers human nature, in countries remote from Biblical influence, has had no option but either to make a choice, or to effect a compromise.

The one other stay to this progression—the one means of rescue, as well from Pantheism as from Polytheism—is that religion of which the Hebrew and the Christian Scriptures are the authenticated record. In highly educated and rationalised communities, such as those of northern Europe, among which Polytheism is inadmissible, Pantheism is the alternative; and it has shown itself to be so always with those who have refused the religion of the Bible. Hitherto not an instance has occurred which could be adduced as a decisive exception to this law. It is A LAW OF MIND; and it is now, as in times past, giving evidence of its stern universality in the case of each of those "foremost Thinkers," who must be named as the teachers and the representatives of "Modern Thought."

We must here avail ourselves of evidence which, on this ground, may be appealed to with confidence. "Looking to its influence in the present day over at least three hundred and fifty millions of human beings, exceeding one-third of the human race, it is no exaggeration to say that the religion of Buddha is the most widely diffused that now exists, or that has ever existed since the creation of the world."*

"By means of its institutions and priesthood this religion has been an active agent in the promotion of whatever civilization afterwards enlightened the races by whom its doctrines were embraced. . . . Whilst Brahminism, without denying the existence, practically ignores the influence and power, of a creating and controlling intelligence, Buddhism, exulting in the idea of the infinite perfectibility of man, and the highest attainable happiness by the unfaltering practice of every conceivable virtue, exalts the individuals thus pre-eminently wise into absolute supremacy over all existing beings, and attempts the daring experiment of an *atheistic morality*. . . . Both systems (Hinduism and Buddhism) inculcate the mysterious doctrine of the metempsychosis; but whilst the result of successive embodiments is to bring the soul of the Hindu nearer and nearer to the final beatitude of absorption into the essence of Brahma, the end and aim of the Buddhistical transmigration is to lead the purified spirit to *Nirwana*, a condition between which and utter annihilation there exists but the dim distinction of a name. Nirwana is the exhaustion, but not the destruction of existence—the *close*, but not the *extinction* of being."

* We cite from Ceylon, by Sir James Emerson Tennent, chap. xi., Part iv.

A principal intention, as we have seen, of these "Thoughts in Aid of Faith," is to induce a tranquil acquiescence in this fate of the individual man—the philosophic Nirwana, which is an unconscious melting of itself away into the "Great Whole of Things," even as the rain-drop mingles its particle with the ocean; or as the single leaf withers, falls, and, in its decay, nourishes the life of the tree which gave it birth! European ears will not listen to the Oriental romance of the metempsychosis; but "Modern Thought" demands our acceptance of this rationally-phrased doctrine of the *immortality of unconscious atoms!* In the upshot, then, does this European philosophy differ from the Oriental philosophy by anything more substantial than "the dim distinction of a name?" If there be a difference, it is in favour of the Oriental doctrine, which, instead of the "Arctic chill and mocking frostwork of its thin abstractions," offers to the imagination, if not the substance of a conscious immortality, at least the comfort of a tropical glow, shedding a splendour upon the vast nothingness of the unseen and the future! For ourselves, we had rather be orthodox Buddhists, out and out, than shivering adherents of the philosophy of Modern Thought.

The passages cited above from the "Thoughts in Aid of Faith" will have been enough to show what that theory of the universe is which the author has received from the teaching of her masters. And now let a choice be made between that theory and the belief of the ancient Oriental Pantheists. "The basis of the system (Buddhism) is a declaration of the eternity of matter, and its submission, at remote intervals, to decay and reformation; but this and the organization of animal life are but the results of spontaneity and procession, not the products of will and design on the part of an all-powerful Creator." There would scarcely be need to alter a word in this summary of the ancient Buddhism, if what we had to do were to make a report, in the fewest words, of the theory of the universe, and of the origination of life, which, when Miss Hennell finds it in Mr. Herbert Spencer's Psychology, she greets it as a surprising and most felicitous novelty! In her first acquaintance with this recent system, she welcomed it as "presenting with a flash of delight the clue that she was waiting for" (p. 138); and she speaks of the "intrinsic grandeur of the results at which Mr. Spencer has arrived." Why should she have waited so long? Why wait until the appearance

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of these "Principles of Psychology?" Did she not know that the origination of life, as set forth by this "Master Mind," and in reading which she felt herself to be on "the verge of the Great Mystery," has been known in the world—known to the millions of China, of Thibet, of India, and of Ceylon —at the least 3000 years? The Buddhist missionaries went about teaching this same system, in terms almost identical, long, long ages before the epoch when "The Principles of Psychology" made their appearance in print. True and substantial as this philosophy may be, certainly it must not be proclaimed as *a novelty;* assuredly this theory is not *recent.*

If certain conditions be "not only co-existent, but, as it is impossible to help inferring, the efficient cause (of organization), then the very Origin of Life itself, by insensible steps, may—*must*" (the *italics* are the author's) "have been brought about in a similar manner. The idea of a real Origin is a thing that vanishes out of Nature: all its Evolution; and Evolution that proves to be constantly out of the lower forms into the higher. Thus begins, or rather thus *becomes*, by infinitely minute degrees, working through incalculable lengths of successive ages, out of mechanical irritability—itself the consequence of incessantly repeated action upon it, or of some species (what species?) of internal agitation, effecting a new condition of constituent particles; out of mechanical irritability comes (how does it come?) a more and more lively response, growing into sensation; out of immensely complicated sensation, far off (how far?) consciousness; out of consciousness, at last, intelligence, unfolding in all its various forms."—*Thoughts in Aid*, p. 144.

This, then, is our modern science! This is the product of the advancing reason of the present age! This is the ripened fruit of Modern Thought! And it is to make way for a philosophy so solid as this that we are exhorted to throw up our "Old Theological Beliefs!" Yet we must take the liberty to say—and we must say it with force—not in irony, but in seriousness—that if the recent philosophy which thus dismisses the idea of creation and of a Creator be brought fairly into comparison with the ancient Oriental philosophy—the upshot of the two being identical — then, when the two are thus placed side by side, the belief, which is that of one-third of the human family, commends itself to our acceptance, inasmuch as it possesses far more of simplicity in its explication: it has more of dignity—it has more of a graceful ideality; and if like the recent philosophy, it be utterly destitute of a particle of evidence, yet does the ancient Buddhism keep clear of that jargon which, even when it is graced in the chosen phrases of an admiring disciple, provokes laughter, as if it were an intentional burlesque of so baseless a speculation.

As to its moral code, Buddhism is allowed to be "second only to Christianity, and superior to every other heathen system that the world has seen." There is therefore *nothing to gain* in adopting the recent philosophy as if it were an improvement upon the venerable Oriental system. The two alike are wanting in authentication, and in those higher motives which should impart to them a vital efficacy. The two systems alike are unsubstantial conjectures, which fail utterly in their application to human nature, such as it is. On this subject we may well listen again to the competent witness whom we have just now called forward.

"On comparing this system with other prevailing religions which divide with it the worships of the East, Buddhism at once vindicates its own superiority, not only by the purity of its code of morals, but by its freedom from the fanatical intolerance of the Mohammedans, and its abhorrent rejection of the revolting rites of the Brahminical faith. But, mild and benevolent as are its aspects and design, its theories have failed to realize in practice the reign of virtue which they proclaim. Beautiful as is the body of its doctrines, it wants vivifying energy and soul, which are essential to ensure its ascendency and power. Its cold philosophy and thin abstractions, however calculated to exercise the faculties of anchorets and ascetics, have proved insufficient of themselves to arrest man in his career of passion and pursuit; and the bold experiment of influencing the heart, and regulating the conduct of mankind by the external decencies and the mutual dependencies of morality, unsustained by higher hopes, and by a faith that penetrates eternity, has proved, in this instance, an unredeemed and hopeless failure. The inculcation of the social virtues as the consummation of virtue here and hereafter, suggests an object sufficiently attractive for the bulk of mankind; but Buddhism presents along with it no adequate knowledge of the means which are indispensable for its attainment. In confiding all to the mere strength of the human intellect, and the enthusiastic self-reliance and determination of the human heart, it makes no provision for defence against those powerful temptations before which ordinary resolution must give way, and affords no consoling support under those overwhelming afflictions by which the spirit is prostrated and subdued, when unaided by the influence of a purer faith, and unsustained by its confidence in a diviner power. From the contemplation of the Buddhist, all the awful and unending realities of a future life are withdrawn; his hopes and his fears are at once mean and circumscribed; the rewards held in prospect by his creed are insufficient to incite him to virtue, and its punishments too remote to deter him from vice. Thus, insufficient for time, and rejecting eternity, the utmost triumph of his religion is to live without fear, and to die without hope."—*Ceylon*, vol. i., p. 536.

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With this impressive and perspicuous summary of Buddhism, regarded as a religion for the mass of men, the reader may compare Miss Hennell's own admissions (some of which we have cited above, and many others occur in the volume) as to the coldness, the insufficiency, the nugatory import of the philosophy which, with so much ability and fairness, she has concocted from the pages of the Master Minds of this time. It is reported of the "cold philosophy," and of the "thin abstractions" of Buddhism, that, "however calculated to exercise the faculties of anchorets and ascetics, they have proved insufficient of themselves to arrest man in his career of passion." If it be so as to this ancient philosophy, on what ground—and let this question be answered—can we rest a reasonable expectation that the still colder philosophy, and the yet thinner abstractions of Modern Thought, shall take a more powerful hold of the mass of minds? From one who is so candid and truthful as the author of these "Thoughts in Aid of Faith," we should probably obtain at once the ingenuous avowal that she is not able to indulge any confident expectation of such a result, desirable as it may be. In fact, when she speaks, as she does in the closing chapters of her volume, of the realization of a "Religion of Nature," and of the unfolding of a "Science of Morality," she manifestly looks on through vistas incalculably long for the arrival of the millennium of Perfect Reason.

Be it so; but meantime something must be done for the help and benefit of the millions upon millions of human beings who, in the intervening ages, will have come into existence, and will have passed away—the conscious "foliage" upon the tree of entire humanity who will have weltered, and been rent away by wintry winds from the root-stalk, and will have mingled their atoms of carbon with the soil beneath! Each of these leaves of the Great Tree has, in its day, been individually conscious of its own existence; and it has relished its personal well-being; and it has suffered too; and this "leaf" has erred, and it has sinned, and it has endured the pangs of remorse:—it feels that it has "left undone the things that it ought to have done, and has done those things that it ought not to have done;" and, in the consciousness of blameworthiness, it trembles in the apprehension of a judgment to come! Delusive as these fears may be, as well as these hopes, the now-passing welfare of this conscious leaf, or of these millions of leaves, is—*a momentous reality*;—the green days of each are days that may be passed for the better or for the worse, according to the training and the teaching which it receives. This now-present training, whether it be under the guidance of a superannuated Theology, or of a New Philosophy, is an urgent need of the body social. The *need* is tacitly acknowledged by every one who writes a book with the professed intention of substituting the New Philosophy for the Old Theology—and who does it—for the benefit of mankind.

We are warranted, therefore, in repeating our question in urgent terms—a homely and practical question it is—What is to be done for the multitude—for the men, women, and children, who must wait ages before the New Philosophy can come within their reach, as to any good it can do them?

There are those who will say—and Miss Hennell's candour, and her good feeling too, will prompt her to say it; in fact, she has already implicitly said as much—Take your Christianity for what it is worth; and it *is* worth much. Use it as far as it will go. It *is* true to those who can think it true. We, on our part, are quite ready to countersign the *Permit* to preach and teach the Gospel to the multitudes that assemble in schools and churches.

But now, even if we were thoroughly well inclined to accept this permission, and wished to act upon it, we should not find it possible to do so; and we shall show that a course of this kind is rendered impracticable by a difficulty which no ingenuity has hitherto availed, or can ever avail, to surmount. Our amiable friend's simplicity, and her clear-sightedness too, lead her to feel the whole force of the moral paradox which forbids the enjoyment and the employment of the Christian system to those who, with herself, and with the professors of Modern Thought, admire its spirituality, but reject its pretension to be a Revelation, attested by supernatural interpositions. In the following forcible statement of the case, the author insists upon one element only of the problem, namely, Christ's assertion of His own mission;—she omits the still more perplexing element, namely—the often repeated appeals He makes to the miracles which he wrought. To this latter and more formidable aspect of the case before us, we must presently ask attention. Miss Hennell says, "The Divine wisdom, goodness, purely spiritual beauty, that beam with irresistible, instinctive, self-attestation into a soul attuned to perceive them" (p. 33) can never, without doing violence to our moral instincts, be made to consist with the idea of an ambitious teacher, who proclaims himself to be "sent of God;" much less, we may add, can these two mutually repel-

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lent ideas be made to meet in our conceptions of one who asserts miraculous powers which he did not possess.

"If we persist in looking back to Jesus under the impression of modern feeling, according to the cool enlightened judgment of this nineteenth century, the mistake—*regarded as a mistake*—of considering himself the especially chosen minister of God, appears an egregious egotism, that requires a high degree of fanaticism to make it not revolting. It seems to demand almost a species of insanity as in fact its only vindication. To attempt to reconcile it with moral approbation, is doing violence to our perception. And the same may be said, in minor proportion, of every effort to represent Christ in any way as a pattern of humility and self-renunciation, at the same time that he was claiming an exaltation above all his fellows:—that it requires, namely, a distortion in our moral feelings so to accept it. Under any kind of humanitarian view of his person, it involves a self-contradiction. When the New Testament attributes humility to Christ, it is manifestly under the notion of him as a Divine Being who has descended from a celestial condition into this lower state of human suffering and degradation. As soon as Jesus is regarded as a real man, the reversed condition of necessity requires the corresponding reversal of his moral characteristic into rather one or another phase of lofty daring and unmeasured aspiration."—pp. 34, 35.

"In the original worship of Christ," the author goes on to say, "there was a natural truth which it is entirely vain to endeavour to reproduce by accommodating it to the sense of modern times:"—

"To attribute the self-assertion of a mission of teaching virtue and piety to the world by his own example, is a moral contradiction in terms. Virtue and piety that exhibit themselves, destroy themselves. The claiming of personal eminence is, in fact, odious, precisely in proportion as the eminence is of a spiritual kind, since the true effect of moral refinement is to diminish the sense of self. According to modern perception, it is hence the reverse of benefiting a mind of purely spiritual delicacy, even to have that latent consciousness of superiority which is attributed to Jesus."—p. 39.

In what way the author contrives to reconcile the two oppugnant conceptions of the character of Christ—retaining the ideal beauty, and denying the reality of the mission—it is of no importance for us to inquire. The reader who wishes to be informed on this point may turn to the volume itself. Ingenuous and outspeaking as she is, she yet holds off from the far more perplexing problem to which the progress of Modern Thought has lately given prominence. It is this perplexity which necessitates a further progress on the part of those who, at present, take their stand within the pale of Christianity, and which will inevitably bring on a consummation for which they do not appear to be themselves prepared.

This now-present problem of Modern Thought urgently demands a clear understanding of its conditions; and we shall do our best, in the compass of a page or two, to bring it into the light.

Once for all let it be said, that, in referring, as we shall have occasion to do, to the leading persons who at this time stand forward as the promoters of the system of opinions in question—and especially in speaking of those of them who now hold, or who have held office, as ministers of religion, and who are, or were, in the enjoyment of ecclesiastical emoluments—let it be said with a serious emphasis, that we utterly reject and disallow the illiberal imputation of insincerity, or of dishonesty (in any sense) on the part of those who, as churchmen or as lay-writers, are persons of note, and who are in possession of the good opinion of their circles. The fault of these eminent persons, in our view of it, is misfortune as much as fault;—they have allowed themselves to be carried forward, by the tendency of speculative opinion abroad, into a position which is logically false, and where there can be no resting place—just mid-way as it is between a coherent universal Disbelief, and the unexceptive Belief of the Church in all times, concerning the Scriptures, and the Divine origination of the Christian system. The step next ensuing must speedily be taken: shall it be back into Belief? This is not the direction in which minds can move (or often do) that have long conversed with negative and exceptive reasonings: forward it will be into—what? we will not say; it is a course marked upon the map of Fate, and it has been worn smooth by many feet.

Meantime, it is not out of place for us to say that several, if not all, of these conspicuous writers, who, as well by their individual ability and learning, as by their ecclesiastical standing, command the public ear, have shown themselves to be much wanting in self-command, and in the philosophic sedateness which should become them as self-constituted representatives of Pure Reason and of Modern Science, in an age, as they would call it, of Infantile or of *Senile* superstition, and doting prejudice. These noted writers, or some of them, take the tone of a subdued arrogance, which damages them in the esteem of more than a few of their readers, who, it may be, are almost their equals in qualification for entering upon the ground of the same argument, and yet are bold enough to retain their Christianity, entire. The writers we have in view, eager to push to the utmost

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extent the advantage that has fallen into their hands, resulting from the more exact critical methods of these times, and impatient of the mindless prejudices and the nugatory superstitions of many of the Conservative party in Theology, have not known how to govern their own temper; but have shown a petulant alacrity in inflicting as much pain as possible in their use of the lancet. A little more of philosophic forecasting as to the inevitable course of things, would have given a wholesome check to this overweening confidence, and to this opinion of their vocation to reform the Church. There are those who, standing on one side, and accustomed to look up and down lengths of the way on which all minds are travelling, see—or believe they see—not far ahead, a revulsion of Christian energies, in the powerful eddies of which many bright reputations shall go down for ever. Consistent atheistic Disbelief will survive, perhaps, to the world's end; and the Gospel of Christ, entire, shall endure; but as to this now flagrant Christianized Disbelief, this "Modern Thought," it is a congeries of incongruities that will barely outlive a seven years.

There can be no need to encumber the foot of these pages with dozens of references to books—Essays, Sermons, Expositions, which everybody has read. Nor is there any risk in gathering into the compass of a few lines, the drift, or general intention, of these various writings. The *purpose*, differing a little in the instance of each writer, is of this sort:—Modern Thought is laboring, in the first place, to reduce the Hebrew and Christian history to what is called "the common level of ordinary history; yet with a decisive preference allowed it.—Inspiration is that divine providential movement for the education of the human family, of which the ancient Buddhism was an eminent sample, and the Greek poetry and philosophy another sample. As to the inspiration of the Prophets and Apostles, it was directed to a higher end; and thence the strength and permanence of the hold it has taken of the modern mind, among all civilized nations. So it is therefore—and this is the next purpose in view—that we may still consistently profess ourselves to be Christians; we may sign articles of religion; we may recite creeds; we may preach sermons; we may recommend to the populace, as well of the upper as of the lower classes, the moral and the spiritual elements of the Christian system; while *for ourselves*, it is a fixed principle, and it is the one postulate of our philosophy, that we utterly reject as incredible whatever savours of the supernatural. There must be no MIRACLE in *our* gospel. But, if not, then what is to become of the Christian documents? As Christian teachers, how shall we deal with the Evangelists? It is on the sharp ridges of this reef that Modern Thought will strike, and go down. There is here no way of escape. The English writers now in view have allowed themselves to be moored by their German masters into a still water, with ruin around them in every point of the compass, when next the wind shall blow!

Mystifications and evasions put out of view, it is manifest that the momentous controversy of the present time turns upon the belief we shall arrive at concerning THE PERSONAL CHARACTER OF CHRIST. It is on this ground that the question must in future be argued, and an issue sought for and accepted: "What think we of Christ?" Was it so that, while He professed to work miracles in the name of God, He yet did nothing which has not been done by many an impostor?

The monstrous incoherence (as well as impiety) involved in this supposition has come plunging down into the heart of English Christianized Disbelief, not with the free consent of those upon whose heads the consequence will fall. The mischief has been machinated by those who, having no theology of their own to care for, and no religious existence or ecclesiastical *status* at peril, have been reckless of what must ensue to those who stand just within the pale of Belief. It has cost nothing to men who have already made their home in Atheism to commend—almost to idolize—"the Galilean Hero!" Anything fine may be said of Him. "It is no matter to *us*. Take your Christ for what you will: *we* admire him greatly. As to your Four Gospels—look you well to them! We care nothing about criticism, or its difficulties." A cruel sport this has been, in its consequences upon the Christianized professors of Disbelief; for how should they excuse themselves to the world if they should seem reluctant to say an Amen to the eulogies of unbelievers? And yet how pronounce this Amen with the staggering facts of the Evangelists under their eyes? Where shall they find face henceforward to read the Second Lesson in Church?

The great improvement which of late years has taken place in modes of religious thinking—the advancing taste and sensitiveness of the public mind, and a consequent amendment in literary usages—the greater decorum of conventional language relating to Christianity—all these reforms have had the effect of driving off from common parlance, and from periodic literature, and from books, the ribaldry and the blasphemy of the Encyclopœdic period. At this time it is those only who cater for the lowest class of readers

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that indulge themselves in these vulgarities. Then again, the wide sweep that has been taken in metaphysical speculation has served to loosen the tongues of a class of writers in uttering their commendations of Christianity, and of Christ. These "Profound Thinkers," believing themselves to hold at their command a "Theory of all Things" that covers all difficulties, and that embraces every possible problem in history or in human nature, have used this liberty in giving judgment favorably upon the Gospel. Thus, for example, Feuerbach, and others of his class—themselves safe in their transcendent philosophy—are copious, and even rhetorical in style, when their theme is what they term the most remarkable evolution that has ever occurred in the religious history of the world.

Along with this philosophic, or rather metaphysic, liberty of speech on the side of Disbelief, the prevalence of erudite Biblical criticism, while it has given rise to questions and doubts, in detail, has quite excluded that wholesale treatment of the Christian Scriptures which, a while ago, was often attempted. And beyond these limits, there has come in, of late, a feeling which has not yet received a formal designation, but which might be called *the Historic Consciousness:* it is a vivid sense of the reality of the persons, and the scenes, and the events of remote times—so far as these convictions may be warrantable. It is this Historic Consciousness that stands opposed to the shallow scepticism of the period lately closed; and that rejects, as absurd, the myth-theories which, for a moment, attracted attention in Germany.

These several advancements—and they must be reckoned substantial improvements—have taken notable effect upon the Christian argument. But, in doing so, they lead on toward a crisis in that argument, as it is taken up by the writers now in view; for the great question has thus been brought within a much narrower compass than heretofore. On all sides it is now admitted—and the apostles of Atheism have freely admitted it—that the Christ of the Evangelists is a Real Person, in the fullest historic sense; and, moreover, that the splendour of His virtues and wisdom beams forth from these inartificial records. It is granted—or one might say, it has been carried by acclamation—that within these writings there is exhibited an unmatched sample of Human Nature—a bright reality of goodness and of truth.

The moral problem which springs out of these admissions does not severely press upon those who stand at the extreme verge on the side of Disbelief. By them the difficulty is evaded, or it is ignored, or it is remanded to a future hearing. But this easy way out of trouble is not open to those whose position (officially perhaps) is just within the pale. These persons must well know that a pressure must come to bear upon them, from without and from within, and that they will soon be compelled to step over, or to come over, to the side they shall prefer. They must, in unambiguous terms, tell the world (and the Church to which they belong) how it is they reconcile the CHRIST whom all men now commend, with the CHRIST of the Gospels: for in these, He so speaks of Himself, and of His mission, and He is so spoken of by His followers, as to involve the whole history in a cloud of moral ambiguity. Thus it must be, if the supernatural is to be excluded, and if miracles are to be denied. Never again can it be attempted to obviate the difficulty by the disintegration of the text of the Gospels; for the rules of textual criticism forbid this to be done. Nor can it be allowed that we should disintegrate them in an historic sense—by expunging, or setting off, those portions out of which the perplexity arises. To do this, would be a violence which the necessities of a desperate argument will not warrant. Nor may we, when we come to the narrative of a miracle, silently put it on one side, as if it did not concern us, or as if we might quietly pass on to a parable, or to a preceptive discourse, heedless of what we have left in the rear. Nor can it be of any use to say, "Miracles are not available as *evidences now;* for we rest our modern faith upon other grounds." This evades the difficulty; it does not meet it. The narrative *is* where it is, in the text; nor is there any power on earth that can dislodge or remove it—if indeed textual criticism affirms the passage to be genuine. This portion—containing the narrative of an event which unquestionably was *out of the order of Nature*—so intertwines itself with the context, and the circumstances of the event are so woven into the personal behaviour of Christ, and they so form the basis and the reason of what He said and did—they are so tightly wedged into the history, constituting its very framework—that to remove them, otherwise than by an act of sheer violence, is not possible. To attempt any such operation, is to rend the document itself into shreds:—nothing remains that can be worth the pains of an argument about it.

And why be at all this trouble? Why entertain the wish to perpetrate outrages of this sort? Instead of indulging interminable conjectures, and in the place of monstrous suppositions, let us only be willing to read

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the Gospels by their own light, and as the Church of all times has read them; and then these perplexities are dispelled!—the vast entanglement of factitious difficulty is gone! Believe concerning the CHRIST of the Gospels that HE was indeed the CHRIST of God. Throw away evasions, which no one can understand, and believe that HE whom we now all look to as a sample of the loftiest wisdom, and of perfect goodness, went about —omnipotent in benevolence—the healing energy following close upon His word, or upon His touch; and then in this belief we find a coherent religious Faith which, while it satisfies the deepest religious feeling, approves itself to that Historic Consciousness whereto these inartificial writings give perfect contentment.

If still we refuse to adopt this course, we must then take a position at a level where, at every step in the perusal of the Gospels, we must carry with us a saving hypothesis of some kind—it may be better or worse—it may be probable or improbable;—but at every opening of the Book we must have ready at hand a redeeming conjecture which should not be glaringly absurd, by aid of which we may be able to rescue the CHRIST of the Evangelists—from what?—from imputations of so grave a kind that, if they impended over the head of any personage of history, hitherto admired and revered, they must destroy his reputation, in a moment, and irrecoverably! Let an exculpatory hypothesis approach as near as is conceivable to the level of an unexceptive religious Faith, and yet come short of it *by a little*, then those whose own convictions as Christian men stand at this lower mark, whenever they come before the people officially, in pulpits, or when they sit in Professors' Chairs, or when, as heads of families, they address their children and servants on a Sunday evening, and on any such occasions when it behoves them, in all seriousness and sincerity, to commend the Saviour of the world to the veneration and the devout affection of their hearers, and to hold Him up as a pattern of virtue, they must, of necessity, effect a preliminary clearing of the ground in some mode of forced vapidities, such as this:—they must modulate the voice, bringing it down to the tone of a submissive argument, a pleading for grace, and say:—"In rightly understanding this or that passage in the evangelic narrative—granting just now that it has not been foisted into the text by the copyists of a later age—a supposition we should always keep in view—then we must bring to the perusal of it a candid willingness to make every allowance—and, it may be, a *large* allowance—for the peculiar circumstances that attended our Blessed Lord's ministry among His countrymen, the Jews of that age, ignorant, and fanatical, and credulous, and superstitious as they were. In justice to Him, we must abstain from passing upon Him that severe sentence of condemnation which, undoubtedly, we should now pass upon any religious teacher among ourselves who should say and do the like. In *this* case, peculiar as it is, we must be willing to admit explanations which perhaps it may be difficult for us to render entirely satisfactory to ourselves, or to bring into accordance with the spirit of Modern Thought." This, or something like it, must be the Christian teacher's peroration! And what shall be the consequence of folly so egregious? It need not be said:—for the attempt to "preach Christ" in any such fashion as this, and thus to proclaim Him in the midst of slimy subterfuges of this order, has been tried over and over, and always with the same result—a miserable failure! Why should we now look for any other result? The forcible instincts of common sense (if it be not so in Germany, it is so in England and in Scotland) impel alike the uninstructed and the instructed attendants at public worship to contemn and to resent the endeavour to uphold—as an object of the highest religious regard, and as a pattern of wisdom and truthfulness—a CHRIST for whom, as often as He is named, *apologies must be made.*

And yet apologies must be made, and exculpatory theories must be advanced, if in future the Gospels are to be read at all. How shall we fare in our families, where the Evangelists—hitherto devoutly listened to, have been the source and the aliment of domestic piety? This is a *homely* question; but it must now be answered in some manner. The father of a family whose misfortune it has lately been to convince himself, by the perusal of certain Essays and Reviews, that the "Order of Nature" excludes the possible occurrence of Miracles, and that narratives of this complexion can have no useful tendency at this time, must either proclaim his convictions, or he must conceal them. Shall he go on feigning a faith which he has abandoned? This may not be done. Shall he now for the first time enact a solemn falsity in presence of his children? Or shall he tell them, as he opens the New Testament, "There is here a beautiful legendary passage, a well imagined incident in the life of Christ; but as it implies a miracle, we may be sure that no such event did then, or has ever taken place, or ever can occur; it is certain that the Order of

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Nature has never been interrupted!" If it be so, then the sons and daughters of a well-trained family would petition that the reading of the Gospels should thenceforward be discontinued. The moral instincts of a family must not be outraged in any such manner as this. Thus will Modern Thought consummate itself, *in our homes*, by the cessation of the morning and evening Bible-reading: and shall we be gainers by this reform?

As to the pulpit of the future, when Modern Thought has become mature, and is grown bold enough to be outspoken—plainly uttering what at present it gives to the world in mysterious morsels—the minister of religion, if still he be in any sense a Christian teacher, shall make it his task to set before the people a Christ that is the product of Criticism—a Christ *residual*—a Saviour who, before He may be trusted in, must Himself be saved, in our esteem, from the difficult ambiguities of His own professions! He must be snatched from out of the burnings of our modern exegesis:—the Judge of the world must be cleared from inexplicable imputations! Is it not so? Turn this matter about on every side;—look at the case in its bare merits; it is not susceptible of any rendering that is substantially different from this. Vain is it to reiterate the sophism, that "Miracles, even if ever any such events took place, could be of no service to us now." Be it so; but they *do* constitute, in great part, the Gospels in our hands; and we must either continue to read these chapters, or we must cease to read them. If we read them, we must plainly tell the people they are fictions! If we cease to read them, then the Scriptures fall away from the popular mind. Christianity, *less* its miracles, will work its own disappearance from the world; nor will it be long in coming to this end. No such issue as this shall come about: the Gospel in its integrity shall outlive whims and sophistries—evasions and disbeliefs of all species.*

There is, however, a consummation of Modern Thought which may indeed reach its completion; and it is doing so unobstructed and unobserved around us. There is going on a dissolution of the religious convictions—an extinction of the spiritual life in the secrecy of many thoughtful minds. Many, on all sides, there is reason to think so, are at this moment passing from one religious condition to another, under the guidance of the writers to whom we are here referring. Lately, these persons seemed happy as Christians; and when, daily, for an hour, they shut out the world, the Bible before them, they were used to enjoy what they believed to be spiritual communion with the Father of Spirits. But now they are driven mournfully, or in despair, to drown the recollection of a happiness which can never again be theirs, amid the distractions or the pleasures of the secular life.

It is quite true that, in the case of religious young persons whose Biblical training has been of a narrow and superstitious kind, a first acquaintance with the results of *genuine biblical criticism* often occasions a disquietude, and perhaps distress, from which it may not be easy to relieve them; for to do so effectively, might demand a counter-training, which there may be no opportunity to bring into operation. The cases we are now thinking of are of a different sort, occurring, as they do, among persons of a higher class and of more liberal education. Must it not be surmised that instances of this kind might be found among those who occupy pulpits? It is certain that, among the educated laity, many bright minds are, as to their religious existence, coming under a cloud; or they have already entered within the thick darkness of universal disbelief—the region upon the skirts of which there appear no breakings of the dawn:—there can be none, for the victims are treading the abyss—on its lowest level!

Some—perhaps many, of these instances might be regarded as cases of mental malformation, of which our Intellectual Philosophy has hitherto rendered no account. They are paradoxical; and yet—so we believe—they do actually occur; and they occur *often* among those whose culture has been of a refined rather than of a healthy order; and this is the characteristic of modern education, very generally. The human mind is so constituted—thus we are told—as to be determined always, if not by that which is *in fact* the stronger and the better reason, yet by that which, at the moment, is imagined to be such. We think otherwise; and, on the ground of facts, fully believe that some minds, and these not a few, are so constituted, or, by indulgence of an ill habit,

* It may be well to consider what would be the actual consequence, in families and in churches, of an open rejection of the evangelic miracles. To speak now only of the Gospels, we must discontinue the public reading of chapters in the following proportion:—Of the twenty-eight chapters of the Gospel of Matthew, *eleven* must be omitted; of the sixteen chapters of Mark, *eleven* also must be marked off; of the twenty-four chapters of Luke, *thirteen* are on the same ground exceptionable; and of the twenty-one chapters of John's Gospel, *ten* are excluded. Or, otherwise stated, it stands thus: of eighty-nine chapters, forty-five must sooner or later fall out of use in the practice of religious instruction. The Book of the Acts could scarcely be read at all; nor quite a half of the Epistles.

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they have come into a condition which impels them to take to themselves, with a sort of zest, a conclusion which, *at the very moment of accepting it*, they see to be the weaker conclusion of two propounded to their choice. Resolute logicians will say—This supposed case is impossible; nor must it be imagined as real:—the weaker and the worse reason *must*, in some way, have clothed itself in false colours, which give it an aspect of force and conclusiveness. We adhere to our belief in the reality of the paradox, and think that some minds cling to the worse, and reject the better reason, *while fully conscious of the relative merits of the two.* It is the feebleness, the insufficiency, the want of evidence in support of an opinion, which is the charm, or the irresistible fascination that gains it favour, and which secures for it a preference. Instances partly analogous to this are of frequent occurrence. Generous spirits move forward with alacrity to espouse the cause of the feeble, when they are seen to be in contest with the strong. The best impulses prompt us to take side with the oppressed. We kindle with a noble ambition to circumvent the despot, and to compel him to lick the dust. Such instances may afford an aid in solving a problem which, when it is formally stated, may seem inadmissible. If we may rely upon facts as of more authority than theory, we shall retain our belief that this sort of upside-down mode of choosing our side in a controversy, is a reality in human nature. There is a siding with the lamb against the wolf when the lamb is a sophism, and the wolf—a valid reason! Absurd as this may seem, it is so. On the one hand, there is propounded a conclusion which instantly approves itself to common sense, and which is sustained by an abundance of evidence: on the other hand, we are asked to listen to a bare surmise, a mere film of probability, destitute of a particle of rational support. The best that can be affirmed concerning it is, that it is not absolutely an impossible supposition! Who is it now that shall generously stand up and accept a fee for maintaining the cause of—a cobweb—a bubble? There are minds that will be prompt at the call: seldom is either a cobweb or a bubble non-suited for want of an advocate.

And besides this, in minds astutely constituted there is an irresistible gravitation toward the exceptive side in argument. It is an instinct which impels such minds to look always for a way of escape from a foreseen conclusion;—they make for the chink;—they run towards the hole in the wall. There is a nervous terror of an impending demonstration:—there is a petulant resentment of the tyranny of Truth. Thus it is—as we think—that minds of more sensitiveness than force, yield themselves to the enchantment of theories which they freely confess to be "thin as air," because such theories contradict overwhelming reasons. Thus it is that the very strength of the cumulative Christian argument is the real cause of its rejection by many. We need not impute motives of a more improper kind to many who resist that argument: it may be, that the resistance takes its spring rather from a fault of the intellectual habitudes than from any immoral repugnance toward Christian doctrines or precepts.

But it is minds of a different structure that are just now yielding themselves to the fascination of a nugatory argument, founded upon what is termed "The Order of Nature," and which is alleged to be adverse to the Christian affirmation of miracles. How it is adverse, the latest and the ablest expounder of this doctrine has not attempted to show. Nowhere does the ground of this adverse bearing appear. It may be well to sift the argument, if it be *an argument*, of those who are now insisting upon it.

The confidence which, at this time, all instructed persons feel in the constancy of events in the natural world, stands opposed, in the first place, to popular superstitions, and to that appetite for the marvellous which in every age has stimulated impositions and quackeries. Moreover, this confidence is a proper corrective of those unwarrantable modes of thinking and talking which have prevailed among some religious folks, who have allowed themselves to believe that, in answer to their prayers, and often for the indulgence of their egotism or foolish wishes, the Divine Providence is wont to work small miracles daily, in their favour—interrupting the order of nature, right hand and left hand—to save its favourites a disappointment or a vexation. Such persons, if indeed such there now are, and if they will listen to better teaching, should be taught to include in their belief of a Special Providence and of the efficacy of prayer, this principle—that within and by the means of the complicated movements of the system around us, and *always* in perfect accordance with the constancy of cause and effect, physical and moral, the Divine Intelligence brings about its purposes of discipline toward individuals and towards communities, realizing the intentions of a higher scheme of government, by the means of the invariable constitutions of a lower scheme, to both which we stand related in the world we live in;—to the one not less truly, though less ostensibly, than to the other.

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So far as it may seem to be opposed to a belief in the miracles of the evangelic history, the axiom of modern science concerning the constancy of nature can take effect as *a feeling only;* and it is a fact worthy of notice, that the very persons who just now are insisting upon this axiom, for the purpose of undermining the Christian argument, exhibit themselves as the victims of an impression, or a prejudice, as baseless as any popular illusion that might be named. A life-long and undiverted concernment with particular departments of physical science, and the daily habitude of following causes into their effects, and of ascending from effects to causes, *on single lines of causation*, generate a mode of thinking which we recognise at once as narrow and unphilosophical, when we encounter it upon other paths. Minds of great vigour in their own department—whether it be mathematical, or mechanical, or chemical, or physiological—show themselves to be very little superior to the ignorant multitude at any time when they are invited to take a turn upon a path which hitherto has been unfrequented by themselves. So it was, we venture to think, with the eminent man lately gone—Baden Powell—who has pushed this argument against miracles to its utmost extent. In his view, "the Order of Nature" was—its constancy on the one, two, or three lines of sequence which were the most familiar to himself. His Cosmos was the Cosmos of which a knowledge may be acquired by those who have no habits of thought connected with the Cosmos of a higher sphere.

The Cosmos Universal—the great world around us, to the settled order of which our individual agency is related — brings us, every day and hour, into collision with crossings, with interruptions, or with overthrows, with dissonances, which take their rise from the inter-action of independent lines of causation. That is to say, there are many lines of sequence which, though each of them is *constant in itself*, is not linked with other lines, which also are constant in themselves. It is thus that the meteorologic world, related as no doubt it is, *on the whole*, to the welfare of the vegetable and the animal systems, interrupts these destructively, at points. Thus it is also, that animal agency is every moment turning aside, if we may so speak, the great machine of the inorganic world; and thus especially, that civilised man is, in a thousand modes, and by aid of his inventive faculty, giving new directions, at his will, to the Order of Nature—chemical, mechanical, physiological, and moral too. In all these instances, it is Order that still prevails; nor are there any miracles, nor are any "outrages perpetrated upon Nature." Nevertheless, innumerable cases present themselves in which causation upon one line comes athwart causation upon some other, or, it may be, upon several other lines of sequence. It is an ample acquaintance with instances of this kind, derived from a knowledge of the Greater Scheme of things, which gives a breadth to the mind, constituting the difference between the philosophic, and the merely scientific, or technical style and feeling. The Essays above alluded to are curious samples of the force of a professional prejudice in narrowing the views of even so strong a mind—a mind scientific much rather than philosophical. This eminent man, in his lapse of years as a writer, has exhibited the inevitable downward tendency of this prejudice, which, at the last, led him to adopt the most unintelligible of myths, as the only means left him by aid of which he might conserve a remnant of his Christian creed. This doctrine of the Order of Nature, as opposed to an unexceptive belief in the evangelic miracles, is devoid of meaning; for, though formidable at a first glance, it is a begging of the question in debate—nothing more. It is manifest that an argument resting on this basis—if indeed it deserves to be called *an argument*—can never go beyond the limit of a negative presumption. No imaginable condition under which it may present itself, can impart to it the millionth part of any positive force; nor has it any logical contrariety to positive evidence. The utmost value that can be assigned to the presumption against miracles is this—it may be allowed to run alongside of an argument drawn from positive evidence, in the way of a caution or a corrective of credulity.

But there *is* a sphere within which a due regard paid to the Order of Nature affords ground for confident conclusions. Let it be asked — Is not Human Nature a part of Nature? and is there not ORDER on *this* side also of the universe? Or is there no coherence among its elements? Are there no congruities which we may trust to in the moral world? Surely there are; and if only we are willing to trust ourselves on this ground—if we have courage to tread this upper path, we shall find it firm—not less firm than the lower ground. Whoever has been perplexed by sophisms concerning the Order of Nature, if he will fearlessly take up and follow this same axiom of the constancy of law, and the certainty of the connection of cause and effect, he will find in it an ample confutation of the narrow conclusions that have embarrassed him while confining his view to the objects of a lower level.

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The difficulty of supposing that any contradiction, or any *violation of principles*, has occurred in the moral world, *is just double* of the difficulty of admitting a miracle, or an interruption to have occurred in the world of physical causation. It is so, because, while our knowledge of the material world is a knowledge of the crust only, a knowledge which is often illusory; (and of the inner in nature, we know nothing) but as to the constitution, and as to the Order of the moral world, or the world of Consciousness, we are acquainted with it in two modes—and these are independent, the one of the other. We come to know the world of human nature by our daily experience of the conduct and professions of those around us, just as we come to know the course of the material world by observation; and in single instances we may be mistaken. But as to the inner mind, our knowledge of this is never illusory. We may put a wrong interpretation upon its testimony; but *itself* is always veracious: if there be a mystery, we are ourselves at the very core of the mystery; if there be concealment, we are parties to every secret. It is by the aid of this sure knowledge of the inner world, that we revise and interpret the appearances of the outer world.

It may be said that, as to the moral world, it so abounds with anomalies—it is so thick with inconsistencies—it is so inconstant, that we ought not to rely at all upon its phenomena. An averment of this sort should not be advanced by those Leading Minds of the present time that are giving direction to Modern Thought; nor is it these that should draw back from an appeal to the Order of Nature; for it is these who are proclaiming the doctrine, that, as apples fall to the earth, so do men think, speak, and act, in unvarying conformity with law—the law of motives. Let it be so; but if it be so, then let us abide by the consequences of the principle we profess. We also believe that in the world of human motives — feelings — dispositions, it is law, not chance, that holds empire. In this region there are laws of a lower order, and there are laws of a higher order; and as to the higher, they are not less sure in their operation than the lower, and often do these prevail over those, and in doing so, give rise to *appearances* of inconstancy — never to actual anomalies.

It is this fixed belief in the stedfastness of the Order of Nature throughout the moral world, that is the very ground of our confidence as Christians. It is in reliance upon this principle that we read the Gospels, and that we trust ourselves to the veracity, to the congruity, to the coherence of what we there read. The ground of this confidence may need to be cleared of misapprehension; but it is in no sense obscure or uncertain, nor is it less to be thought of than is that on which we affirm the constancy of Law in the world of ponderable elements, of chemical affinities, and of animal organization. The ORDER OF NATURE IN THE MORAL WORLD is indeed "an anchor of the soul, sure and stedfast." How much soever we may at any moment have been perplexed and disheartened by the spectacle of the appearant confusions that attach to the moral world, looked at in small portions or patches, we do not, if sound-minded, lose our hold of great principles. We may have been baffled for an hour; but, after a time, we return to our ground of confidence in truths which are the stay of virtue and the aliment of hope. So it is, that as often as we are so happy as to see these truths—these unchanging elements of reason and goodness — coming forth embodied in their proper force, even though it be imperfectly, we exult in the sight; — we recognise the reality of this sample with a vivid and profound emotion. It is a peace-giving satisfaction that we feel. This pleasure is so much the more intense if it confronts us suddenly in times of perplexity or doubt. But if it be indeed an instance of *pure* intelligence,—if it be *faultless* wisdom—if it be *spotless* virtue—if it be *boundless* goodness,—then these perfections so realized are not merely powers or qualities which we admire, for beyond this, or beside it, they are welcomed as SIMPLIFICATIONS which, as by a charm, restore order and confidence to our troubled spirits. The sight avails to dissipate comfortless confusions, it restores our shaken faith in the order of the world, it re-animates our hopes of a bright future, and it serves as a demonstration of Truth in Human Nature, opposed alike to anarchy, to fortuity, and to despair.

It is thus, and it is at such moments, and it is in this plenitude of moral force, that the CHRIST of the Evangelists comes into prospect; and what we there see heals the spirit, and raises the fallen, and dispels confusion. It does so because the Moral System is real, and because human nature is indissolubly related to that system—a system as wide as all worlds; and because the laws of this moral scheme, itself eternal, shall follow man into a future life. It is for these reasons, that, at the instant when there comes into view the Evangelic Incarnation of absolute wisdom and virtue, we welcome it as real, and it receives the in-

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voluntary homage, as well of our moral instincts, as of our reason. Upon all minds, unless they be grossly sensual, or hopelessly depraved by sophistry, the CHRIST of the Gospels enters by right of His eternal fitness so to enter, and so to be honoured. The force of these impressions is so much the greater, because they come to us through the medium, not of a rotund and voluminous memoir carefully prepared, but as sparkling and burning from every point of these fragmentary records. It is thus that we gain our idea of THE MAN who, though He has no peer among men, yet is confessed to be one of ourselves by every human spirit.

And thus it is that CHRIST has hitherto ruled in the heart of Christianized communities; and thus too, of late, He has received the homage even of those who come forward to put to Him the factious question, "Who gave thee this authority, tell us?" This question, in its modern guise, is thus worded, "Was Christ a Divinely-commissioned Teacher of Truth?" and the writer who puts the question believes that he may answer it in the negative. Nevertheless, he says (a passage often cited):—"It is difficult, without exhausting superlatives, even to unexpressive and wearisome satiety, to do justice to our intense love, reverence, and admiration for the character and teaching of Jesus. We regard Him not as the perfection of the intellectual or philosophic mind, but as the perfection of the spiritual character, as surpassing all men at all times in the closeness and depth of His communion with the Father. In reading His sayings, we feel that we are holding converse with the wisest, purest, noblest Being that ever clothed thought in the poor language of humanity. In studying His life, we feel that we are following the footsteps of the highest ideal yet presented to us upon earth."*

Thus far, then, BELIEF and DISBELIEF are at one! To this point has Modern Thought advanced itself, or rather, thus far it has been pushed forward by the insensible progress of the intellectual tastes, and of the purified moral habitudes of these times. Several parallel and very recent testimonies might be adduced in proof of the fact that this CHRIST, such as we find Him set before us in the Gospels, lives, and must ever live, in the moral consciousness of all men, Christian and non-Christian. Thus He lives, not merely in His precepts, but in the idea of Himself, for the perpetual rectification of confused and deranged moral principles, and for the solving of interminable perplexities. Wearied as we may have been by the spectacle of the contradictions of the human system, ever and again turning up the wrongful and the untrue, now at length THE MAN appears on earth who not only is exempt from *fault* and *sin*, but from Incoherence, from Incongruity, from interior Contradictions. In this bright Reality, although nowhere else within the circle of human experience, there is demonstrated, in the view of all men, PERFECT MORAL ORDER;—it is even that perfection which human nature is ever yearning for, and which it dimly imagines, but which it has never found in itself, or elsewhere than in this One Instance.

The Order of Nature—we must not forget it — is twofold. It is constantly in the sequence of events—that is to say, Order in Time; and it is also the constancy of Congruity; or, in technical terms, Order in Space. The second of these fixed connections is as real and as certain as the first, and is equally to be relied upon. Yet if we follow the leaders of Modern Thought whither they are themselves gone, our position will be this:—We admit, on the one hand, that CHRIST was, as they, and as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews affirms, "the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of His Person;" but, on the other hand, affirm that He claimed to be what He was not—that he played with the credulity of His followers—that he winked at and cherished the superstitions of His times—that he proclaimed Himself to be "the Light of the World," and "the Resurrection and the Life," of which Himself was to be the sample: but that, in truth, He died as other men die, and perished bodily as others perish.

Where shall we stop in giving words to the monstrous contradictions of this creed? Let the reader, and whether he be religiously-minded or not so, take his New Testament in hand, and, with the recent admissions of the writers referred to before him, make his way, as he can, through the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles. No sane mind can do this so as to bring into accordance, on any imaginable hypothesis, these repellant conceptions, which, if they offend piety, do in an equally extreme degree shock the consciousness of historic truth, violate the tastes of a well-ordered mind, and affront the irresistible dictates of Reason.

Already we have said (p. 320), that when the clerical promoters of this present movement shall have put away the evasions beneath which they now screen themselves, and when, like open-faced and out-spoken

* Creed of Christendom, p. 227.

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Englishmen, they shall set forth with distinctness what it is they believe, they will, in doing so, drive their congregations helter-skelter out of Church. This confidence we have in the force and soundness of the British mind, as to be sure that church-going habits would not out-live a year the honest announcement, in any church or chapel, that, in the preacher's opinion, there is not a word of truth in the Gospel miracles, and that CHRIST, the Saviour of the World, did not, as is affirmed by the Evangelists, rise from the dead.

If congregations are thus dispersed, what is it that shall be taking place within the saddened sanctuary of individual hearts? An answer need scarcely be given to this question. Souls that once were glad, that once were, to all appearance, cheered by a "good hope" of the life eternal, even the life that is "hid with Christ in God"—souls, it may be years ago, that were exulting in the assurance of the forgiveness of sins—obtained for His sake who shed His blood for them "on the tree,"—such spirits, once abounding in works of mercy done "as unto CHRIST," and, moreover, "patient in tribulation, rejoicing in hope, and continuing instant in prayer," what are they now? The pernicious insinuations of Modern Thought have been listened to. The Saviour of sinners has been removed from His place in their view, and instead of being the supreme object of devout and humble trust, He has been summoned to the bar of a captious criticism: His cause has been heard, and judgment pronounced: the arraignment has been admitted to be proven in part; yet still He is to be thought of as "our Divine Teacher;" but no longer is He—Sacrifice, Propitiation, Mediator, Lord!—no more is He to be looked for as coming again "to judge the world in righteousness,"—no more is He to be trusted in as the Giver of immortality, for He Himself "died and was buried," and in that sepulchre, or in some unnoted grave, He underwent the destiny of all men. In that sepulchre, or elsewhere, the "Desire of all nations," the Hope of the world, mingled His dust with the dust of others! What remains to us after this destruction has had its course, is—an empty tomb, the spices that long since have spent their aroma, the grave-clothes, the folded napkin:—what remains to us is a "teaching," more pure and sublime indeed than that of the Greek philosophy; and yet it is a teaching which is so intimately commingled with delusions, if not frauds, that Morality will be better honoured henceforth by consigning our Christianity to oblivion, than by conserving it as a perpetual offence to the instincts of virtue, to common honesty, and to sound reason!

A strong reaction from enormities of this magnitude will not be slow to come. The very men who have prostituted their learning and talents in bringing Modern Thought to its ripeness, will, some of them, after a time stand aghast at their own work: some, and the greater number, will betake themselves to the silent region of Pantheistic quiescence, and will there find, in an anticipated Nirwana, a refuge from the indignant clamours of offended public feeling. A few, it may be, will retrace their steps, and regain position as Christian men.

When we thus look forward to a reaction —and a powerful reaction it will not fail to be—from the offensive extravagancies of this now current scheme, we must not forget that it will take effect in opposite directions; or rather, upon the two parties that are opposed to each other in the most extreme degree: *first*, upon the Christianizing advocates of this form of disbelief, driving them from their false ground as professed Christians; and then, upon those of the conservative party in theology whose alarms at the progress of criticism have seemed to indicate some unfixedness in their own faith. A genuine Biblical criticism, always ruled and directed by a religious temper, and animated by a thorough belief in the Divine origination of the Scriptures, and consequently in the historic reality of what is supernatural therein, is our proper defence against every midway doctrine between Christianity in its entireness, and that last stage of metaphysic insanity, of which a remarkable sample is presented in the volume named at the head of this article. Genuine Biblical Criticism, in its sure progress beyond its present position, will not fail to bring with it, as a natural result—a Doctrine of Inspiration that shall be better defined than any which the Church has hitherto been possessed of, and which —if not by all among ourselves, yet by better instructed men who may ere long take our places, shall be assented to, and at length accepted by the religious community at large; and shall be rejoiced in as an abiding-place of safety—a munition of strength, against which nugatory sophisms, such as those of Modern Thought, shall cease to be hurled.

Throughout those publications of recent date in which, with more or less distinctness, the system thus designated makes its appearance, it is observable, that wherever the writer assumes a tone of confidence, as if conscious of standing upon a vantage-ground, and as if he were sure of his reader's concurrence, it is when he is assailing notions and exegetical usages that were prevalent in

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times anterior to the rise of the more exact criticism of the present century. The strength of modern disbelief is that which it draws from the misapprehensions, from the groundless alarms, from the superstitions, or the rigid prejudices, and, most of all, from unwarrantable dogmatic reasonings of a time gone by. So long as this untoward antagonism is maintained between these misapprehensions on the one side, and a petulant, captious, and nugatory disbelief on the other side, there will be no definiteness, no fixedness, no agreement among Christian men on the subject of Inspiration. Hitherto a skirmishing has gone on with uncertain advantages, sometimes on this side, sometimes on that—the result being, to the lookers on, disquiet and discouragement. It shall not always be so; let Modern Thought more fully develop its own atheistic quality, and the reaction shall commence which shall put our Bible into our hands with a new feeling of confidence, that we are holding indeed—THE BOOK OF GOD.

ART. II.—1. *Despatches from Her Majesty's Consuls in the Levant, respecting Past or Apprehended Disturbances in Syria*, 1858 *to* 1860. Presented to the House of Lords by command of Her Majesty, 1860.

2. *Papers relating to the Disturbances in Syria, June* 1860. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 1860.

3. *Further Papers relating to the Disturbances in Syria, June* 1860. Presented to the House of Lords by command of Her Majesty, 1860.

4. *Further Papers respecting Disturbances in Syria.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1860.

THE long history of Syria might be written in letters of blood. No country in the world has been the scene of such desolating wars, of such fierce contests of tribe with tribe, and sect with sect, and of successive acts of such inhuman atrocity and wanton cruelty. Other nations have had their seasons of political repose and peace; for full four thousand years Syria has had scarcely an hour. Other nations have long ago begun to feel the influence of advancing civilisation,—divesting war of some of its most appalling features, and restraining to some extent the brutal passions of party, tribe, and sect. Syria is an exception. Civilisation has been powerless over the dominant party in that land. It has approached her shores; it has swept past her for more than half a century in one continuous stream; but this has only tended to rouse that spirit of reckless ferocity which is the characteristic of the Muslem race, and that bloodthirsty fanaticism which is no less the characteristic of their faith. Many have read the accounts of early and mediæval Syrian massacres with feelings of semi-scepticism, as if common humanity would recoil from the perpetration of such deeds; and most men have regarded the histories of the wholesale butcheries of Antiochus Epiphanes, of Khaled the Saracen, and of Timur the Tartar, as grossly exaggerated. Yet, in our own enlightened age, in the eyes of all Europe, the Muslems and Druzes of Syria have perpetrated crimes as foul, murders as cold-blooded, massacres as unsparing, and in their detail as fiendish, as ever were recorded even in the pages of Syrian history. One's heart is thrilled at the very thought of them. One's blood boils with righteous indignation against the perpetrators. An overpowering feeling of mingled grief and horror fills the mind, and constrains one to cry aloud for justice. Especially is this the case when we find one at least of our countrymen numbered among the victims. But who could sit with ordinary calmness and hear of twelve hundred men, first disarmed under a solemn promise and written guarantee of full protection by their rightful defenders; and then, after a few days' starvation, wantonly betrayed and massacred? This took place at Hasbeya on the 11th of June last. Who could restrain his feeling on reading of *six thousand* unarmed, inoffensive men, set upon in cold blood, and brutally murdered, for no other cause than that they were Christians; their houses plundered and burned to ashes; and their wives and daughters dragged off by the murderers to a fate worse than death itself? This occurred on the 9th of July, in the city of Damascus. What man, and especially what parent, having within his breast the ordinary feeling of humanity, could hear unmoved the harrowing tale of women and children, whilst rushing out from their burning houses, being pitched back by the bayonets of a brutal soldiery into the flames; of infants snatched from their mothers' bosoms, and torn limb from limb before their eyes? Yet such were some of the scenes enacted in the recent massacres. We do not exaggerate; that would be impossible, as the following extracts from the letter of an eyewitness will show:—"Little boys four and five years old were not safe: these would be seized from the mother and dashed to the ground, or torn to pieces before her face; or, if her grasp was too tight, they would

kill them on her lap; and, in some cases, to save further trouble, mother and child were cut down together. Many women have assured me *that the Turkish soldiers have taken their children, one leg in each hand, and torn them in two.*" This was at Hasbeya. The details of the Deir-el-Kamr tragedy are still more horrible; "I have had a vivid description of the whole scene from some dozens of women who were there. They have told me how, before their very face, they have seen husband, father, brothers, and children cut to pieces; how, in trying to save the life of a child, they have been knocked down, and the child torn from them, and cut to pieces, *and the pieces thrown in their face!*" (*Mr. C. Graham to Lord Dufferin.*)

Why is Syria in such a state? Why can civilisation obtain no footing upon her shores? Why do those feelings of brotherhood, or even of political expediency, which bind other nations together, find no place in the breasts of her people? Why did the vast body of the population approve of the recent massacres? Why did the local authorities, from the highest to the lowest, overlook, encourage, and in many cases take part in them? Why did the central Government never put forth an effort to repress the outbreak until driven to it by the united demand of the Western Powers?

These are questions in the solution of which universal Christendom is interested. The claims of humanity call for a searching inquiry. But the Western Powers, and especially England and France, have a stronger claim to demand and require a full explanation. The kingdom of which Syria forms a part, is not now what it once was. It was once strong and warlike—the scourge of Asia, and the terror of Europe. It could and did then act independently of external influence. It alone was responsible. The case is now different. The days of Turkey's power and independence have long since gone. The Empire exists only upon sufferance. Nay, its tottering throne and rotten constitution are upheld by the united efforts — or rather the united jealousies — of the European monarchs. From the attacks of enemies without, and rebels within, England and France have been for years, and are at this moment, its only defence.. Every Englishman knows, that but for the unceasing exertions of our Ambassadors at Constantinople, and of our Consuls in the Paschalics, the vast Empire would, long ere this, have gone to pieces. We venture to affirm, that were these influences wholly withdrawn, and were Turkey left to her own unbiassed counsels, it could not hold together for six months. Such being the case, our country is to some extent implicated in the crimes of Turkey. England and France have, therefore, a valid claim—nay, they are morally bound—so far to interfere in the administration of the Turkish Empire as fully to inquire into such gross abuses, and to insist on their entire abolition. No man will venture to say that, while Christian nations uphold Turkey and defend her against all assailants, they are to stand calmly by and see thousands of human beings hunted down and slaughtered like wild beasts, for no other reason than that they bear the name of Christian. We do not feel, therefore, that we lay ourselves open to the charge of undue interference when we attempt to give plain answers to the above queries; and when we venture to press upon our Government the necessity of acting accordingly.

There is another question which, at the present juncture, forces itself upon the attention of England and of Europe. How is Syria to be pacified, and how are such outrages to be prevented in future? That the *status quo* cannot be allowed to remain, every one will admit. But the changes to be effected, and the new administration tc be established, are not so easily settled. Differences of opinion can scarcely be avoided in the various Cabinets; and yet these differences may involve the very gravest consequences—they may plunge Europe in war. France seems to aim at a military occupation. Her soldiers have already gained a footing in the country, and it will be contrary to her established policy if they are ever removed. But the occupation of Syria by the troops of France would open the way for Russia into the Danubian provinces, and would thus be the first step to the dismemberment of the Empire. This in itself would not be a subject of great regret. The dismemberment of Turkey is, we firmly believe, only a question of time; and, if judiciously effected, it would serve materially to advance the cause of civilisation. England, however, has good reason to contemplate any such step with serious alarm. The safety of India depends to a great extent on her ability to maintain open communication by the shortest route with that country. This could not be done with a French army in Syria; and, therefore, England must resist to the utmost of her power any attempt at a permanent French occupation.

We shall now endeavour to trace the causes of Syria's past progressive desolation and present anarchy; and having done so, we shall have prepared the way for an attempt to solve the great question—"How is Syria to be pacified?" or, in other words, to indicate the means by which the country

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may be saved from utter ruin, and the peace of Europe preserved.

Even a cursory glance at the "Despatches of the Consuls in the Levant," is sufficient to show that one pregnant cause of Syria's present troubles is the number of the sects which compose its population, their mutual jealousies and feuds, and the spirit of intolerant fanaticism by which they are animated. A knowledge of the history, tenets, and political relationships of these sects, is necessary to a full understanding of the Syrian Question.

The Druzes, it is now proved (*Despatches, Mr. Graham to Lord Dufferin*, p. 40), commenced the war; and they have throughout been the chief actors. To them, therefore, we give the first place in our sketch. There is no evidence in the language, the physical aspect, or the manners and customs of the Druzes, that they are of foreign extraction, or that they are even a distinct tribe. Their language is Arabic, without foreign idiom or accent; and their few peculiarities of dress and habits arise solely from the requirements of their faith. In the year A.D. 996, El Hâkim bi-Amr-Illah succeeded to the government of Egypt as third khalif of the Fatimite dynasty. He soon declared himself to be a prophet; but his conduct proved that he was a dangerous lunatic. In A.D. 1017, a Persian, called Mohammed Ben-Ismail *ed-Derazy*, settled in Egypt, and became a devoted follower of Hâkim. He even went further than his new master; and the religion which he attempted to found proved so obnoxious to the Muslems, that he was driven out of Egypt. He took refuge in a valley at the western base of Mount Hermon, not far from the town of Hasbeya, and being secretly supplied with money by the Egyptian khalif, he propagated his doctrines, and became the founder of the Druze sect. Their generic name is, in Arabic, *ed-Derûz;* the singular is *Durzy*, derived from the founder. Hâkim had another disciple called Hamzah, who seems to have been a man of tact and talent. He drew up the creed of the new sect, and the code of laws by which it has ever since been regulated. He was the rival of ed-Derazy, and probably was mainly instrumental in getting him banished. He wrote against him in terms of such bitterness and contempt, that the Druzes to this day hold up ed-Derazy to scorn under the emblem of a calf, and deny that he had any part in founding their sect. The principal articles of their faith are—1. The unity of God. 2. God has shown Himself at different epochs in a human form, the last being that of Hâkim. 3. *Wisdom* is the first of God's creatures, and the only direct product of His power. It has appeared on many occasions, and its last appearance was in the figure of Hamzah. This Wisdom is the mediator between God and His creatures. 4. The number of men is always the same, and souls pass successively into different bodies. The principal commands of their law are three—veracity (to each other *only*); mutual protection and assistance; and renunciation of all other religions (implying persecution even to utter extermination). They endeavour to keep their religion a secret; but copies of their sacred books have sometimes fallen into the hands of their enemies; and from these we find that they practise rites too gross even to be hinted at in these pages. One striking peculiarity of their law is, that it not only permits, but enjoins external conformity to the established religion of the country. The following question and answer is extracted from one of their catechisms:—"Why do you deny all books but the Korân to those who ask you? Necessity requires us to lean on the religion of the Muslems, and therefore we must confess the book of Mohammed. Nor is this compliance in any respect sinful; nor do we follow the Muslems in the matter of prayers over the dead for any other reason but because we are dependent, and that true religion requires us to comply with the prevailing authority."

The Druzes are divided into two classes, —the *Okkâl*, "Initiated;" and the *Juhhâl*, "Ignorant." With the former class, which, strange to say, includes many women, the religious ceremonies remain secret. They assemble in their chapels every Thursday evening, refusing admission to all others. It has transpired, however, that these meetings are more for the purpose of keeping up a system of private signs, and for collecting information, than for any acts of worship. Their organization is most complete. The Okkâl are the chief advisers in peace and war. The whole Druze country is divided into districts; each district has its council of Okkâl assembling weekly; a delegate from each council attends each meeting of the councils of all the bordering districts, to hear and communicate everything affecting the general interests. The rapidity and accuracy with which news is thus propagated is surprising, and is of vast importance in time of war. Thus united, and thus organized, the Druzes form one of the strongest parties in Syria. Every male is trained to arms from childhood, and as the vast majority are hardy mountaineers, they make admirable soldiers. When at peace, they are industrious and hospitable; but in war they have ever been characterized by their

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unsparing ferocity, and, when prompted by a spirit of revenge, they will not rest till they have shed the blood of their foe.

The Druzes, soon after the establishment of their sect, attained to considerable influence, both in Lebanon and also in Jebel el-Ala, near Aleppo. This gradually increased, until, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, Fakhr ed-Din, the most celebrated of all their chiefs, gained ascendency over the Christian princes, and became ruler of Lebanon. His descendants continued in power for nearly a hundred years; but during that time the Druzes themselves were divided into factions, while their rivals, the Maronites, became more energetic and influential. On the death of the last of Fakhr ed-Din's line, the united aristocracy of the mountain resolved to elect a stranger to the vacant office. Their choice fell on an Emir of Hasbeya, a scion of the ancient house of Shehab, which claims its descent from the standard-bearer of Mohammed. For nearly a century and a half the government of Lebanon was entrusted by the Porte to one member or another of this princely family. The last who held it was the celebrated Emir Beshir. Policy led this prince to renounce Mohammedanism and embrace Christianity. This conciliated the Maronites, and greatly strengthened his government. Though he still continued to acknowledge the authority of the Sultan, and to pay a small tribute, yet he ruled supreme as an independent monarch. By a stern, and sometimes a terrible exercise of his power, he at length succeeded in crushing rebellion, and bringing the various factions and sects into complete subjection. Murder and robbery, before so common, were almost unknown; person and property were everywhere safe; roads were constructed, and industry of every kind was encouraged. The beautiful palaces of Bteddin, erected by the Emir, showed that his taste was equal to his talent.

When the troops of Mohammed Aly invaded Syria and captured Acre, the Emir welcomed them, and invited the commander, Ismail Pasha, to his palace. Ismail accepted the invitation, and so arranged his plans, that on the evening of his arrival at Bteddin, 15,000 of his soldiers occupied the surrounding heights. The Pasha then demanded that the mountaineers should be disarmed. The Maronites complied; but the Druzes resisted, and, notwithstanding the power and energy of their new masters, most of them retained their weapons. This gave them a great advantage over the Christians, which they have ever since maintained. The Egyptians were driven out by the English forces in 1840; and the aged Emir Beshir was deprived of his government and banished. A ruinous policy was now adopted for the government of Lebanon. It was divided into two sections; over the one was placed a Druze chief, and over the other a Christian, both being subject to the Pasha of Sidon. A fair field was thus opened for giving full scope to jealousies, bitter hatred, and smothered feuds of centuries. Each sect, under its own leader, watched a favourable opportunity to assail the other. The Turkish Pasha, feeling his inability to control the warlike mountaineers, stirred up their mutual jealousies, and in the wars of 1841 and 1845 succeeded in desolating a great part of Lebanon by fire and sword. When both Maronites and Druzes were sufficiently weakened, the Turks tried to disarm them; but this, so far as the Druzes were concerned, was a failure. In one thing, however, the Turks did not fail. They did not fail in destroying the roads constructed by the old Emir; in ruining his beautiful palaces; in effectually checking that agricultural industry and commercial enterprise which he had originated, and which the Egyptians fostered; in handing over life and property throughout the whole mountain to the tender mercies of every armed vagabond; and in kindling such deadly hatred in the breasts of the rival sects as must eventually make Lebanon a wilderness. It is greatly to be regretted that this plan of divided rule was adopted chiefly through the influence of England. No plan could be more fatal to the prosperity of the mountains, or the peace of its inhabitants. And so long as it is persisted in war and bloodshed must continue.

The total Druze population does not exceed 80,000 souls. Of these, some 70,000 are concentrated in the southern division of Mount Lebanon, and round the base of Hermon. In Haurân, the ancient Bashan, there are 7000 or 8000; and in Jebel el-Ala a few hundred families still remain. The most powerful of the Druze chiefs in Lebanon are the following: Sheikh Said Jimblat, called, from his great wealth, the "Purse of the Druzes." He holds an influential post under the Turkish Government, as Head of Police in the district of Mukhtarah. He appears to have played an atrocious part in the late outbreak,—openly professing a desire for peace, but secretly stirring up his men to wholesale slaughter of the Christians. One of his principal officers was a leading man at the massacre of Hasbeya. His attempt at double-dealing, when visited officially by Mr. Cyril Graham, was base and cowardly in the extreme. Probably the next in influence to Said Jimblat, is Sheikh Hussein Talhûk, called, from his

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great wisdom, or rather cunning, the "*Head* of the Druzes." Though one of the principal leaders in the war, he appears to have taken no part in the massacres. Sheikh Beshir Abu Neked is another name of note, and the head of a powerful clan, grouped round Deir el-Kamr; and his followers, in conjunction with the Turkish soldiers, murdered the whole male Christian population of that town. The Druzes of the Haurân were led by Sheikh Ismail el-Atrash, of Ary, near Bozrah, a chief who played a distinguished part against the Government in the rebellion of 1853. He was present at the massacres of Hasbeya, and Rasheya, and at the burning of Zahleh. Some recent apologists for the Druzes have urged in their favour the fact, that the lives and properties of English merchants, missionaries, and others connected with this country, were everywhere respected by them. This is true; but there are two good reasons for it. *First*, There is scarcely a leading man among the Druzes at the present moment who does not owe his life to English influence. Several years ago, when in rebellion against the Sultan, eighty of their chiefs were decoyed to Damascus; and there, to a man, they would have been seized and executed, had it not been for Mr. Wood, the late consul. He gave them an asylum in his house; kept them there for four months, in defiance of the Pasha; and finally obtained from Constantinople an order for their release. *Second*, The Druzes are wise and far-seeing. They know that England has been hitherto their friend and protector, and they rely upon our country still. They therefore try, by shielding a few scattered Englishmen, and a few of their agents and personal friends, to gain their good will, and, through them, that of their Government. It is to be hoped, however, that in this instance their cunning policy will not be successful; and that no personal considerations will ever induce any Englishman to defend or excuse the perpetrators of such atrocities as those committed at Deir el-Kamr, Hasbeya, and Rasheya.

The *Metawileh* are the followers of Aly, son-in-law of Mohammed. They reject his three predecessors in the Khalifite, and affirm that he alone is the lawful Imâm, and that supreme authority, in things temporal and spiritual, belongs to him and his descendants. They reject the *Sonna*, or traditional law, and are, therefore, regarded as heretics by other Muslems. They number about 25,000. Nearly one-half of them occupy Belâd Besharah, on the southern border of the Druze country; and there, one or two of their Sheikhs afforded an asylum to the fleeing Christians, though others took part in the massacres. A more powerful section of them reside in villages of Anti-Lebanon, near Baalbek, and are led by the noble family of Harfûsh. The Harfûsh Emirs have for ages been the pests of the country. Hitherto they have been the deadly enemies of both the Druzes and the Government; but recently they joined both Turks and Druzes in the plunder and burning of the Christian town of Zahleh!

The *Nusairîyeh*, or *Ansarîyeh*, are a wild and lawless tribe, numbering about 60,000, and inhabiting the chain of mountains which extends from the great valley at the north end of Lebanon to the banks of the Orontes at Antioch. It is not easy to tell whether these people approach in faith more nearly to Christians, Mohammedans, or Pagans. Their religion still remains a secret, notwithstanding all attempts made to dive into its mysteries. They have taken no part in the recent massacres; but they have contributed materially, by their turbulence and disorder, to bring about the existing state of anarchy.

The *Kurds* have also attained to considerable notoriety, from the part they took in the attack upon Zahleh, and in the massacres in and around Damascus. They are all foreigners, and were brought from their native mountains of Kurdistan to act as irregular troops. They are almost all in the employment of the Government, forming the main part of the notorious *Bashi Bazouks*. Between them and the Druzes a bloody feud has long existed; yet they laid aside their mutual enmity that they might unite in the plunder and murder of Christians.

The history and tenets of the Maronites are too well known in England to require any notice in this place. We shall confine our remarks to their political and geographical position. Lebanon is at once their home and their stronghold. They inhabit exclusively the northern section of the mountains from Tripoli to Beyrout. The border land between their country and that of the Druzes lies along the banks of the Beyrout river, and is called El-Metn. They have, however, many scattered villages south of this, extending through the whole of the Druze country; and here they are mixed with a number of Christians of other sects, —Greeks and Greek Catholics. The district of El-Metn is bounded on the north by a wild, deep glen,—so deep that it looks like a huge fissure in the mountain side. Down it rushes the Dog River—Lycus flumen—leaping madly from rock to rock, and from precipice to precipice. On its northern bank

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begins the province of Kesrawan, the citadel of the Maronites. Its surface is steep, rocky, and rugged; but every spot where earth can be found or scraped together, is carefully tilled. The cultivation, in fact, is wonderful,—terraces hewn out along the sides of cliffs, and planted with vines and mulberries, —miniature corn fields, cleared at enormous cost of time and labour. Villages dot the whole mountain side. Their houses are not huddled together, like those farther south; each stands in the midst of its own garden. This gives them a look of comfort, cleanliness, and cheerful prosperity; and it shows that here these Maronites dwell in security and peace, far from hostile Druzes and wandering Arabs.

During the last few years a variety of circumstances have contributed to keep the Maronites in a state of discontent and semi-rebellion. That they should be under the immediate rule of one of their own native princes was never satisfactory to the Porte. It has been already stated how Lebanon was divided into two sections, a Christian and a Druze, and each placed under the immediate rule of a native prince, called *Kaim-akam* (literally "Lieutenant"). This arrangement was never pleasing to the Turks. The Government has, therefore, watched every opportunity to have it abolished. The Pasha of Sidon has latterly forced upon the Christians an unpopular, and, as it appears, a venal governor. The people refused to submit to his authority, or to pay him their taxes; but being the head of a large and powerful clan, and having the support of the Pasha, he attempted to establish his authority by force. The Druzes saw a good opportunity for weakening the Maronites by dividing them into parties, and, therefore, took the side of the governor. French agents meantime stirred up the people; and thus the whole province was in a state of the most intense excitement, and ready, on the least pretext, to take to arms. The Druzes had observed, besides, that the Christian element in Lebanon and on the coast has been steadily advancing in enterprise, wealth, and number, whilst they have been on the decline. The Turks observed this also; and they saw that a spirit of independence was proportionally springing up among the Christians. Neither Druzes nor Turks could conceal their jealousy. They understood each other; and, as it will appear in the sequel, they resolved to act in concert to crush a common foe. It was of vast importance, however, to throw the odium and responsibility of commencing hostilities upon the Maronites. This was easily done. Christian muleteers were waylaid and murdered on the road; and in the beginning of May a poor monk was killed in his convent. These repeated acts of cowardly assassination stung the Christians to madness. A large body of those inhabiting the Metn flew to arms. The Druzes *appeared* to be unprepared for this; their Sheikhs *professed* to call out for peace. Yet in an incredibly short time they proved that they were but too well prepared for war. The first serious conflict took place in the Metn, on May 28th. The Christians were driven back; and the Druzes immediately began a systematic attack upon all the Christian villages in their territory. On the evening of that day no less than thirty-two were seen from Beyrout in flames; and before a month had passed, 150 Christian villages were in ashes, 6000 Christians were massacred, and 75,000 more, chiefly widows and orphans, were left houseless and destitute wanderers. The Druzes did not adopt the bold and manly plan of marching northwards, and attacking the main body of the Maronites in their own territory; they were satisfied with the dastardly policy of plundering those at their mercy, and of murdering in cold blood all within their reach who had either no means of defence, or had laid down their arms. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the Maronites also exhibited a great want of courage and decision. They far outnumber the Druzes; and by a rapid movement they might have easily sent such a force southwards to Deir el-Kamr as would have relieved their suffering brethren. Why did they not do so? Why did they seem paralysed after the first few days' fighting? Why did the Turkish troops, who were encamped in the neighbourhood, not interfere at the outset, to separate the combatants and preserve peace? Above all, why did these troops permit the Druzes to burn the large village of Hadeth, within musket-shot of their camp; and why did they themselves assist in the work, and fire upon the flying Christians? The reply to these questions brings in another element. It does more,—it lays bare the root of the whole matter.

The Muslems have now for twelve centuries been the rulers of Syria; and at the present moment they constitute four-fifths of its whole population. Several distinct dynasties and races have during that period risen and fallen; but the laws laid down by Mohammed, and embodied in the Koran, have been uniformly followed by them all. To understand Syria's mournful history, we must understand these laws. To discover the causes of the country's decay, of its progressive depopulation, and of the recent fear-

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ful massacres, we must study the principles of morality and legislation upon which the Mohammedan Government is based. The time has fully come for the politicians of Western Europe, and especially of England, to examine with care the genius of *Islâm.* The day has passed and gone for ever when Christian Europe trembled at that name, and the period has arrived when, by the exercise of an enlightened policy, one of the fairest portions of the world may be saved from its withering influence. The lessons learned from history are among the statesman's best instructors and safest guides. The history of the past twelve centuries shows but too plainly the effects of Islâm on both individuals and nations—its moral effects, its physical effects, and its political effects. In the consideration of this subject, we must carefully distinguish between the *Mohammedan* Empire and the *Turkish* Empire. The former is the empire established by Mohammed, and which has ever received the Koran as its guide in all things, civil and religious. The latter is only one of its dynasties. The latter might still remain in power though it departed from the other. This act of separation might be effected at any time by the will of the sovereign and his advisers; and we firmly believe that such a separation is absolutely necessary, not merely to the prosperity, but to the very existence of the Empire. It will tend very materially to aid us in forming a true estimate of the genius of Mohammedanism, if we keep this fact in mind, that it has been adopted in succession by nations and tribes widely different in their origin, habits, and mental characteristics; and yet its effects upon all have been invariably the same. It has run a uniform course among all the people that have embraced it, and the dynasties that have filled the throne of the Prophet. There has been in every case a rapid attainment of power by devastating wars, and then a progressive decline commencing from the moment when conquests were checked, and the "Faithful" sat down to reap the fruits of their victories. Islâm has always prospered in the camp and in the field; but when the excitement of war has passed, its life and vigour have disappeared, and its votaries have sunk into that state of moral degradation and physical debasement which are the necessary results of unrestrained licentiousness. Had Islâm survived only during a few centuries of the middle ages, it might have been supposed that to the state of those times was due much of the ruin and misery that were entailed on the countries over which it spread. But its working and effects are the same now in the nineteenth as they were in the ninth century; they are the same under the dynasty of Othman and the supremacy of the Turks, as they were under the line of the Abassides and the rule of the Arabs. They are as little influenced by the civilisation and refinement of Western Europe, as they were by the luxury and superstitions of the Byzantine Empire. Islâm is incapable of advancement; and so long as it remains the sole source of a nation's laws, and the sole regulator of a nation's morals, that nation must continue morally and physically enervated. Such language may be distasteful to some in this country. A few good and great men have recently been in the habit of stating that, after all, Mohammedanism has much that is good in it, and that it might even be regarded as a kind of blessing, because it is better than some other conceivable forms of religion or superstition. To this we reply, Was it a blessing to destroy all the great old cities of Syria? Was it a blessing to depopulate the rich plains of Bashan, Hamath, Sharon, and Esdraelon? Was it a blessing to destroy, by wantonness or neglect, every road in the country, every harbour on the coast, every monument of taste, genius, and utility—to sweep away an extensive commerce and a prosperous agriculture? Was it a blessing to degrade and enslave a noble race of people? If these were blessings, then is Mohammedanism a blessing. No man, with Syria's dark history before him, can say that Mohammedanism is productive of aught but evil. We must look on that land and its present faith in a scriptural light, for thus only can we comprehend the philosophy of its sad history. A curse was pronounced on every province, and on almost every town, because of national sin. Mohammedanism has been, and is still, the instrument in God's hand for the execution of these curses.

But some say Mohammedanism *is* changing; it is advancing with the spirit of the age; it is setting aside its old intolerant laws, and adopting the sentiments and policy of the liberal nations of Europe. This is all sophistry. Mohammedanism *cannot* change. Intolerance and mental and political slavery are inalienably linked to the system. The Turkish Government may abolish it piecemeal. Every liberal principle they adopt must be at the sacrifice of a dogma of the Koran. The Turkish Government have manifested the greatest reluctance even to attempt this. Every concession hitherto made has not been granted; it has been wrung from them by strangers. Witness the repeated attempts made by Eng-

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land and France to obtain a repeal of the inhuman statute which condemned every apostate from Islamism to death. For this so-called crime a young man was beheaded in Constantinople in 1843. The whole of the Christian powers entered a strong protest against such an act of barbarity, and united in a demand for the abrogation of the law. Lord Aberdeen, in his despatch to the ambassador, even went so far as to menace the integrity of the Empire: "Your Excellency will therefore press upon the Turkish Government, that if the Porte has any regard to the friendship of England—if it has any hope that in the hour of peril or of adversity, that protection which has more than once saved it from destruction, will be extended to it again, it must renounce absolutely, and without equivocation, the barbarous practice which has called forth the remonstrance now addressed to it. . . Her Majesty's Government are so anxious for the continuance of a good understanding with Turkey, and that the Porte should entitle itself to their good offices in the hour of need, that they wish to leave no expedient untried before they shall be compelled to admit the conviction, that all their interest and friendship is misplaced, and that nothing remains for them but to look forward to, if not to promote the arrival of, the day when the force of circumstances shall bring about a change which they will have vainly hoped to procure from the prudence and humanity of the Porte itself." This was noble language, and worthy of a great English statesman, and the representative of a Christian people. The Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs quailed at the threat it contained; but his sentiments as a Muslem remained unchanged. After reading it, "he proceeded," writes Sir Stratford Canning, "to draw a strong line of distinction between custom and *divine law*, intimating that a practice derived from the former source might be abandoned to meet the wishes of Europe, or even of Great Britain alone; *but that a law prescribed by God Himself was not to be set aside by any human power*, and that the Sultan, in attempting it, might be exposed to a heavy, perhaps even to a dangerous responsibility." (*Despatch*, February 10th, 1844.) After vexatious delays, and not a few attempts to deceive by vague verbal promises, the matter was eventually settled by compromise,—England not requiring any formal repeal of the law which the Porte termed "Divine" (!); and the Porte making the following not very definite engagement—"To take effectual measures to prevent henceforward the execution and putting to death of the Christian who is an apostate."

In like manner, every concession since made has been extorted from a reluctant Government, and has only been adopted when the choice given was adoption or *annihilation*. The language, too, in which all the liberal statutes are expressed is so obscure and indefinite, that it leaves the painful impression upon every mind of lurking dishonesty and intentional deception. These facts prove that, though the Turkish Empire has been seriously weakened, and has been forced to yield in a few points to foreign pressure in order to prevent utter ruin, yet the spirit of the Faith which its rulers still profess, and to which the vast body of its people still cling, remains unchangeable and intolerant as ever.

Of late the Muslems have begun to see that their power is fast waning, while the numbers, wealth, and influence of the Christians in the empire have been steadily advancing. Then, they could not rob Christians, beat them, or kill them with impunity, as in the good old times. Christians could now venture to ride on horses through the streets of Muslem towns; they could walk with Muslems on the same pavement, sit with them in the same café, deliberate with them in the same Divan. If a Muslem cursed the religion of a Christian, or called him an infidel, or a dog, the latter could even venture to resent the indignity. Foreign consuls, too, who in former years dared not set foot on the soil, could now successfully interfere on behalf of the oppressed. All these changes had, within the last few years, made a deep impression on the minds of a fanatical and exciteable populace. The attempts made by Christians to throw off the heavy chains by which they had been bound for centuries, and to claim the rights of freemen, roused the slumbering tyranny of Islâm. The influence acquired by foreign agents in the country, and the consciousness that that influence was exerted for the development of liberty, gave rise to feelings of jealousy and bitter hatred. At first murmurs and complaints only were heard of changed times. Then threats were uttered, and meetings began to be held and conspiracies to be formed. Their Sheikhs and fanatical dervishes reminded them of the promise of their Prophet, that "all nations were the enemies of God, and were to be subdued by the armies of the faithful." They made inflammatory harangues, choosing for their texts such passages from the Koran as the following:—"I will put fear in the hearts of the infidels . . . . Wherefore strike off their

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heads, and the ends of their fingers. This shall be their punishment because they have resisted God and his apostle. . . . . Fight against them until they cease to oppose you, and until the religion of God be everywhere triumphant. . . . . Prophet of God, stir up the faithful to war! If twenty of you be courageous, ye shall conquer two hundred; and if a hundred fight, a thousand infidels shall fall before them. God has not permitted any prophet to lead off captives *until he has made a great slaughter of infidels in the earth.*"—(*Koran*, ch. viii.) On hearing these terrible injunctions from their "divine law," what wonder if they proceeded to execute them!. They commenced by isolated assaults on native Christians and on Frank residents and travellers, as if to try their strength. In 1850 the Christian quarter of Aleppo was partially sacked, and a number of its inhabitants murdered. In 1851 an attempt was made at a similar deed in Damascus; the English consul detected the plot, but the Turkish troops sent to quell the outbreak plundered the Christian village of Malûla, and committed most brutal outrages on the women, who had taken refuge in a church. During the whole of 1853–4 the Christians of Syria were kept in a state of alarm, in consequence of the threats and menacing attitude of the Muslems. In 1856 a British agent and his family were burned to ashes in Marash. In the same year the Protestant chapel and school, and the English consulate at Nablous, were plundered, the consul's father was killed, and a number of others were severely beaten. In 1857 the fanatics of Gaza tore down the consular flags, and refused to allow a single agent of a foreign power to reside within their ruinous walls. In the beginning of 1858 an American mission family was attacked at Jaffa: one man was murdered, another severely wounded; and the female members of the family were exposed to brutal violence such as recalled the horrors of Cawnpore. In the summer of the same year the Jeddah massacre took place; and in the autumn an English lady was murdered in Jerusalem. During this and the two preceding years, Frank travellers were insulted and robbed in almost every part of the country. The Turkish authorities scarcely noticed these outrages. The complaints and grave charges laid before them were treated with indifference; and in some cases the complainants were driven from their tribunals with curses. The European consuls, too, lost much of their prestige and power. The Pashas paid no regard to their remonstrances, which, strange to say, were not as vigorously supported as heretofore by the ambassadors at Constantinople. It was observed by the foreign merchants resident in Syria, that the Ottoman policy was openly becoming not only anti-European, but anti-Christian; and that the prejudices and antipathies of the Muslems were being encouraged and fostered by the authorities. Alarmed at these things, they drew up a strong letter of remonstrance, and forwarded it to the ambassadors at Constantinople and the home Governments.

A decided and most dangerous reaction had thus taken place. There is evidence sufficient to prove that a conspiracy was formed for the total extermination of the Christian population. Even the lazy Turkish Pashas could not shut their eyes to these things, or their ears to the warnings of the consuls and influential Rayahs. Yet they acted in such a way as if they were privy to the plot, and prepared to facilitate its execution. Towards the close of 1859, when the whole country was in such a state of excitement, the great body of the regular troops were removed to Constantinople; and early in the present year the remainder *were so quartered as to leave the Christians at the mercy of wild fanatics.* During the same period the Pasha of Beyrout was using his best endeavours to break up the Maronite community into rival factions, and to foster the old enmity and strife between them and the Druzes. How entirely successful he was in both these efforts is shown by the consular despatches. The commencement of a mountain war was evidently intended to be the signal for a general rising against the Christians.

Here, then, were the circumstances which prepared the way for the recent outbreak. It was no sudden or unexpected ebullition of popular fury; it had been long premeditated and skilfully planned. The Druzes were not its originators; they were the mere tools of others. The real source of all Syria's troubles and calamities is the spirit of that faith which excites and maddens the vast body of its inhabitants. The Muslems were the chief projectors of the recent massacre; and we shall see that they were the chief actors in all its bloodiest scenes. The Turkish officials encouraged and fostered the fanatical spirit; and we shall also see that they materially aided in the terrible work of butchery.

At the commencement of the war between the Christians and the Druzes, a considerable force of Turkish troops, including artillery, regular infantry, and a few squadrons of Bashi-Bazouks, were encamped at the base of Lebanon, under the command of Khursheed Pasha of Beyrout.

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The following extract of a despatch from Consul-General Moore, dated May 31st, will show how they acted, and by what spirit they were animated :—

"It is reported that yesterday the Turkish troops fired upon the Christians of Hadat and Baabda, and burnt their villages, as well as Wady Shahroor and Aaria, and some hamlets in the plain. Artillery was used by command of Khursheed Pasha, but under what circumstances, and against whom directed, is not positively known. After the attack the Christians fled, panic struck. On their departure their houses were burnt and pillaged. The irregulars (Bashi-Bazouks) are reported to have taken an active part in committing every sort of depradation and violence against the Christians, on their person and property. The residences of the Emirs of the Shehab family were also burnt.

"Emir Beshir el-Kassim, ex-Governor of Mount Lebanon, a man 85 years of age and quite blind, whilst being led away from his house at Baabda by his servants, was attacked, it is stated, by Bashi-Bazouks, when his servants fled and left the Emir to his fate. The body, on being recovered, was found wounded by sword-cuts, and the throat cut.

"A body of Christians, who had collected from different hamlets since the outbreak of disturbances, at the Christian village of Damour, had, in their apprehension of being attacked there, left that village to come to Beyrout for greater safety. On their way during last night, they were fallen upon by a body of Druzes, Metualis, and Bashi-Bazouks, who plundered, killed, and wounded many of them, irrespective of sex and age. The number of killed is not yet positively ascertained, but it is computed to exceed fifty."—(*Papers relating to Disturbances in Syria*, p. 6.)

On the 2d of June, about 300 men, with a large body of women and children, fled from the neighbouring mountains towards Sidon for refuge. On approaching the gates the Turkish regular troops drove them back with their bayonets; they were then attacked by hordes of Druzes, Muslems from the city, and Bashi-Bazouks, who massacred all the men and many of the women and children.

On the 3d of June the town of Hasbeya was attacked by the Druzes. A garrison of 200 regular troops occupied the palace—a place of sufficient strength to resist any assault of Druzes. The garrison was under the command of Colonel Osman Bey. The Christians defended themselves for a time. On the 4th they were overpowered by numbers, and fled to the palace, begging the protection of the garrison. The Colonel offered them a written guarantee, pledging the faith of the Sultan for their personal safety, on condition they delivered up their arms. This they did; and immediately their arms were handed over to the Druzes. They were now kept for seven days in the palace, and suffered severely from hunger and thirst. On the 11th an officer of Sheikh Said Jemblat arrived with 300 Druzes; and at the same time another Druze chief, called Kinj, who was also an employé of the Government. The latter was accompanied by an aide-de-camp of the Commander-in-chief at Damascus. These had an interview with Osman Bey; immediately after which the gate of the palace was thrown open, the Druzes rushed in, "and murdered the people within, the soldiers preventing any from escaping or concealing themselves, pushing them forward to be massacred."—(*Despatches. Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer.*) The number of victims was about 1000! After the fall of Hasbeya, the Druzes, now about 4000 strong, marched northward up the valley to Rasheya, a large village at the base of Hermon, containing a considerable Christian population. Here also there was a Turkish garrison under a colonel, stationed in a strong palace of the Emir Shehab. About 800 men of the Christian population took refuge there, and were massacred in cold blood—the soldiers looking on and aiding in the carnage.

The Druze army continued its march up the great plain of Bukaa (the ancient Cœle-Syria) to attack the town of Zahleh. Zahleh is the largest town of Lebanon, and contained a population of 11,000 souls, exclusively Christian. It is situated in a wild glen, on the eastern side of the mountain range, about a mile above the plain. In addition to its ordinary inhabitants, a large number of refugees from exposed villages in the Bukaa had congregated here. Its people are warlike and well armed, and they made preparations for an obstinate defence. The Druzes were joined by Arabs from the desert, Kurds from Damascus, and Metawileh from Baalbeck. When this news reached Beyrout, the consular body urged Khursheed Pasha to send troops for the protection of the Christians. He accordingly despatched a body of 500 regulars, with one field-piece. This sealed the doom of Zahleh. These troops were joined by a large force of Druzes from Lebanon, with whom they at once fraternized. On the 19th they reached the heights commanding Zahleh, and opened fire with the field-piece upon the town. On seeing this, the other

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Druze army rushed up the glen from the plain. The Christians were panic-stricken, and took to flight through the defiles of the mountains; their town was immediately plundered and burnt.

The Druzes next marched on Deir el-Kamr, the capital of the southern division of Lebanon, and one of the most prosperous and beautiful towns in the mountains. Its inhabitants were all Christians, and numbered about 7000. They had been previously attacked, and, after an obstinate fight, had been forced to surrender unconditionally. Their houses were then plundered. The wretched people hearing the Druzes were again approaching, resolved to defend their lives to the last. "But the Governor, who had 400 troops in the Serai (palace), while at Bteddin, half a-mile off, there were 300 more, told them they had nothing to fear if they would give him up their arms, and he insisted on their doing so. They applied for an escort to come to Beyrout; this he would in no wise permit. Their valuables he made them place in the Serai, and then ordered a great part of the population there. So men, women, and children were all crowded together in the Serai, under his protection, on the night of the 20th. On the morning of the 21st, the Druzes collected round the town; one of their leaders came to the Serai and desired to speak with the Governor. A conversation was carried on in a low voice. . . . . At last a question was asked, to which the Governor gave the answer, "*Hepsi*" ("all"). Thereupon the Druze disappeared, but in a few moments the gate was thrown open, and in rushed the fiends, cutting down and slaughtering every male, the soldiers co-operating."—(*Despatches. Mr. Graham to Lord Dufferin.*) About 1200 males perished in that one day!

These facts prove beyond question the incomparable perfidy and cruelty of those men to whom the Sultan had committed the government of Syria. But these, alas! are not all the facts. The most terrible act in the whole tragedy has yet to come.

The great city of Damascus lies at the eastern base of Anti-Lebanon, far removed from the seat of war. Its governor is the Commander-in-Chief of the whole army of Syria. It contains a large garrison, a strong castle, and a good park of artillery. During the whole war no Druze force ever approached within thirty miles of it. Yet from the first outbreak its fanatical inhabitants never ceased to threaten and abuse the Christians. No steps were taken to check them. It would be needless labour now to show how the Turkish officials, from the highest to the lowest, encouraged and aided in the fearful carnage. It is enough to state that *Field-Marshal Ahmet Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Syrian Army, and Governor-General of the Pashalic, three Colonels, two Chiefs of Police, and above one-hundred and fifty inferior officers and privates, have been since tried, condemned and executed!*

On Monday morning, the 9th of July, Damascus contained a Christian population of about 20,000 souls, and probably 6000 or 7000 refugees who had fled hither for protection. They occupied one quarter of the old city, extending from the East Gate, on both sides of the "street called Straight." Many of their houses, from their size and the richness of their decorations, might be called palaces. In wealth, intelligence, and commercial enterprise, some of the Christian merchants were not surpassed by any in Syria. The whole body of the people were peaceful and industrious. . . . . On the evening of that day the Muslem mob rose upon them, without provocation and without cause. They were joined by the local police, and many of the regular troops. Before the 15th the whole Christian quarter was burned to ashes; upwards of 5000 Christians were slaughtered, and nearly 1000 others wounded; while many hundreds of widows and poor orphan girls were in the hands of the brutal murderers, subjected to a fate worse than death itself! To some this may appear almost incredible. It is nevertheless strictly true, as the following extract of a private letter from the Rev. Smylie Robson proves. Mr. Robson, from his long residence in the city, from his extensive acquaintance with the people, and from his having been an eye-witness of that awful tragedy, had perhaps a better opportunity of obtaining correct information than any other man. The letter, too, was not written in a time of great excitement and uncertainty. It is dated "Damascus, 25th August:"—

"It is estimated that more than 3000, say about 3400, Damascenes, and about 2000 of the strangers, refugees in the city, perished. *Nearly all of these were adult males.* Many women and girls were carried off by the ruffians, and a great number grossly outraged. A good many who were left as dead by the murderers were only wounded, and in many cases they finally made their escape. Some of these are very badly wounded. One whom I have known for some years has eight cuts in his head, his right arm broken with clubs, a gun-shot wound in his left, and sundry other blows, bruises, and wounds in different parts of his

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body. The youngest of the Maluks is much worse than even that man. His skull was broken. He got a ball in the thigh, besides a great number of other wounds. Meshakah is very badly wounded; I fear he has lost the use of his right arm. Others seem to have been stunned by one or two blows of an axe or a sword, and to have been left for dead. . . . .

"The massacre in Damascus was the work of Muslems. Damascus was never surrounded, never attacked, never threatened by Druzes. No Druze force ever approached it. The plunder, conflagration, massacre, and other crimes, were the work of the Muslems of the city. Every quarter of the city contributed to it. *Every class* united in the insurrection; rich and poor, merchants and Beys, Sheikhs and Effendis, as well as the rabble, police, and Bashi-Bazouks. The police were very bad, and so were the Kurdish Horse (Government 'Irregulars')."

The work of outrage and slaughter was by no means confined to the places already mentioned; it extended over the whole of central Syria, from the Mediterranean to the desert. Mr. Robson's clear summary of these minor massacres in the Pashalic of Damascus is most instructive:—

"The great massacres of unresisting unarmed men in cold blood, were those of Rasheya, Hasbeya, Deir el-Kamr, and Damascus. Next to them came the slaughter of Sidon, and that below Shuweifat. Besides these, the Druzes committed a great many massacres on a small scale, where no resistance was offered to them. Thus in Kenakir, in the Haurân, they killed some fifty or sixty people—half the Christian population. In the village of Kufeir, near Rasheya, they killed about fifty men. In short, in other villages of the Haurân—though not in every village—and in most of the villages about Hermon, in Wady-et-Teim, and the lower part of the Bukaa, wherever Christians were found, the Druzes killed in cold blood a greater or less proportion of their numbers. The example of the Druzes was followed by the Muslems in a great number of villages on the eastern slopes of Anti-Lebanon, and the plains along the base of it. Thus, at Sunamein, the Muslems killed five or six out of twelve or fifteen who happened to be in the village. First and last, they have killed about half the Christians of Arbain (nearly one hundred). If, however, a Christian became a Muslem, the Muslems generally spared him; and the numbers who became Muslems very greatly exceeds that of those whom the Muslems killed in the villages. . . . . Outrages, I must add, were committed on Christians in many villages where no Christians live. Thus there were about forty Christians from the mountains, working at the harvest in Duma—which, you know, has no Christian inhabitants. The Sheikh of Duma and his people compelled them all to become Muslems, and to be circumcised, except one man who refused, and him they killed. . . . . In fact, with the exception of one small district (Kara), in every village inhabited by Muslems and Christians, from the north end of Anti-Lebanon to the Huleh, and in the plains east of the mountain range, the Christians had three choices,—flight, Islâm, or death. . . . Christianity in these regions of Syria has sustained a terrible blow. As you know, the Muslems have always been killing Christians in this region, and also compelling them to apostatize. But during the six weeks, from 1st June to 15th July, more have been murdered, and more have been made renegades, than during all the seven preceding centuries."

With these facts before him, no man will be at a loss to discover the true source of Syria's miseries, and the real origin and cause of the recent massacres. Islâm is at the root of the whole. Its spirit, foul and fierce, animates alike its stranger rulers and the great body of its native population. It will permit no change, it will tolerate no reform. It will exercise unlimited, irresponsible control over the properties and lives of all subject to its sway, or it will exterminate them. It will use all agencies, it will take advantage of all circumstances, and it will employ all means to effect its purposes. It allows no feelings of gratitude, honour, or humanity to restrain or set aside its designs. It is the determined and deadly enemy of civil and religious liberty. So long, therefore, as Islâm is paramount in Syria, the case of the country is hopeless, because reform is impossible. Islâm has hitherto opposed every theory of reform forced upon the attention and acceptance of the Turkish Government; and it has effectually prevented the reduction of any accepted theory into practice. The language used by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in a recent speech in the House of Lords, is striking and most important: "It is true the Sultan has accepted, and has even proclaimed to his people, a system of reform, which, if it had been properly carried out, might have prevented these disasters, and probably would have done so, and placed the empire on a totally different footing from what it is now on. Indeed, I must say with confidence, that had this been so, the empire would have been in a much better condition than at the

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present moment,—a condition of which the disasters which have occurred in Syria exhibit so prominent and striking an example. It must occur to your Lordships, as well as to myself, that a heavy responsibility rests upon the Porte, in consequence of this state of things. If we look into the question of Syria, it is impossible not to observe, in immediate connection with it, that the great Eastern question is involved; and I don't hesitate to say that that question is at this moment absolutely brought home to our doors by what has occurred in Syria. You will in vain put down what has taken place there; in vain you will staunch the blood which has flowed; in vain you will take measures to prevent the renewal of those atrocities, unless you find the means of engaging the Turkish Government to redeem their pledges, and give effectual execution to those reforms which have been so often urged upon them. Unless that is done, it is my firm conviction that you will only patch up the difficulty for the moment; and you will leave the seeds of fresh disturbances and fresh difficulties of a still more disastrous and dangerous character."

The first step towards the permanent pacification of Syria must be the *virtual* renunciation by its rulers of that faith which we have proved to be the enemy of all reform. The various sects must be placed on an equal political footing. Their rights as men and citizens must be securely guaranteed to every sect, tribe, and class. When this is done, the resources of the country and the energies of the people will begin gradually to develop themselves. But the accomplishment of this will require a wise head and a strong hand. It will require more,—it will require unity of purpose and of action over the whole land, from Mount Taurus to the Sinai Peninsula, during a succession of years. To attempt it with the present system of divided authority would be vain. To attempt it under the leadership of any of the ordinary Turkish Pashas would also be vain. Turkish Pashas are generally indolent, and they are universally venal. A temporary governor has, besides, no permanent interest in the prosperity of the province; and he would, therefore, have no inducement to undertake the arduous and responsible task of remodelling Syrian society, and reducing its distracted and discordant elements to order and harmony. It is a fact patent to every man who knows anything of the East, that every Pasha sent to Syria, or elsewhere, pays for his post, and can seldom calculate on more than a year's term of office. His first and grand object on reaching his seat of government is to amass sufficient money to replenish his purse. His subordinates are forced to contribute; and such local chiefs as can afford the largest bribes are placed over the districts, towns, and villages. What system could be invented more admirably fitted to impoverish the country, promote party strife, and create rebellion! Each new governor, moreover, is to a great extent ignorant of the country, the people, and the very language; and he has neither the time nor the inclination to learn. He is at such a distance from Constantinople, and the central Government have so many other things to occupy their attention, that no watchful control can be exercised over his acts. All these facts make it plain, that if Syria is to be saved from anarchy and ruin, the *status quo* must be abolished.

There was one brief period in modern times during which Syria visibly revived, and appeared to give fair promise of future prosperity. That was during the rule of Mohammed Aly. His rule was stern, in many cases severe, and in some instances perhaps cruel; but it was effectual. In the eight short years of his power, notwithstanding all the opposition he encountered from Turkey, he reduced the various warlike tribes to almost complete subjection, and to a great extent disarmed them. He rendered life and property everywhere secure. He gave a blow to Muslem fanaticism, from the effects of which it never revived until within the last few months. He compelled several of the wandering tribes of the desert to settle down into peaceful cultivators of the soil, and he made them all tremble at his name. He opened a wide door for the influx of European industry, commerce, and civilisation. Mohammed Aly was nominally a Muslem; but his whole policy tended gradually to set aside the spirit and principles of Islâm from the civil government of the country.

Taking all these facts and circumstances into consideration, we believe that Syria requires, for its permanent pacification and future prosperity, a separate government, somewhat similar to that of Egypt. Should it be found impossible to obtain the Porte's consent to an independent government, its ruler might acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sultan, and pay a fixed tribute; yet he ought to possess independent administrative power, and an army of his own. His independence, in this sense, ought to be guaranteed by the European powers; and a mixed commission might be appointed to aid in the devising and carrying out of needed reforms. The resources of the country are amply sufficient to maintain such a government; they only require de-

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velopment. Both soil and climate are well adapted for the production of silk, cotton, olive-oil, and wine, in addition to an abundant supply of grain. The population contain in themselves the elements of industrial and political greatness. The Western Powers have now a fair opportunity of making a noble experiment; and it is to be hoped that mutual jealousies and fears will not be permitted to interfere. There are surely enough of inducements to this work, altogether apart from the gratification of petty national vanity, or the gaining of mere territorial aggrandizement. There is the preservation of the most interesting country in the world from utter ruin, the salvation of half a million of human beings from massacre or exile, and the relieving of Europe from the almost certain prospect of a general war. Prompted by a pure desire to accomplish such great and good objects, let our own country faithfully discharge her Eastern mission.

ART. III.—1. *Autobiography of Leigh Hunt; with Reminiscences of Friends and Contemporaries.* 3 Vols. London, 1850.
2. *The Indicator.* By LEIGH HUNT. London, 1822.
3. *The Seer; or, Common Places Refreshed.* London, 1850.
4. *The Old Court Suburb.* 2 Vols. London, 1855.
5. *The Town.* By LEIGH HUNT. London, 1858.
6. *A Jar of Honey from Mount Hybla.* By LEIGH HUNT. London, 1848.
7. *Imagination and Fancy; or, Selections from the English Poets.* Third Edition. London, 1846.
8. *Wit and Humour, selected from the English Poets; with an Illustrative Essay and Critical Comments.* By LEIGH HUNT. London, 1848.
9. *Stories from the Italian Poets, with Lives of the Writers.* 2 Vols. London, 1846.
10. *The Poetical Works of Leigh Hunt.* Now finally Collected, Revised by himself, and Edited by his Son, THORNTON HUNT. London, 1860.

"THE animosities are mortal, but the humanities live for ever." So says Christopher North, very finely; and no one was more ready to concur in that generous sentiment, than the old enemy of whom he was thinking when he uttered it. But it is seldom that the heartiest reconciliation can do away with the effects of war. Beat your sword into a pruning-hook as you may, and you will not heal the scars it once inflicted, nor restore the limbs it has lopped off. We fear that the literary enmities of the last generation form no exception to the general rule. In some respects at least, they may serve, as well as any other text, to illustrate the terrible tenacity of life which there is in the evil that men do. Professor Wilson, and Leigh Hunt, could well afford to forget the feuds they had outlived; the one could welcome with exuberant applause, works which, twenty years earlier, he would probably have assailed with invective as unmeasured,—the other could receive the kindly criticism of his ancient opponent, with all the greater pleasure because of the quarter from which it came: but the united generosity of both could not altogether obliterate the effects of the old hostility. We have no wish to take up forgotten quarrels. But, since we believe that Leigh Hunt's admirable genius is far less generally appreciated than that of any other writer of his own age, and of equal mark, we are bound to say that we trace his exclusion from his rightful place in the estimation of his contemporaries, mainly to the implacable pertinacity of abuse with which his political opponents assailed him; nor does it seem to us at all unlikely, that the same cause should continue to operate, though in a different way, even in the minds of the present generation.

We are far from saying, in the teeth of Bentley, that a man can be permanently "written down," except by himself. Still less do we mean to imply the existence anywhere of the old personal bitterness of hatred, which the outspoken politics of the *Examiner* newspaper, brought upon its luckless editor. Hardly a remaining partisan of those days, we should imagine, would wish to be greatly outdone in charity even by the large-hearted leader whose magnificent declaration of peace we have quoted. All malicious and angry feelings have been as fugitive, we doubt not, as the wretched controversy which provoked them. But the wrong done, we say again, has been far more durable. Leigh Hunt was so long and so shamefully misrepresented, that people came almost of necessity to share in the antipathy, who had no share whatever in the original dissensions which gave rise to it. To the great body of the public his name was made familiar only in connection with accents of contempt, and indignation, and reproach. And even when, under the gentle influence of time, people who had heard nothing of him but slander, came to think somewhat better of the man, it would have been

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strange if the old prejudice had not retained vitality enough to make them undervalue the writings.

Mr. Hunt's early writings, moreover, as it seems to us, were of a class which must suffer most from prejudice, if they happen to be exposed to it. Their claims to recognition were more apt to be defeated by ridicule and harsh criticism than those of far less valuable works. Truly original as they were, they were not such as produce an immediately powerful effect on the general mind. They excited both delight and admiration in those to whose sympathies they appealed, and who were at all willing to surrender themselves to the charm; but this was by means of such quiet beauties as force their way into no mind that is prepossessed against them. "You must love them ere to you they will seem worthy of your love;" and it is obvious how greatly the likelihood of their seeming so will be diminished, if all the power, and wit, and sarcasm of the prevailing criticism of the day are exerted to convince you that they are worthy of your contempt. This was their unlucky fate with the generation of readers to whom they were first offered. They possessed, also, certain peculiarities, which it was easy to distort into really offensive deformities; peculiarities which, judiciously handled, were made to excite feelings much more nearly resembling personal antipathy than literary disapprobation. Mr. Hunt began very early, as he expresses it in his autobiography, "to talk to the reader in his own person, and compare notes with him on all sorts of personal subjects;" and while he discoursed on personal tastes, and feelings, and experiences, he fairly owns that there was in his mode of doing so, an occasional self-complacency, to which neither his maturer self nor his antagonists of the moment hesitate to apply a much harsher name. We, at this time of day, can see no reason why the veteran man of letters should conceal his conviction that he has been "the means of circulating some knowledge and entertainment in society." There is nothing ungraceful, or unbecoming, in the satisfaction, with which the Leigh Hunt of 1850 looks back upon the work of a lifetime. But when the hebdomadal author of the *Examiner*, and the *Indicator*, allowed such self-congratulations to escape him, he offered a handle to the wicked wit of his Tory antagonists which it was not in humanity to neglect. What they called the "egregious vanity" of the man, was ridiculed with wonderful cleverness: it was made to yield endless merriment to the readers of certain publications; but if the mode of dealing with it had been as dull as it was the reverse, the charge in itself was almost fatal to the reception of such a writer. This is the foible of all others which we are the readiest to believe against an author, and the slowest to pardon. Can the Life of Johnson bribe us, to forgive James Boswell? Leigh Hunt, in those days, had shown no such delightful cause why sentence should not be pronounced against him. And the worst of it all was, as we have hinted, that the accusation was not without some colourable ground. All the vanity he had lay in one direction; and in that direction, it had been so encouraged and pampered, that the marvel is, not that some fine and noble traits of the young author should at first have been concealed under such a fantastical growth, but that the real modesty and natural strength of the man should ever have broken through it.

It must have been a wonderfully constituted nature indeed, that could have resisted the early triumphs which, long before his name was heard of in the great world, it was his misfortune to achieve. He had a boyish turn for writing verses; and by the time he was sixteen, his father had collected and published certain juvenile scraps,—worthless imitations, the poet afterwards thought them, of Akenside, and Collins, and Gray, but which both father and son at that time sufficiently admired. This indiscretion had the natural result. In the family circle, of course, the young author was assured—nor was it at all difficult to convince him—that he was a prodigy of genius. The fame of his writings extended even to Oxford, and to the scholarly precincts of the Charter House. The very critics were kind; and though one friend, more sagacious than the rest, gently warned him that "the shelves were full," he resolved, in the plenitude of conscious power, that for him at least the world should be forced "to make another." His very industry left no time for those swellings of self-glorification to subside. Before he was out of his teens, he had written too many poems, and essays, and plays, to leave much chance of his becoming conscious of his own youth and presumption. His first publications that happened to attract much notice—certain theatrical criticisms which he contributed to a newspaper —except among his immediate friends, were not of a kind, nor was the reception they met with such as at all to diminish his sense of importance, or his notions of his own ability. We have no doubt they possessed considerable merit, though their author, in later life, does not seem to have thought so. They were the first of their kind, since the

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days of the Rosciad, that made any pretence of independence or candour, to say nothing of discrimination; and, good or bad, they were so successful with the players and playgoing people, to whom chiefly they were addressed, that Master Betty himself—who, by the way, met with little admiration or respect from the young critic, his brother prodigy—was never more lauded, and flattered, and marvelled at than he. Who can wonder, then, that a youth who had lived all his life among books—who thought belles lettres the most important thing in the world—who had been puffed, and petted, and praised from sixteen to twenty—who can wonder that when Leigh Hunt began to talk to the world in his own person, he should be little inclined to underrate his claims to be heard, or the importance of his opinions. It is for us, however, at the distance of half a century, to make such allowances. The Tory partisans of the day were not very likely to do so. They did not. When the young editor began to expound his political opinions, as he owns, after rather an oracular fashion—when he ventured to attack, not the Prince Regent only, but the good old King, and even Sir Walter, the Master himself—the bitterness of wrath with which they assailed him was unparalleled even in those times. It was nothing to revile his opinions, his writings, his public conduct. Every weapon of controversy was directed against these,—the bitterest sarcasm—the broadest ridicule—the fiercest abuse—the most reckless misrepresentation. But his assailants never dreamed of restricting themselves within such limits as these. No ground was too sacred: his private life, his dearest relationships, his very person and habits, were made subjects of attack; and under the wildest misconception with regard to them all. This beautiful poet, this exquisite critic and essayist, this most amiable, accomplished, and high-minded man, was denounced to our fathers in the most influential publications of their day, not merely as an ignorant democrat, who was for pulling down everything that other men revered—not merely as an irreligious and bad writer—but as the most hateful, contemptible, nay, loathsome of human beings.

A great deal of this abuse, no doubt, was showered upon him in a half-conscious spirit of exaggeration. Its authors, probably, neither meant nor expected this kind of language to be received as a literal exposition of the truth. If so, they gave the world credit for more wit than it possessed. Almost everybody believed them. "Persons," he tells us, "in subsequently becoming acquainted with me, sometimes expressed their surprise at finding me no other than I was in face, dress, manners, and very walk; to say nothing of the conjugality which they found at my fireside, and the affection which I had the happiness of enjoying among my friends in general." It became an axiom of criticism, that Hunt should be vituperated in all these particulars. We have heard, for example, that an able writer, who now knows how to derive no small enjoyment from Leigh Hunt's works, thought it in those early days the natural climax of an angry paragraph, to call the unfortunate object of his censure "a man who could read Leigh Hunt himself without disgust."

It is little to say of so long a course of unscrupulous abuse—it is all we shall say of it here, however—that it necessarily placed its victim at a sad disadvantage with the world. Very many of Leigh Hunt's readers used to come to him on their guard against whatever evidence of wit, or sense, or thoughtfulness his writings might chance to contain. Such a posture of mind is not the most favourable for appreciating any man's merits; and of all men and writers, Hunt is the one that must suffer from it the most. If, at the very time we are opening his book, we are deeply impressed with a sense of an author's personal demerits, we shall probably find little difficulty in shutting our eyes to the keenest wit, or the soundest judgment that ever expressed themselves with the pen of the writer. But delicate sensibility, and imaginativeness, conceal themselves far more readily than those more direct and obvious excellencies, from a hostile critic. And the matter becomes hopeless, indeed, when the obnoxious author's individuality pervades all his writings, when his character and habits, his own modes of thinking and feeling, are prominent in every page. With Leigh Hunt's best writings this is notably the case. Self-portraiture, consciously or unconsciously, forms so large a part of his most characteristic *Indicators* and *Seers*, that it is impossible to have a prejudice against the man without almost as heartily disliking the book. Egotism in writing may be very delightful, or very much the reverse. Leigh Hunt's is so kindly, so simple and manly—so full of all love, and hope, and cheerfulness—it has its roots in so hearty and general a sense of fellowship with all mankind—in so genuine and diffusive a sympathy with all things animate and inanimate, with whatever is good and beautiful in nature, great or small; in short, to use a favourite word of his own and Lord Bacon's, there is so much "universality" in his very egotism, that we should no more dream of applying the term in its of-

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fensive sense to him, than to Montaigne, or Isaac Bickerstaff, or to his own and all men's well-beloved Charles Lamb. But the merit of this kind of writing, even when it is that of a man of true genius, is apt to lie, like "a jest's prosperity," "in the ear of him that hears it." Only convince yourself that the pleasantest egotist is a person you ought to dislike or to despise, and you will see nothing but puerile folly in every graceful play of his imagination; in his most catholic spirit of humanity, nothing but the narrowest selfishness.

Leigh Hunt's egotism, whether for praise or blame, seems to us something more than a mere literary characteristic. He appears constantly in his books, chiefly because books are "the haunt and the main region" of his life. He never attempts to make that sort of separation, which, according to Goethe, "every man that aims at perfect culture must accomplish in himself." Whether an observance of this dictum of the great artist, be or be not necessary for artistic perfection, we do not pretend to say. Leigh Hunt was certainly less capable of obeying it than far inferior workmen. He could not live, as it were, in many independent worlds, or in more than one; and, as he did not part with his own conscious individuality in looking at a beautiful picture or landscape, in reading a poem that pleased him, in contemplating a noble action, or in writing about the action, the picture, or the poem,—so also, he carried into every other sphere of activity in which he happened to be engaged, the same nature with which he had enjoyed such things as these, and the recollection of the emotions with which they had effected him. All his joys, his sorrows, his emotions, and his meditations, were linked together in one entire sensitive and enthusiastic nature. He could not look at one thing like a poet, and at another like a practical man of the world. His imaginative power was not so lofty as that of some of his contemporaries; but it pervaded his whole life and being more thoroughly. It was not a talent which he applied, when it pleased him, to the production of a literary work. It mingled with all he suffered and all he did. It was innate, and inextricably interwoven with his whole intelligent, and sentient nature; as much at work when he was engaged in the merest drudgery of his profession of letters, or the most prosaic business of daily life, as when he was writing the *Story of Rimini*, or reading the *Faery Queen*. In the one occupation, or the other, he was equally "delighted to rove through the meanders of enchantment," as Johnson says about one of his poets; and as that poet himself says about another,—

> "His undoubting mind
> Believed the magic wonders which he sung."

The magic wonders in which he believed, however, were those which had been sung for him by the poets whom he loved. Spenser and the Italians had bestowed upon him a territory, in which he lived, far more than either at Hampstead or Pisa; and filled it with noble and graceful shapes. This imaginary world was as vivid a reality to him as that which was visibly and tangibly present to his senses. He laments, on one occasion, his "inconsiderate habits of taking books for the only end in life." He did so, because books were not only the object of life, but life itself to him. The actual Italy, with its vineyards and olive grounds, was neither so real nor so beautiful a country to him as the Italy of the poets, which he had learned to know among the oaks and elms of England,—the pleasant land which he could create for himself, at a wish. In short, he possessed in marvellous perfection the old, familiar, admirable gift of castle-building; but it was castle-building of a very rare and ethereal description. The slenderest links of association brought before him something beautiful which he had read in a book. In all the miseries of a wretched sea voyage, he consoled himself by thinking of the wanderings of Ulysses, and Circe's Island, and Calypso's, or of Venus rising from the lucid waters, or of Shakspere and "the still-vext Bermoothes." When he was receiving sentence for a libel on the Prince Regent, it was comfort enough to have in his pocket the *Comus* of Erycius Plateanus; "a satire on Bacchuses and their revellers." And who, that has read it, can forget the delight, with which he screens the barred windows of his room in prison with venetian blinds, and papers the walls with a trellis of roses, and colors the ceiling with clouds and sky? The best regulated mind must envy the enchanter who fills his storm-tost cabin with beautiful goddesses and ancient heroes, brings summer into barred chambers, and the country into Horsemonger Lane. These pleasures of the imagination were delightful realities to Hunt. He might fairly say with Wordsworth, that he found in these things,

> "A substantial world both pure and good.
> Round these, with tendrils strong as flesh and blood,
> Our pastime and our happiness will grow.
> There find I personal themes, a plenteous store,
> Matter, wherein right voluble I am,
> To which I listen with a ready ear."

And no careful reader of his Autobiography will be disposed to question his right to continue the quotation, and to say,

> "Hence have I genial seasons, hence have I
> Smooth passions, smooth discourse, and joyous thought."

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This tone of mind, however, like others, has its characteristic defects. One of these we have glanced at. He lived so much in the world of books, that he could find no other standard for judging of things and men. To him, also, it was a mischievous consequence, that more prosaic people, as well as some who were very far from prosaic, were apt to mistake for fantastic foppery and affectation, what was really on his part the most simple and natural manner of speaking and acting. When a gentleman, for example, come to years of discretion, proposes to keep Shakspere's birth-day by wandering about all day with the plays under his arm; by a dinner party, after which Shakspere's volumes are to come on the table, "lying among the dessert like laurels;" where, instead of songs, the persons present are to be called upon for scenes; where the ladies are to be crowned with violets, because it was his favourite flower; where the poet's bust, by way of *præsens Divus*, is to occupy the principal place, and everybody in turn to lay before it a sacrifice of quotations; we cannot imagine the possibility of his finding another Englishman to regard this "enthusiasm in high taste" as anything but the most childish silliness. Leigh Hunt, however, makes such a suggestion in perfect good faith; he would have found a genuine expression of his real feelings in such pretty play: laurels and crowns of violets had a real and affecting meaning to him, which they convey no longer to other minds; and as, in the spirit, a great part of his life was spent in such innocent Arcadian scenes, he could see nothing unnatural or absurd in proposing to transact for once in the flesh, the daily business of his dreams. He remembered how Filicaia, and less illustrious Italian gentlemen and ladies of grave years, had "literally played at Arcadians, in gardens made for the purpose," and respected those "poetical grown children," and sympathized with them entirely. No one can wonder, however, if the most imaginative of Englishmen were puzzled by such fancies as these in an Englishman's mouth, and little disposed to regard them with respect. We have little doubt that the unlucky failure of his connection with Lord Byron had more to do with this characteristic of Hunt's, than with any other uncongeniality of disposition. "I hate an author who's all author," says his splenetic Lordship. A man of fashion, a man of the world, with all the blood of all the Byrons in his veins, the most famous poet of his time, placed poetical genius far lower in the scale of things to be admired, than the writer whose prose and verse together had brought him nothing better than a ruinous fine and two years in a jail. He, too, could wander, when it pleased him, in the realms of imagination, and by the shores of old romance; but he was just as much perplexed and irritated, nevertheless, as any other London dandy would have been, by this singular phenomenon of a poet, who never could be forgetful of his high calling; who was always living in an ideal world; always seeking for the sacred haunts of Spenser and Milton, looking at the sweet and solemn visions which had inspired their genius—listening to the endless whisper of the laurels "on the ledges of their hill." "I think Hunt a good principled and able man," writes Lord Byron. "I do not know what world he has lived in. I have lived in three or four, but none of them like his Keats, and kangaroo terra incognita." Even serious matters, in the eyes of many, had a certain air of absurdity thrown round them in this way. It is easy to understand with what contemptuous impatience, many a thorough-going-matter-of-fact politician must have looked upon the sentimental prisoner and the bower of roses; how difficult "a man of plain understanding" might find it, to persuade himself that such a person was anything but a trifler and a coxcomb,—"a delicate-handed dilettante, priest" of liberty, at the best.

Those who so judged him were wrong. Neither his literary nor his political career deserved such a censure. His newspaper may have been arrogant enough, perhaps, both in plan and conduct. That shows itself to the knowing, in the very title. It was Swift's famous paper he was thinking of, when he called his the *Examiner;* fully resolving, at the same time, that its wit and fine writing, though not its politics, should be worthy of that great predecessor. It was only in later life that he came to understand how hopelessly beyond the reach of Mr. Leigh Hunt, *anno ætatis* 24, were the statesmanlike familiarity with life and the world, the masculine grasp and knowledge of public affairs, even the clear and nervous eloquence, which made Swift the prop of a Ministry. The qualities he did bring to his task were not precisely those which "Lord Treasurer" and "Mr. Secretary" looked for from *their* Examiner. They would hardly have thanked him for liberality of opinion, or an honest desire to do right; nor would they have cared much more, we fancy, for another characteristic inseparable from any work in which Hunt had a share—"a fusion of literary taste into all subjects whatsoever." He tells us that his specially political knowledge was slender. His opinions came to him through his feelings; but they were generally sound, because his feelings were

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good and elevated. He was able to say, ten years ago, that his old views were the same, "as those now swaying the destinies of the country;" and obtain them how he might, he held them seriously, earnestly, like a man. He was not playing with those questions. He was no sham martyr. When, in his old age, he gave the world the story of his life, he showed that he had not passed through its many troubles without learning to acknowledge frankly his own foibles and vanities, as well as to smile very kindly at those of others. But one merit, amid many confessions and regrets, he felt fairly entitled to claim, viz., that, as a public political writer, animated by a single-hearted zeal for the public good, he was ready to shrink from no sacrifice, or suffering, that might lie between him and his object. Our readers know how soon and how thoroughly his willingness to make sacrifices for principle, was put to the test. The story is told in his own modest and touching narrative of his life; and so told, that no reader of any party—*Tros Tyriusve*, what does it matter now? we have left the prejudices of both far behind—can help feeling how genuine was the honesty, how real the suffering, which he had to endure. Perhaps some such discipline may have been necessary to awaken the hardier virtues in his sanguine, buoyant, tropical temperament. He himself seems to have thought so. He congratulates himself, with amusing naïveté, on his discovery, by an accident, that he is not without personal courage. This is in his early manhood; in later life, the rarer kind of courage which we call patience, fortitude, endurance, was required of him; and in no evil hour was he found wanting. His Autobiography is delightful for many things: for its graceful sketches of old times and manners; for its happy and life-like pictures, of all sorts of interesting people; but, most of all, for the invincible gallantry of his long struggle with a hard fate.

Early training had hardly prepared him to meet pain, except with timidity. His mother's first lessons, and the influence of her life, had given him "an ultra-sympathy with the least show of suffering." This lady was living at Philadelphia when the American Revolution broke out; her husband had taken the unpopular side, and was roughly treated by the mob. "My father's danger," says Mr. Hunt, "and the war-whoops of the Indians, which she heard in Philadelphia, had shaken her soul as well as frame. She looked at the bustle and discord of the present state of society with frightened aversion. The sight of two men fighting in the streets would drive her in tears down another road; and I remember, when we lived near the Park, she would take me a long circuit out of the way, rather than hazard the spectacle of the soldiers." Something of this poor lady's nervous apprehension remained with her son, infused into all his writings an abhorrence of all strife and discord, and, above all, of war. Suffering shocked and horrified him. In the very contemplation of it, he shared it. When, for example, he expresses his indignation at the cruelty and brutality of angling, and, asking why people will seek amusement in sufferings that are unnecessary and avoidable, entreats mankind to abandon a selfish pleasure—he is not arguing a matter of opinion so much as he is feeling pain,—telling us how much he feels it, and begging us not to inflict it. Other humane men discourse scholarly, and wisely, on the cruelty of the "gentle craft;" and we turn away from them, with Sir Roger de Coverley's conviction that there is a great deal to be said on both sides of the question. But not Mr. Wyndham himself, who found a great deal to say for bull-baiting; not Roger Ascham, who, if he had completed his meditated treatise on that excellent sport, would no doubt have found a great deal to say for cock fighting; no one can pretend to meet Leigh Hunt's complaint with an answer in words. The hook is tearing his own jaws, while he thinks of the obnoxious pastime; he is gasping his own life out, in some fatal foreign atmosphere. The sensibility may be overstrained, that suffers so much with the suffering of "the meanest things that breathe;" but, at least, it does not leave him without feeling, for the greater agonies that men inflict upon one another. He never can say enough of the horror, and astonishment, with which he thinks about war; he writes a poem about it, shuddering at the frightful scenes he is trying to paint; half-maddened by the pangs he ascribes to the wounded; marvelling what had given him courage to approach such a subject.

But this keenness of sensibility, with which wanton and unnecessary pain affects him, vanishes when the inevitable evils of his own life are to be met. The first of his serious mishaps, he might have avoided by a sacrifice of integrity. Before sentence was pronounced on the libeller of the Prince Regent, he was made to understand that, by making certain concessions, he might escape imprisonment if he pleased. He preferred to carry his self-respect with him to jail. The calamity which this sentence inflicted was formidable enough in itself; it was double to him by ill health, and the results of ill health—melancholy and hypochondria.

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His physicians had recommended exercise on horseback, and the fresh sea breezes of Brighton, and the painfulness of the disorder was not likely to be lessened when ten or eleven locked doors lay between the sufferer and his cure. "The first night I slept there," he tells us, "I listened to them, one after another, till the weaker part of my heart died within me. Every fresh turning of the key seemed a malignant insult to my love of liberty." But since those accumulated evils could not be avoided, the force of them must be broken by a brave resistance. The dreaded fits of nervousness he resolved to meet by taking such violent exercise as was possible, "pacing backwards and forwards for the space of three hours." Those who know anything of hypochondriacal anxieties, will not underrate this evidence of vigour; and the energy with which he threw off all of calamity that could be thrown off, was equalled by that, with which he endeavoured to neutralize its inevitable effects, by some counterbalancing enjoyment. He reckons up the blessings which he owes to his imprisonment: friends that never might have come to him otherwise—experiences of love and sympathy which a lifetime might not otherwise have brought him. He finds an inexhaustible interest in the new characters, with whom adversity makes him acquainted; the absurd dignity, cunning, and vulgar acuteness of one jailor; the good heart and rough outside of another; the strange delicacy of a turnkey's wife, going through the most unpleasant duties with the nerves of a fine lady and the patience of a martyr; the debtors roaring out old ballads with obstreperous jollity; the felons singing just as merrily, while they beat their hemp. A hundred little dramas are revolving themselves perpetually before him: the mass of men pass such things by, without suspecting their interest or their existence; he makes himself a delighted spectator (and now at length us also), and forgets his own troubles while he does so. Even the poor little bower of roses, which we were much inclined to laugh at before, becomes admirable when we look at it in this light. It is a noble ingenuity, which is bent on extracting comfort and consolation from trivial sources.

The same intrepid and cheerful spirit shows itself throughout. In all his griefs—and he might have said with poor Goldsmith, "God has given my share"—he has the same fortitude to endure, the same inexhaustible resources of happiness, to neutralize them. The autobiographer makes no parade of his misfortunes; but he does not conceal his experience of all the actual miseries which are inseparable from the unlucky profession he adopted, "the trade of authorship." From a hundred hints scattered through the Life, we may gather enough, to form another striking warning against that sad mistake. It seems to us to have been a more fatal mistake in Leigh Hunt's case, than in almost any other we remember. One defect in his education was enough to make it so. By a singular mischance, he never received instruction in the commonest grounds of arithmetic. We have his own word for it, that this produced the worst practical effect on his circumstances in life. The business part of his innumerable projects seems to have been almost always a failure; he never could "make his faculties profitable in the market." When the *Examiner* was established, and he abandoned a clerkship in the War Office to become its editor, he says "he was not abandoning a certainty for an uncertainty;" but we hear of no pecuniary results from the *Examiner*, as a speculation. The *Reflector* was a failure; the *Liberal*, all the world knows, was a failure; the *Tatler* was a failure;—why should we enumerate them all? Till Lord John Russell bestowed on him his well-merited pension, he had to live from hand to mouth, on the most precarious, unremunerative labour. We cannot pretend to imagine the cares and anxieties of many trying years, nor the patience and fortitude with which he bore them. The passages of the Autobiography in which he recalls his sorest troubles, are as radiant with hopefulness, as every other page of his writings. He recalls them, only in the spirit in which Burns speaks of his misfortunes, and "is thankful for them yet," proclaiming in no low or feeble strain his experience of their softening, strengthening, and elevating influence. One lesson he is anxious to derive from them, and to inculcate on all who will listen, is charity; the most universal, all-embracing charity is the prevailing spirit of his writings. He had suffered so much from animosities, founded on misconception of his own character, and conduct, that he became nervously alive to the danger, and cruelty, of exhibiting to the world, even what he felt to be wrong in the character of others. But charity with him goes further even than this, and utterly proscribes severe views of any thing or person. If there be any virtue on which he prides himself, and with perfect justice, it is on speaking well of everybody; and when he comes, in his Autobiography, to put himself in the confessional, he looks on nothing with so much self-condemnation and regret, as on certain early levities, which seem to him to be infringements of that rule. We cannot pretend to sympathize with him.

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No man, surely, engaged in the daily storms and controversies of political writing, ever expressed so much remorse, for transgressions so little blameable. It may be quite right, that he should make the *amende honorable* to such a man as Sir Walter Scott, whom, on absurd enough grounds, he had treated with unwarrantable flippancy. But one really might have thought that the fine, and the imprisonment, and the troubles of a lifetime that followed upon them, had pretty well cleared all scores between him and the Prince Regent. Even if he had come unhurt and prosperous out of the conflict, the most zealous admirers of George IV. could hardly look back to 1812, and blame a liberal politician either for bantering, or gravely and bitterly censuring that "corpulent Sardanapalus of fifty;" but, as things really befell, for the so-called libeller in his old age to remember his feat with remorse, is surely the very Quixotism of charity. Our readers may think there is no great stretch of generosity or candour, in confessing what there is so little to be ashamed of. But few of his literary transgressions, we should think, were much more serious. One such error there was indeed, for which he had to endure harsh and not very unjust rebuke; and none but a very generous man could talk of that transaction as Hunt does. We allude to the publication of his *Recollections of Lord Byron.* We have already suggested what seems to us the likely origin of that dispute: all that any one need care to know of it now, we tell in Leigh Hunt's own words:—

"I am sorry," says Mr. Hunt, "I ever wrote a syllable respecting Lord Byron which might have been spared. . . . . Pride, it is said, will have a fall; and I must own, that on this subject I have experienced the truth of the saying. I had prided myself—I should pride myself now if I had not been thus rebuked—on not being one of those who talk against others. I went counter to this feeling in a book; and, to crown the absurdity of the contradiction, I was foolish enough to suppose that the very fact of my doing so would show that I had done it in no other instance!—that having been thus public in the error, credit would be given me for never having been privately so! Such are the delusions inflicted on us by self-love. When the consequence was represented to me, as characterized by my enemies, I felt, enemies though they were, as if I blushed from head to foot. It is true I had been goaded to the task by misrepresentations; I had resisted every other species of temptation to do it; and, after all, I said more in his excuse, and less to his disadvantage, than many of those who reproved me. But enough. I owed the acknowledgment to him and to myself; and I shall proceed on my course with a sigh for both, and a trust in the good-will of the sincere."

These manly and touching words, it seems to us, ought to atone for whatever degree of blame, great or small, may have been attributable to the author of the unlucky publication they so honestly condemn. We should not have quoted them if we had not thought them more likely to conciliate "the good-will of the sincere" than any remarks of ours could be; and those who are best acquainted with Leigh Hunt's writings will probably be of opinion, that in spite of this particular offence against his favourite principle, his claim to the virtue on which he so much wished to pride himself continues irresistible. His worst enemy cannot even call him one of those who "love to talk against others." In spite of all his own hardships and disasters, he retains so ardent a belief in the good and the beautiful everywhere, and even in human nature, that no contact, in the real world or the world of books, with the opposite qualities, can shake that conviction. There are indeed crimes, cruelties, which arouse his indignation; but think as badly as he may of the offence, he will not heartily condemn the delinquent. Dr. Johnson could never have tolerated so bad a hater. He manages so ingeniously to throw the guilt of all that is amiss in a man's character on circumstances, on nature; and satisfies himself with so comfortable a philosophy, that no individual is really blameworthy for what springs from those fruitful sources of wickedness, that he persuades himself, under the most trying circumstances, to remain in charity with all men. However bad a man's actions may be, he will not allow you to denounce him as a bad man, without weighing the circumstances that may have brought him to that pass; his nurture, his education, and even his natural character, for which he thinks him as little responsible as for anything external to himself. Even those who differ most widely from him in this estimate of human nature, who hold him to have left entirely out of view elements of the highest importance, and who can only smile at the sentimental conclusions of one whose opinions, as he tells us, "came to him through his feelings," will admit that there is something very touching in the love and tenderness which lies at the root of all this. And yet, if it were not relieved by some occasional flings of indignation at persons whom he thinks more censorious than himself, we must own we could find it in our hearts to weary of it. Occasionally, however, the most estimable people are made scapegoats for the most disreputable. Mr. Wilberforce, for example, with whose religious views it may readily be gathered that Hunt

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had little sympathy, is made the object of some sharp enough sarcasms; and since Evelyn permits himself to speak in terms of reprehension of Colonel Blood, above mentioned, and of the Duchess of Portsmouth, neither the books and gardens in which he took "his noble innocent delight," nor the fine verses in which Hunt's favourite, Cowley, celebrates these congenial tastes, can protect him from a treatment much less ceremonious than either the beautiful Duchess or the gallant Colonel receive at the same gentle hands. There is a poetical justice about this, not entirely displeasing to us. It reconciles us to human nature to find Leigh Hunt treating any one with severity. Undiversified with more masculine diet, the milk even of human kindness becomes somewhat cloying: we begin to long for stronger meat, and ungratefully rebel against that sustenance for babes.

This absence of rigour in his views of men and things implies no moral indifference on his own part to right or wrong. If the testimony of others, or the evidence of his own writings, be worth anything, no more scrupulously conscientious, upright man ever lived. But the correlate ideas of duty and sin are by no means prominent in his philosophy. As he reasons the matter, all evil is mere defect; and every one ought to approach his fellow-creatures on the sympathetic side, and try what good is to be found in them. To take cheerful and happy views in religion; to see beauty and a principle of improvement in the world around us; to answer the *suspiria de profundis* with talk about flowers and shining stars;—this is his philosophy of the universe, and he expounds it with a vague and hazy rhetoric, through which it is difficult to see anything but his own generous nature. That, however, is all that interests us in these views, and gives them a beauty and meaning independent of their philosophic value. A warm-hearted kindness and sympathy for all happy or suffering men and women is the pervading spirit of his writings; and as in these "he pours out all himself" so freely that criticism in his case became personal dislike, it seems to us equally inevitable now, when foolish misconceptions are forgotten, for the readers who come to him in good humour, to merge all literary admiration in something like affection for so beautiful and loveable a character. And if such an impression must be strengthened by testimony, we have it, in his case, of the rarest and warmest kind. No man's friends are more enthusiastic in his praise. Hazzlit, who in the recklessness of his spleen spares neither friend nor foe, has none but kind words for Hunt; and we are fortunate in being able to lay before our readers the terms in which the writer who differs the most widely from Leigh Hunt in his manner of regarding all human affairs, expresses his admiration and respect. Many years ago, Mr. Carlyle had occasion to put on record his estimate of Leigh Hunt: we extract the following passages for the instruction of our readers:—

> "Mr. Hunt is a man of the most indisputable superior worth; a *Man of Genius*, in a very strict sense of that word, and in all the senses which it bears or implies; of brilliant, varied gifts; of graceful fertility; of clearness, lovingness, truthfulness; of childlike open character; also of most pure, and even exemplary private deportment: a man who can be other than *loved* only by those who have not seen him, or seen him from a distance through a false medium.
>
> "Well seen into, he *has* done much for the world; as every man possessed of such qualities, and freely speaking them forth in the abundance of his heart for thirty years long, must needs do: how much, they that could judge best would perhaps estimate highest."

We extract these two paragraphs from a paper of some length, both because testimony from such a quarter will have weight with the whole world, and because, with characteristic vigour and insight, they paint for us the whole character of the man. Every word tells; and our readers who may have perseveringly attained—with the vaguest notions of what our author was like—to this stage of the present paper, will at least thank us for giving them an opportunity of knowing the man as he was, by reading and re-reading his character, by Mr. Carlyle. We wish we were warranted in publishing also what now lies before us,—Mr. Carlyle's opinion of the book in which, in the evening of his days, Leigh Hunt gave to the world a completer portrait of himself than was possible even for him, in any other work—the Autobiography. Neither party would be dishonoured by the widest publication of these tender and beautiful words; but we must not trespass on the private correspondence even of so great a man as Mr. Carlyle. We think we are guilty of no indiscretion, however, in recording that he finds chiefly in that good book—what the reader may find there also if he please—"the image of a gifted, gentle, patient, and valiant human soul, as it buffets its way through the billows of time, and will not drown though often in danger: cannot be drowned, but conquers and leaves a track of radiance behind it."

We are inclined to think that the most popular, at present, of Leigh Hunt's writings, are those which were published long after the old prejudices had died away. The

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charming book called "The Town," and "The Old Court Suburb," took their place at once as altogether unapproachable in their kind; and many readers who know nothing else of Hunt have been delighted with his sprightly and graceful gossip about London and Kensington. You open the pleasant pages at some stray moment, and find yourself much in the position of that imaginary butcher boy in Dr. Johnson's famous Eulogy of Burke. You have come into some old familiar scene, in company with "an extraordinary man," and a new and delightful interest is given to the well-known streets and buildings, by the rich talk of a most accomplished literary antiquary. Leigh Hunt is one of the rare men who always have the right association in the right place. Even in Fleet Street we do not always think of Dr. Johnson; and few people can remember not to forget Lord Russel in Lincoln's Inn Fields. But Hunt's mind is so rich and overflowing with curious knowledge, that localities the most obscure teem for him with illustrious memories; and as he points out to you—while you are strolling with him through the wonderful city—the most unpoetical quarter, it is odd that he does not tell you, that Spenser was born here; or Gray; or that there Ben Jonson quaffed Canaries; or Beaumont and Fletcher shared one lodging and one wardrobe. Those who, with Dr. Johnson, are famished for literary anecdote, will find the richest stores of it, old and new, in these two books. Nowhere is it possible to become more agreeably acquainted with celebrated people, or to wander more pleasantly in the bye-paths of history. History, indeed, is no favourite study with our author, who underrates the importance of "wars and changes of governments" as absurdly as certain historians used to undervalue anecdote and manners. But no one deals better with those parts of the subject which attract him; and he can relate some well-known story, — the Conspiracy of Essex, or the Rye House Plot, and the Death of Russel,—with a narrative skill, and a delicate discrimination of character and motives, that we do not know where to find surpassed by more pretentious historians. His sketches of the History of Manners, are still more interesting; and we know no better account of the Courts that have brightened or saddened Whitehall and Kensington from Henry the Eighth's day to those of George III. Not the least amusing part of the chapters that deal with this last subject, is the appearance of the author himself in the various royal drawing rooms,—his own likes and dislikes, (which he will not own to), his tastes and predilections. The great kings, we must say, meet with little fine appreciation from him. The saturnine reserve, and dryness of William III.; Oliver Cromwell, now improving an occasion in a tedious sermon, now pelting the ladies of his court, with sweetmeats at a banquet;—these things, attract his notice: but the insignificant wars, and changes of party government, that occupied so much of these men's lives, form an insurmountable obstacle to Leigh Hunt's hearty regard. On the other hand, he not only does full justice to Queen Elizabeth's greatness; but long before it had become the fashion for the 19th century to adore "the divine perfections of that princess," as extravagantly as ever did Leicester or Raleigh, he had pointed out in a few remarkable sentences the true nature of the sentiment which dictated the enthusiastic raptures of her courtiers, and made them, in her very "age and crookedness," truth, and not flattery. Where sentiment, indeed, is concerned, it is seldom that his delicate tact goes astray. But he is most at his ease,—his very style begins to flow with a sprightlier grace,—when he finds himself among wits and fine ladies, talking of courtesy, and beauty, and love, while Lady Mary Wortley Montague, and the fair maids of honour, the Lepels, and Bellendens and Gunnings, make the Courts of the Georges delightful to him, in spite of ungenial kings, and queens, and princes; or the brilliant blackguard fine gentlemen, and beautiful flaunting women, of the Court of Charles II., and the good humour and easy manners of their master, half reconcile him, as well as much severer moralists, to the most likeable scoundrels that ever lived. If he could bring himself to express hatred for anything, it would be for the ingratitude, meanness, selfishness, heartlessness, of that King and his followers; but he never tires of their society. The Sedleys, and Ethereges, and Killigrews, and Careys, never lose their fascination. He lingers nowhere so fondly as in their deserted haunts; the playhouse where Knipp and Nell Gwyn are acting, and Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Stewart looking on; the Banquet House, and the Mall, and the Hampton Labyrinth,

> "Whence all, alas, has vanished from the ring,
> Wits and black eyes, the skittles and the King."

But the prose writings which, to our mind, contain the best and fullest expression of his genius, are the Essays in the *Indicator*, the *Companion*, and the *Seer*. It is bare justice to say of these, that they place their author in the first rank of English Essayists; the equal companion of Addison and Steele. His merit is different, but not lower than

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theirs. We do not, indeed, find in the *Indicator*, or in its brethren, so courtly a scholar and man of the world as Mr. Spectator; we have not to admire the same "learned spirit of human dealings;" we cannot even claim for Hunt, in any equal degree, the polished wit, the humour, or the pathos either of Steele or of Addison. But he is neither equalled nor approached in his own peculiar excellencies,—in exuberant fancy; in the imagination which invests with poetry the most trivial common-places; in the delicate sensibility with which he feels, and teaches his readers also to understand the inner spirit and beauty of every object of his contemplation. If, indeed, the "mission" of the poet be to feel and express the beauty of the universe, many of the Essays are poems, in every sense of that word which does not involve the idea of metrical rhythm. We do not know—to take a single instance—to what piece of writing that term could be more fitly applied than to the Essay in the *Indicator*, on the Realities of the Imagination, in which he describes how the faculty that solaced so much that was troubled in his own daily life, enriches its happy possessor in the most literal sense, and creates for him images and shapes of beauty.

"It is not mere words to say"—so he makes his boast—"that he who goes through a rich man's park, and sees things in it, which never bless the mental eyesight of the possessor, is richer than he. He is richer. More results of pleasure come home to him. The ground is actually more fertile to him: the place haunted with finer shapes. He has more servants to come at his call, and minister to him with full hands. . . . . Let a poet go through the grounds, and he will heighten and increase all these sounds and images. He will bring the colours from heaven, and put an unearthly meaning into the voice. He will have stories of the sylvan inhabitants; will shift the population through infinite varieties; will put a sentiment upon every sight and sound; will be human, romantic, supernatural; will make all nature send tribute to that spot."

We quote this passage, because, when we have added that the most extensive knowledge of books opens for him one more inexhaustible treasury, it expresses better than we could hope to do in any other words, what the *Indicator* seems to us to accomplish for his readers. It must not be supposed, however, that anything, so obviously beautiful as a rich man's grounds, is —to Leigh Hunt at least—at all essential for the enjoyment of such pleasures as these. He asks only the commonest materials to work upon; and, by the magical power of association, elicits from them inexhaustible stores of beauty and delight.' Quoting, for example, a letter of Sheridan's, in which that rather insensible wit complains of the impossibility of writing poetry about a candlestick, a hundred pleasant topics and graceful allusions pour upon his mind,—bees and their wax, and Apollo, and light, and love, and the Greek Anthology, and the Merchant of Venice, and Romeo and Juliet; and he charmingly illustrates, in the very act of laying down the position, that, except to the conventional mind, no subject whatever is prosaic. We are perpetually reminded, while he is giving to the most insignificant things new importance and interest of the well-known boast of Stella, that her Dean could write admirably even about a broomstick: though it is not, assuredly, by having recourse to the irony of that famous meditation, that Leigh Hunt works his charm. His eyes light upon a common pebble; and he straightway begins to think of the murmurs of the brooks, and what the poets have said about brooks and their murmurs; of that beautiful verse in the Ancient Mariner which is in all our memories; of a line of Spenser, where he talks of a "cærule stream" rumbling in pebble stones; and this gives occasion for a very excellent piece of criticism on the use of that particular word. And see, he adds, "how one pleasant thing reminds people of another! A pebble reminded us of the brooks, and the brooks of the poets, and the poets reminded us of the beauty and comprehensiveness of their words, whether belonging to the subject in hand or not." But having got to the poets, what an inexhaustible treasure is opened for us by Mr. Hunt and the pebble!—Green, who flings a stone to slay the giant Hypochondria; Shakspeare's "weariness that snores upon the flint;" Keats' "Greyhaired Saturn, quiet as a stone;" Marlowe's splendid catalogue of the precious stones, of which our stone is "the humble relation." In the same pleasant way, also—though it is hardly fair to turn a charming paper into a dry index—he will talk about a stick,—tracing it to the remotest Eastern origin, seeing it, like the Dean's broomstick, "alive with sap and flourishing with foliage." We were rather inclined at this stage, in the enjoyment of a supplementary pleasure of association, to revert to the reflection of the immortal original, Is not man also a stick? But the Essay, avoiding those profounder regions, dilates on the antiquity of the use of sticks, and on certain anecdotes connected with them: how Socrates, meeting with Xenophon in a narrow passage, barred up the way with his stick; and how Agesilaus rode upon one, for the amusement of his

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little boy; and how Charles I., at his trial, held out his stick, to forbid the Attorney-General's proceeding; and a touching little story, which we cannot extract, of the way in which Andrew Marvell's father, who was drowned, left his for a keepsake to a friend. And then we come to Sir Plume, in the Rape of the Lock; and to Sir Richard Steele, who jerked his stick against the pavement as he walked; and to Macklin, the player, who poked a man's eye out with his; and to Dr. Johnson, who was told that Foote intended to mimic him, and threatened to chastise the dog; and to Macpherson, who threatened to chastise Dr. Johnson; and to the big stick with which the great Lexicographer proposed to repel Macpherson's assault; and to the celebrated piece of timber which he lost in the Isle of Mull.

One great injustice, among many others, which we do to these Essays by describing them, arises from the hopeless impossibility of conveying in our abstract any idea of the evanescent graces of style and manner; or of the natural spontaneous impulse, with which every new topic is suggested. There is a provoking air of malice prepense in a second-hand report of such things. It is like trying to describe a man's conversation, by telling what he talked about. The vivacity of the good talker evaporates, as much in the one case as in the other; and the merits of the one are not more portable than those of the other, simply because they are the same. The *Indicator* Essays, in short, are what we can imagine to have been their author's conversation. They are the natural outpourings of a mind, rich in literary knowledge, overflowing with gaiety, fancy, and good feeling; now chastened with a touch of quiet, unpretending pathos; now rising into a thoughtful lay sermon, on the favourite theme—how to make life more beautiful and happier. The wit, of which, in its kind, there is no lack, consists rather of a certain sprightly vivacity and exuberance of animal spirits than of anything more quotable; no one enjoys a joke so thoroughly as Hunt; no one pushes a favourite jest, to such a length of ludicrous exaggeration. There is a kind of fun about this, however, which requires the excitation of the humourist's bodily presence to be thoroughly enjoyed; a consciousness of being absurd and amusing—a perpetual reiteration, as it were, of Mrs. Mowcher's "Aint I volatile?" which the glance of an eye and the tone of a voice make very delightful, but which become rather vapid in print. The Essays are interspersed with tales, after the fashion of the old race of *Spectators* and *Tatlers.* These are very pleasant reading, but deserve no higher commendation. The best perhaps is "the Fair Revenge," which was Shelley's favourite paper; and a very pretty and sentimental story it is. But they all turn on points of sentiment, perfectly true and natural certainly, but too delicate to affect us like the familiar joys and sorrows, with which Mr. Bickerstaff moves our tears and our laughter. It is nothing to say that they fall far short of the humour, the life, and the wonderful pathos of that great master. Inkle and Yarico will continue to draw tears from thousands, who read the Fair Revenge, with no other feeling but one, of entertainment. But though we cannot think it very happily exhibited in his tales, the *Indicator* undoubtedly contains a great deal of observation of life, and a very remarkable insight into delicate shades of character. There are no better portraits of a class than his, of a sailor on shore, and of a naval officer, of an old gentleman and an old lady, —singularly happy specimens, as it seems to us, of the admirable graphic power which in the Autobiography gives us so many striking and amusing sketches of actual men and women. And if any one—anxious to give a clearer shape and meaning to the familiar words which convey to most of us such vague ideas—would understand what is meant by insight into character, we know no more illustrative specimen of that faculty, than the paper called "A Human Animal and the other Extreme." He finds in an old biographical dictionary, an account of a certain Mr. Hastings, who lived in 1638, such details of the man's personal habits, appearance, eccentricities, modes of life and conduct, as might come under the observation of his friends and neighbours; and, having quoted those outward indications of character, traces them to their inner sources in the heart and mind, with a subtle and penetrating sagacity, of which we wish our limits would allow us to give an idea, by quotation. It is a very commonplace character, when we come to know it, and perfectly well described in the title of the paper; but its construction is so wonderfully laid open before us, as to make Mr. Leigh Hunt's not unkindly dissection as fascinating as we think it instructive. We must say of this, as of all similar performances, that nothing but their actual perusal can give any idea of their style and manner: to break them up into specimens, is as injurious as it is to describe them, and they are too long for quotation in their integrity. But we cannot take leave of the subject, without noticing another paper, in which the joys and sorrows of the human heart are dealt with in a

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different way, and far more successfully than when he attempts to embody them in a tale. We allude to the Essay on the Deaths of Little Children. Here, he is the lay preacher, and a very touching, and gentle one; but we must find room for the fine strain of reflection with which he concludes—Addison has said nothing so deep about the vanity of grieving:—

"The liability to the loss of children seems to be one of the necessary bitters thrown into the cup of humanity. We do not mean that everybody must lose one of his children in order to enjoy the rest; or that every individual loss affects us in the same proportion. We allude to the deaths of infants in general. These might be as few as we could render them. But if none at all ever took place, we should regard every little child as the man or woman secured; and it will easily be conceived what a world of endearing cares and hopes this security would endanger. The very idea of infancy would lose its continuity with us. Girls and boys would be future men and women, not present children. They would have attained their full growth in our imagination, and might as well have been men and women at once. On the other hand, those who have lost an infant are never, as it were, without an infant child. They are the only persons who, in one sense, retain it always; and they furnish their nieghbours with the same idea. The other children grow up to manhood and womanhood, and suffer all the changes of mortality. This one alone is rendered an immortal child. Death has arrested it with his kindly harshness, and blessed it with an eternal image of youth and innocence."

We have left ourselves no room to say what we had intended about Leigh Hunt's criticism and his poetry. We must be content, in few words, to express our belief that, after Coleridge, there is no critic to whom the young student of poetry has so much reason to be grateful as to Leigh Hunt. He has no pretensions to Coleridge's psychology, or power of philosophic analysis; but his expositions of the beauties of the great masters—for it is this, the best and most beneficial kind of criticism, that he affects—are full of taste and feeling; and his manner of imparting his views is so felicitous and charming, that the dullest reader, while he is in Leigh Hunt's company, is made to enjoy the coyest beauties of Chaucer and Spenser, and Keats and Coleridge, with something of the critic's own discernment and delicacy of perception. As he says of Ariosto, "instead of taking thought, he chooses to take pleasure with us; and we are delighted that he does us so much honour, and makes, as it were, Leigh Hunts of us all."

We may find some future opportunity of expressing our opinion of the poems. For the present, our limits are reached. One thing only we cannot leave unsaid, in justice to ourselves, our readers, and our author. We must remonstrate with the editor of what bears to be a "complete and final edition of Leigh Hunt's poetical works," on the exclusion of some of the poet's best and most characteristic pieces. Leigh Hunt sometimes "wanted, or forgot, the last and greatest art, the art to blot." There are, for example, some quasi-laureate odes which the world might lose without regret. But we are at a loss to conceive why sentence of excision should have been pronounced on "Abraham and the Fire Worshipper;" and "Ronald of the Perfect Hand." As far as our own readers are concerned, we do our best to repair another unintelligible omission, by transferring to our pages as much as we have space for, of the "Fancy Concert:"—

"THE FANCY CONCERT.

"They talked of their concert, their singers, and scores,
And pitied the fever that kept me in doors;
And I smiled in my thought, and said, O ye sweet fancies,
And animal spirits, that still in your dances
Come bringing me visions, to comfort my care
Now fetch me a concert—imparadise air.
Then a wind, like a storm out of Eden, came pouring
Fierce into my room, and made tremble the flooring,
And filled, with a sudden impetuous trample
Of heaven, its corners: and swelled it to ample
Dimensions to breathe in, and space for all power;
Which, falling as suddenly, lo! the sweet flower
Of an exquisite fairy voice opened its blessing;
And ever and aye, to its constant addressing,
There came falling in with it, each in the last,
Flageolets, one by one, and flutes blowing more fast,
And hautboys, and clarinets, acrid of reed,
And the violin smoothlier, sustaining the speed,
As the rude tempest gathered, and buz ringing moons
Of tambours, and huge basses, and giant bassoons;
And the golden trombone, that darteth its tongue
Like a bee of the gods: nor was absent the gong,
Like a sudden fate bringing oracular sound
Of earth's iron genius, burst up from the ground,
A terrible slave, come to wait on his masters
The gods, with exultings that clanged like disasters;
And then spoke the organs, the very gods they,
Like thunders that roll on a wind-blowing day;
And, taking the rule of the roar in their hands,
Lo! the Genii of Music came out of all lands;
And one of them said, 'Will my lord tell his slave
What concert 't would please his Firesideship to have?'

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Then I said, in a tone of immense will and pleasure,
Let orchestras rise to some exquisite measure;
And let there be lights and be odours; and let
The lovers of music serenely be set;
And then, with their singers in lily-white stoles,
And themselves clad in rose colours, fetch me the souls
Of all the composers accounted divinest,
And with their own hands, let them play me their finest.

. . . .

Oh! truly was Italy heard then, and Germany,
Melody's heart, and the rich brain of harmony;
Pure Paisiello, whose airs are as new,
Though we know them by heart, as May blossoms and dew;
And nature's twin son, Pergolesi; and Bach,
Old father of fugues, with his endless fine talk;
And Gluck, who saw gods; and the learned sweet feeling
Of Haydn: and Winter, whose sorrows are healing;
And gentlest Corelli, whose bowing seems made
For a hand with a jewel; and Handel, arrayed
In Olympian thunders, vast lord of the spheres,
Yet pious himself, with his blindness in tears,
A lover withal, and a conqueror, whose marches
Bring demigods under victorious arches;
Then Arne, sweet and tricksome; and masterly Purcell,
Lay-clerical soul; and Mozart universal,
But chiefly with exquisite gallantries found,
With a grove in the distance, of holier sound;
Nor forgot was thy dulcitude, loving Sacchini;
Nor love, young and dying, in shape of Bellini;
Nor Weber, nor Himmel, nor Mirth's sweetest name,
Cimarosa; much less the great organ-voiced fame
Of Marcello, that hushed the Venetian sea;
And strange was the shout, when it wept, hearing thee,
Thou soul full of grace as of grief, my heart-cloven,
My poor, my most rich, my all-feeling Beethoven.
O'er all, like a passion, great Pasta was heard,
As high as her heart, that truth-uttering bird.

. . . .

And was it a voice?—or what was it?—say,
That, like a fallen angel, beginning to pray,
Was the soul of all tears, and celestial despair!
Paganini it was, 'twixt his dark flowing hair."

. . . .

We quote these fine verses, because they are characteristic in every way; in the *sympathetic* enjoyment, which inspires them; in depth and delicacy of feeling; in richness, and power of expression; in the musical flow of the versification; and also, as it seems to us, in certain little peculiarities of diction, which are not quite so admirable. Since the space at our disposal is insufficient for anything like adequate criticism, we leave Leigh Hunt's poetry for the present without farther remarks. We do our readers a greater service in enabling them to enjoy the "Fancy Concert."

ART. IV.—1. *A Voyage to the South Sea, and along the Coasts of Chile and Peru, in the years* 1712, 1713, *and* 1714. By Monsieur FREZIER, Engineer in Ordinary to the French King. London: Jonah Bowyer, 1717.
2. *El Mercurio Peruano.* Lima, 1798.
3. *The Edinburgh Review.* Vol. XIII. January, 1809.
4. *The United States Naval Astronomical Expedition to the Southern Hemisphere, during* 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852. Two Vols. Vol. I., *Chile.* Washington, 1855.
5. *Biography of General Miller.* London, 1826.
6. *La Dictadura de O'Higgins.* By MIGUEL LUIS AMUNATEGUI. Santiago, 1853.
7. *Memoria Historica.* By DOMINGO SANTA MARIA. Santiago, 1858.
8. *Investigaciones sobre la Influencia Social de la Conquista, y del Sistema Colonial de los Espanoles en Chile.* By J. V. LASTARRIA. Santiago, 1844.
9. *Historia Constitucional del Medio Siglo.* By J. V. LASTARRIA. Vol. I. Valparaiso, 1853.
10. *La Constitucion Politica 'de Chile, comentada.* By J. V. LASTARRIA, Deputy for Copiapo and Caldora. Valparaiso, 1856.
11. *Comentarios sobre la Constitucion Politica de* 1833. By MANUEL CARRASCO ALBANO. Valparaiso, 1858.
12. *El Mercurio.* Daily Newspaper, Valparaiso.
13. *La Revista Catolica.* Santiago de Chile.
14. *El Catolicismo, en presencia de sus Disidentes.* By JOSE IGNACIO VICTOR EYZAGUIRRE, Presbitero. Two Vols. Paris, 1855.
15. *Los Interesis Catolicos en America.* By JOSE IGNACIO VICTOR EYZAGUIRRE. Two Vols. Paris, 1859.

PERHAPS no region of the world is so little known to Anglo-Saxons as the South American Continent. At the same time, there is none to whose physical characteristics so much interests attaches. Its majestic rivers, the eternal snows and flaming volcanoes of its stupendous Cordillera, the luxuriant vegetation of its tropical division, the waving plains of its Argentine provinces, the myrtle groves and smiling valleys of its Chilian Republic, present features of surpassing gran-

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deur. Ignorant as most readers are of these, they know still less of the social condition, the moral and religious aspect, the resources and commercial capabilities of its several states.

It is well known that in the sixteenth century the bold and chivalrous adventurers of Spain and Portugal possessed themselves of the whole of this region, as well as of Mexico, and of what is now called Central America. Portugal contented herself with Brazil, leaving the rest to Spain, her powerful neighbor and rival. The Spaniard at that time excelled all other men in enterprise and valour, and nothing was too arduous or too hazardous for him to undertake. Freedom of thought had not yet been entirely crushed under the iron hoof of tyranny; and so the days of Columbus, of Pizarro, and of Valdivia were great and glorious days for old Spain.

But we are not now to deal with the stories and legends of the Conquest, nor with the more remote history of the Spanish American independencies. Looking back, however, for a moment through the vista of three centuries, we see these Spanish dependencies inhabited almost exclusively by the Indian races. The Spanish conquerors had begun to occupy the land in considerable numbers, and it was beginning to yield up to them its abundant stores. Its vast mineral wealth soon came to be disclosed; and we fear that, in many instances, avarice was unscrupulous in the modes of its extraction. The Indian vassals, at a very early period after the conquest, were reduced to the most abject servitude. The exactions of the hacendados, or landowners, on the Indians given them *in commendam*, and the sorrows of the poor downtrodden vassals who were drawn from the Peruvian parishes, according to a custom called *Mita*, and sent to die in the dismal mines of Potosi, must even yet awaken a feeling of commiseration. The annual setting out of fresh levies on the feast of *Corpus Christi*—many of the men with wives and children—is touchingly described by Frezier (than whom, Humboldt excepted, a more observant or accomplished traveller has never visited the coasts of South America); and a bondage, the prospect of which, he tells us, filled their dull eyes with tears, and their broken hearts with unavailing sorrow, may even yet bring the tear to our eyes. And it must be borne in mind, that although some of the Indian races of South America were barbarous and degraded, these Peruvian Indians were not so. Whoever reads Prescott's Histories of the conquest of Peru and Mexico, will find that the Peruvians and Mexican Indians had made considerable advances in the arts, and in a rude civilization. The Indian remains found in Peru—their paintings, edifices, and household utensils—all attest this fact; and, judging from the ruins of their works of irrigation, it seems pretty clear that the extent of ground they had under cultivation at the time of the conquest, was *greater than it is at the present moment.* It seems the fate of the Indian races to pass from the face of lands they once called their own, unheeded and forgotten. Yet the decline of the Indian population of the Spanish American provinces through conquest, and the keen sense of degradation and suffering, is a melancholy fact. At the time of the conquest, Mexico and Central America must have contained fully 7,000,000 Indian inhabitants. According to the *Mercurio Peruano*, a literary magazine published in Lima towards the close of last century, the Indian population of Peru, Santa Fe, and Buenos Ayres, by a census taken in 1551, amounted to 8,255,000. It is no doubt true that a portion of the Indian blood came to be mixed with the Spanish element, forming the progenitors of the present Mestizo races; yet, when we consider that from upwards of 15,000,000 at the conquest, the pure Indian races of Spanish America have declined to 5,500,000 (the proximate estimate at the present time), their speedy extinction seems imminent. Of these 5,500,000, there are 4,500,000 in Mexico, leaving only 1,000,000 of pure Indians for the whole of Central America and the Spanish States of South America. Humboldt estimated the Indian population of both Americas as 6,000,000 in 1803, and he placed 4,500,000 of them to account of Mexico; adding, that he had no reason to suppose it had diminished since the conquest. But according to all the accounts we have been able to examine, having any claims to correctness, it is obvious there has been a very great diminution. In the Memorials of General Miller (a brave Englishman who served some of the South American States in the wars of their independence), his biographer incidentally mentions that Humboldt was deceived in the matter of population by Padre Cisneros, who, in reference to South America, had probably given the number of men fit to carry arms at the first reckoning after the conquest, as this was a mode of telling the effective strength of the population then very frequently adopted.

Time rolled on, and the colonists themselves came at length to groan under chains of vassalage cast around their necks by the mother country. Availing themselves of the extremities to which Spain was reduced by the Napoleonic wars in the early part of this century, the colonists rose in rebellion, suc-

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cessfully shook off the Spanish yoke, and attained their freedom; forming themselves, in course of time, into separate States, or Republics, detached from the Spanish monarchy. With the wars of the independence we are not now to deal. The colonists maintained a noble struggle, and in the end success crowned their efforts. One fact, however, it is important not to lose sight of, in order to reconcile these revolutionary struggles with what we know of the condition of the great mass of the population at the beginning of this century. It must be borne in mind that their stand for independence was *purely aristocratic*, and that the mass of the people were swayed and headed by the great colonial landlords. Wincing under the slights and oppression of the mother country, which would admit no colonist to any position of dignity or high trust, the colonial aristocracy determined to break off from their allegiance. In the words of the author of the *Dictadura de O'Higgins*, "the revolution in Chile" (and so it was in the other states) "was at first the work of a few citizens, and had in its origin a tendency purely aristocratic. Its promoters, its chiefs, were the heads of the great families of the country, the Larraines, the Errazurizes, the Eyzaguirres." While they planned their revolutionary movements, the rest of the inhabitants, he tells us, "were tranquil, indolent, and far from thinking of such novelties." While the conflict was going on, the colonists met with the sympathy of England, as well as of the United States. Both Englishmen and Americans fought and distinguished themselves in the ranks of the patriots during their struggles; and it is a significant fact, that while through the efforts of eminent British statesmen, such as the Marquis of Lansdowne and Sir James Mackintosh, the English Government was led to recognise the independence of these South American Republics, at that very period their spiritual Father, Pope Leo the 12th, hurled at them his famous encyclical, directed against their rebellion and their assertion of the undoubted rights of oppressed humanity. Spanish Americans are very apt to forget these facts; and it is fitting that their memories should occasionally be refreshed with them, and they themselves led to reconsider the warnings they carry with regard to the despotic assumptions of the Papacy. The sympathy of English statesmen, critics, and journalists, was none the less real, that there lay in the background sundry utilitarian calculations such as Englishmen are over-fond of making. Spain had scrupulously shut the colonies against foreign intercourse and commerce; and it was thought that the attainment of their independence would open up an almost inexhaustible field for British enterprise. A striking article in the number of the *Edinburgh Review* for January 1809, is even yet worthy of perusal; though we are bound to add, the anticipations of the sanguine reviewer have been sadly disappointed.

In the article we refer to, founded on the admirable letters of the Peruvian priest Juan Pablo Viscardodoy Guzman, addressed to his fellow-countrymen, the reviewer remarks:—

"If such immense benefits have resulted from the prosperity of the United States, how many times greater will be those which must necessarily flow from the prosperity of South America? If the population of the United States, amounting perhaps to 6,000,000 souls, afford so very extraordinary a demand for British commodities, what may not the population of South America, extending already to no less than 16,000,000, be expected to afford? It is no doubt true, that the moral and intellectual habits of the people of South America are not so favourable to improvement as were those of North America. Their industry has been cramped, their minds have been held in ignorance by a bad government; hence they are indolent and superstitious. But remove the cause, and the effects will cease to flow. So sweet are the fruits of labour wherever the labourer enjoys them unimpaired, that the motives to it are irresistible, and his activity may be counted on with the certainty of a law of nature. With South America, then, under a free and beneficent government, we might laugh the destroyer (Napoleon) to scorn, and enjoy a prosperity which the utmost efforts of his power and his rage could never disturb."

That the expectations cherished have not been as yet fulfilled, we fear would be of too easy demonstration; and our present purpose is to indicate some of the more important obstructions which hitherto we conceive have opposed and still stand in the way of the moral and material advancement of Spanish America. With a view to this, we shall begin by stating some statistics relating to the increase and present condition of their population, and to their resources, which, as the facts are not within the reach of many, may not prove uninteresting.

We have already spoken of the Indian population. Including that element, the lowest estimate we meet with of the population of the Spanish American States at the end of last century, is 16,000,000. Viscardo estimated it at 18,000,000; and according to the Revolutionary Commissioners who met General Miranda at Paris in 1797, it was computed by them at 20,000,000. We shall take the estimate of Viscardo, viz., 18,000,000, as the most probable. Now, at the present time, according to the most

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authentic data, the population, we believe, does not exceed 20,000,000. The following table we take to be as near an estimate as can be formed, and we include in it the pure Indian population:—

Mexico,	7,000,000
Guatemala, Salvador, Hondùras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica,	2,000,000
Ecuador,	750,000
Nueva Grenada,	2,000,000
Venezuela,	1,000,000
Peru,	2,000 000
Bolivia,	1,500,000
Chile,	1,450,000
Argentine Republic,	1,000,000
Paraguay,	500,000
Uruguay,	300,000
Total,	19,500,000

It thus appears that the population of the Spanish American Republics has remained almost stationary during more than half a century. Intestine wars have done their cruel work from time to time in cutting off large numbers. Want of maternal care for their offspring, on the part of the lower orders, has done the rest. With a climate so genial, the population ought to have augmented rapidly, especially as the women are more than ordinarily prolific; but whilst poor ignorant mothers look on their dead infants as "little angels," and deem them far happier removed to another world, we need not be astonished to find tables of mortality, such as the following, even in Valparaiso, one of the most enlightened cities:—

Interments in one of the Cemeteries of Valparaiso.

1856.					
April,	198,	of which	156	were children under	seven years.
May,	144,	,,	119	,,	,,
June,	144,	,,	88	,,	,,
July,	185,	,,	124	,,	,,
August,	187,	,,	134	,,	,,
September,	192,	,,	124	,,	,,
	1050		745		

So that out of 1050 deaths, 745 were children under seven years of age. The source whence we have extracted the above, supplies the following statistics of births in the parish of Salvador, Valparaiso, during the year from October 1855 to September 1856 inclusive:—

The total births during that year were		1282
Of these, there were legitimate,	920	
,, ,, illegitimate,	362	
		1282

showing the illegitimacy to be 27 per cent. In the district of Concepcion, in the south of Chile, it is 30 per cent.; and if this be about the average for Chile, some of the other Republics are in a much worse condition. With regard to the question of deaths, the *Valparaiso Mercurio*, from which we copy the above statistics, says, that the great mortality amongst infants "arises without doubt, from the little care and the bad system of rearing children common amongst the lower orders." The illegitimacy, no doubt, also swells the proportion of such deaths. Indeed, in a paper read before the Faculty of Medical Science at Santiago de Chile, by Dr. Mackenna, and published in the Annals of the University in 1850, the writer says, with reference to the proportion of deaths of illegitimate children: "It is not possible for them to live under the indifference with which they are regarded, and it would seem that the authors of their lives are public executioners rather than parents." The frightful prevalence of diseases resulting from immorality, throughout the Spanish American States, brings also its harvest of death. Dr. Mackenna, in reference mainly to that fact, goes on to say: "Looking round the whole horizon (of Chile), we do not find a single spot that casts the germs of epidemic miasma towards our blue sky; nor can we find on the soil any of the venomous reptiles infesting other countries. Yet, in the midst of this bountiful land, we perceive death cutting down the tender plants of the generation, leaving only the dried limbs in whose veins flow the poisons that afflict society." A very baneful influence is also exerted throughout these countries by the existence of Foundling Hospitals. There is no question that such institutions, planted with the most humane and benevolent intentions, are a fruitful source of the very evil they are intended to alleviate; and that they tend to affect injuriously the increase of population, by offering a premium to that very illegitimacy which brings in its train so much of death. Whoever has studied the very interesting statistics of M. Quetelet on this subject, in his able work *L'Homme*, will have seen the large per centage of illegitimacy wherever Foundling Hospitals abound, and also the great proportion of death in such institutions. With respect to the Foundling Hospital of Santiago de Chile, Lieut. Gilliss makes the following observations, in his *Narrative of the U. S. Naval Expedition*:—

"A Foundling Hospital (Casa de Espositos), or rather an establishment where any one may leave an infant in open daylight as well as in the darkness, to be brought up at the expense of the public, was founded about the middle of last century. At the time it was instituted it was perhaps intended, in good faith, for orphans and

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those whose unnatural parents had literally thrown them on the charity of the world." . .
"But the passions of a people taught to believe that no crime is remembered by their Maker, after confession to a priest, has actually converted the *Casa de Expositos* into an institution for the encouragement of vice. Not only may the mother (or other) take her child to a revolving box, fitted into the wall, and turn it within the Asylum, tapping a farewell knock to call the porter, as its face is perhaps for ever removed from her sight, but she may also avail herself of the same institution to lie in, and be known only to the *partera* who assists her. There is no novelty in an event occurring three times every two days; and the mother may perhaps pass from the turnstile to the door, and, offering herself as a nurse, receive her child again, but now she obtains pay for the nourishment which nature had actually provided."

Such a picture, if near the truth, needs no comment. In the year 1851, according to the statistical information afforded us by Lieut. Gilliss, 531 infants entered the institution, being one for every two marriages in a city of 90,000 inhabitants, and one out of every ten births. Of these 531 infants, 260 died during that year, being a mortality of nearly 50 per cent., — a ratio, as M. Quetelet tells us, not uncommon in such institutions even on the continent of Europe. It is necessary for us to guard here against conveying the impression that such a state of matters exists amongst the upper classes of Chillian society. Such an impression would be entirely unfounded. We venture to affirm, that in no community are the paths of virtue more strictly followed by the unmarried ladies of the upper classes than in Chile. With comparatively few exceptions, they make faithful wives and good mothers. But the contrast between the women of the upper and lower classes of society is most marked in Chile; and we presume the same observation will, with more or less force, hold good with respect to all the other Spanish American Republics.

As intimately connected with the moral condition of a people, the state of education amongst them will naturally fall to be inquired into. We need scarcely say that popular education in Spanish America has been wofully neglected. In Chile, of late years, more has been done by the Government for diffusing the benefits of education, than by any of the other states. Probably the city of Buenos Ayres, in regard to education, occupies the highest position amongst the large towns of the Spanish American States; yet the Argentine Republic is considerably behind Chile. The statistics annually presented to Government by the Chilian Minister of Public Instruction are very complete, and reflect great credit on that Republic. In the year 1855, we learn from these returns, there were attending all schools, public and private, throughout the country, 28,900 scholars; and in the year 1858 the number had increased to about 32,000, of whom from 23,000 to 24,000 were boys, and from 8000 to 9000 were girls. As that shows only 1 in 45 at school, instead of 1 in 7, as would be the case were education sufficiently diffused, it will be seen that much has yet to be done even in the most advanced of the Spanish American Republics. Were we to estimate the proportion at school, in most of the other Republics, as 1 in 100, we are sure we would be putting their position, with regard to popular education, in the most favourable light possible. The predominant, or rather the only existing Church (the Roman Catholic), does almost nothing in the way of diffusing education, or aiding to erect and maintain schools. While utterly lethargic in these matters, she would grasp at supervision and interference; but as to planting and maintaining schools, or impressing upon the public mind the great advantage of popular education, she does not move one footstep.

It will not be surprising, after the examination of such facts as we have given with regard to the condition of the population and the state of popular education, to hear that the Spanish American Republics have not made rapid progress in the development of their resources, and in all that tends to the refinement and material comfort of the mass of their inhabitants. But other causes, somewhat allied to the above, have also intervened, bearing unfavourably on their progress; these we propose to refer to afterwards. Suffice it here to say, these countries have come lamentably short of the ideal future depicted for them by the Reviewer of 1809. To attempt a comparison with the United States now, would only be ludicrous; and it will be better to give a few general facts regarding the commerce and resources of Spanish America, — facts which we shall endeavour to present in as succinct a form as practicable.

Mexico, with her vast territory and large population, without reckoning the produce of her silver mines (which yield about 25,000,000 dols. per annum), exports annually the miserable amount of about 1,500,000 dols., chiefly in cochineal and dye-woods. The silver mines at the beginning of the century yielded as much as they now do. In 1804 the yield was 28,000,000 dols. In 1827 it had fallen as low as 10,000,000 dols.; but of late years it had increased greatly, and has nearly reached its former maximum.

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From Mr. Ward's book on Mexico, we learn that the yield of the silver mines, for many years before 1810, averaged 24,000-000 dols. Mexico, therefore, is stationary, if it be not retrograding; and who can look for any other result in a country so demoralized and so misgoverned?—a country in which nearly three-fourths of the population are pure Indians, in a state even yet morally and intellectually as low as that of their ancestors of the time of the conquest?

Central America, Nueva Grenada, and Venezuela, export annually a few millions of dollars in tobacco, dyewoods, coffee, and minor articles; and import a similar value—the measure of progression being extremely small. Nueva Grenada extracted from her mines in the end of last century the value of 3,000,000 dols. per annum, and they now yield almost nothing, though the sources of supply are well-nigh inexhaustible. The coinage of Bogota was 2,000,000 dols. per annum, and that of the mint of Popayan (also in New Grenada) was 1,000-000 dols. early in this century. Now these mints are idle, or nearly so.

Ecuador exports annually cacao, straw hats, tobacco, bark, timber, and minor articles, to the value of 3,000,000 dols., being nearly the same as her imports amount to. Her trade is restricted, and does not increase.

Peru, which comes next in order, has resources which come under two distinct heads:—1*st*, The *Government* monopoly of the article of guano, which yields annually about 8,000,000 dols., after paying the interest of her exterior debt. Her *general* exports do not exceed 8,000,000 dols. per annum, and are made up as follows:—

Silver,	2,800,000 dols.
Cochineal and Cotton,	300,000 „
Nitrate of Soda (55,000 tons),	2,500,000 „
Alpaca and common wool,	1,200,000 „
Sugar and rice,	1,000,000 „
Gold, Copper, hides, and minor articles,	700,000 „
	8,500,000 dols.

The produce of her silver mines has fallen off very materially since the end of last century. Her coinage in 1791 was 5,000-000 dols., in 1795 it was 5,590,000 dols.; and the value extracted from her silver mines in 1803 was nearly 6,000,000 dols. In 1855 the yield of her silver mines was as follows:—

Cerro Pasco—963 bars,	251,928 marcs	
Hualgayoc,	45,000 „	
In all,	296,928 „	or 3,000,000 dols.

Since then the production has considerably diminished. It will appear strange, but it is nevertheless true, that the general commerce of Peru (excluding guano) has actually decreased since the year 1785. According to the *Mercurio Peruano*, we learn that the average annual imports of Peru from 1785 to 1789 were as follows:—

From Spain,	8,420,000 dols.
„ Chile,	1,100,000 „
„ Other Colonies in the Pacific,	800,000 „
„ Potosi and River Plate Provinces,	800,000 „
	11,120,000 dols.

Her exports being as follow:—

To Spain—chiefly silver and gold,	6,300,000 dols.
„ Chile,	950,000 „
„ Other Colonies in the Pacific,	600,000 „
„ Potosi and River Plate Provinces,	2,000,000 „
	9,850,000 dols.

We learn also from the same authority, that in 1790 Peru owned 41 ships, averaging 400 tons, and manned by 1460 seamen; and we question whether at the present moment her mercantile marine can boast of so much tonnage, or so large a number of native mariners. The far-famed riches of Peru are now like the legends of the past, and with an immoral, degenerate, and indolent population, the result is not strange.

Bolivia, like Paraguay, has little intercourse with foreigners. Her total exports (if we exclude a little silver which is exported, though there exists a Government prohibition) do not exceed 500,000 dols. Her once famous silver mines of Potosi, from which it may well be said the glory has departed, now yield only about 2,000-000 dols. per annum. During the long period from 1556 to 1780, nearly 224 years, their yield, according to the royal duties paid, was 2,400,000,000 dols.; but seeing that for a long period not above a third paid duties, it doubtless amounted to 3,000,000,000 dols., or equal to 13,000,000 dols. per annum. The yield in 1791 had fallen to 5,000,000 dols.; and now, as we have said, it does not exceed 2,000,000 dols. per annum. Perhaps there is no modern instance of such decay in either hemisphere as Potosi presents. Its population has decreased as follows:—

According to the *Mercurio Peruano*, it had, in 1611,	160,000
According to Frezier, in 1712 it had	70,000
According to the *Mercurio Peruano*, in 1792 it had (of whom 256 were ecclesiastics.)	18,000
According to Miller's Memoirs, in 1825 it had	8,000

Whether the decrease in the yield of silver has been the cause or the effect of the diminution of population, we cannot positively assert; but we have no doubt there are still great riches in the Cerro of Potosi, needing only energy and industry to develop them. Bolivia, with a population in which the Indian element greatly preponderates, and for whose intellectual and moral ad-

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vancement scarcely anything has been done, makes no perceptible progress.

URUGUAY is one of the smallest of the South American Republics. The pastoral resources are very great, but civil wars and misrule have seriously retarded their development. Of late, however, there has been improvement; and it is pleasing to learn that a colony of Protestant Vaudois has been recently established in Uruguay, and is now beginning to flourish—although, at first, the poor emigrants were beset with difficulties, and with persecution at the instigation of a fanatical priesthood. The exports of Uruguay consist of hides, tallow, and wool, and amount to about 6,000,000 dols. annually, which is likewise the annual value of her imports.

THE ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION next claims our attention, and is, perhaps, of all the Spanish American Republics, the one destined to make most progress in material wealth. It is painful to consider how so magnificent a country has been misgoverned. Either embroiled in contentions with neighbouring Republics, or disturbed by intestine feuds, this vast territory has scarcely begun to develop her resources. Her legislation is now most fortunately proceeding in a liberal, tolerant, and right direction; and, did the prospect of peace and security exist, the stream of emigration would certainly flow towards the River Plate provinces. The exports of the Argentine Republic, like those of Uruguay, consist of hides, tallow, wool, and a few minor articles. Their annual value is about 15,000,000 dols., and the annual value of her imports is of a like amount. In 1796, the value of the exports from Buenos Ayres was 1,320,000 dols.; a comparison of this with the present exports, will show that at least some progress has been made in material wealth by the Argentine Republic.

CHILE will complete our enumeration. Compared with nearly all the other Republics, she has made rapid progress in almost every department of national industry. For the twelve years from 1844 to 1855 inclusive, she made very great progress in the development of her resources. During the last few years her exports have not increased, owing to the great diminution in the yield of her silver mines, and to the restricted demand since 1855 for her agricultural produce. To counterbalance this falling off, the extraction and export of copper have rapidly increased, and this may now be reckoned as the staple branch of industry of the country. The following table, compiled with care from the Custom House statistics, will show the commercial movement for the years we have named:—

	Imports for Home Consumption.	Exports.
1844, .	8596,000 dols.	6,087,000 dols.
1845, .	9,104,000 „	7,600,000 „
1846, .	10,149,000 „	8,115,000 „
1847, .	10,068,000 „	8,442,000 „
1848, .	8,600,000 „	8,350 000 „
1849, .	10,720,000 „	10,603,000 „
1850, .	11,780,000 „	12,426,000 „
1851, .	15,884,000 „	12,146,000 „
1852, .	15,347,000 „	14,087,000 „
1853, .	11,553,000 „	12,138,000
1854, .	17,428 000 „	14,627,000 „
1855, .	18,430,000 „	19,180,000 „

The country is possessed of great resources, both mineral and agricultural; and there is ample scope for their extensive development. Its prosperity would go on advancing were all the obstacles to immigration removed, and the internal peace of the country thoroughly established.

Having completed our view of the commerce and resources of these vast regions, let us now for a moment glance at the results. Our estimate of the aggregate commerce of the Spanish American Republics is that in round numbers, they annually export to all quarters about L.17,000,000 sterling, and that they now annually import a similar amount. We apprehend the Edinburgh Reviewer, were he alive, would be sadly disappointed at these results of Spanish-American independence. Not to speak now of the United States, he would discover that even Australia—a region almost unknown when he wrote—with a population at present of one million, actually imports an annual amount in sterling value equal to the total imports of the whole of the Spanish American Republics, and that she exports in a similar ratio. He would find, moreover, that the Australian exports are not now chiefly made up of gold, profusely scattered on the surface and easily collected, but of gold the produce of regularly systematized mining operations, added to the pastoral and other products of the country. With a rapidly increasing population, he would find large provision for the moral, religious, and educational necessities of the colonists. The conviction is irresistible, that where the Protestant faith prevails with its freedom of thought and liberty of conscience, progress may be counted upon "with the certainty of a law of nature;" while commonwealths deprived of intellectual and spiritual freedom either languish and wither, or advance with a stunted and uncertain growth.

But it must not be thought that this con-

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clusion obtains the acceptance of all classes in these settlements. On the contrary, we find in them the elements of the same antagonist parties as have long been contending in the older Catholic countries of Europe: a priestly party, jealous of all liberty, hating England with bitter hatred, magnifying and parading her social evils as the natural result of her religion, and striving to bring the community more than ever under the influence of Rome; and, on the other hand, a party struggling for freedom, giving utterance to noble sentiments, that shine the brighter for the dark firmament on which they gleam, and encouraging hope for a better day than those Republics have as yet seen.

At the head of the Church or priestly party may be ranked EYZAGUIRRE, a Chillian ecclesiastic, two of whose books we have placed in the list of works prefixed to this article. Connected with one of the old and influential families of the country, and occupying a position, both through the force of character and attainments, above the ordinarily low level of the South American priesthood, he has come to be no mean authority, both in the field of religion and of politics. He has made two journeys to Europe. In 1856 he returned to South America, after his first visit, as Papal agent, with the view of inducing its various Governments to pay more dutiful allegiance than formerly to the Roman See; to relinquish their claims of jurisdiction over the Church, and those rights of patronage which former Popes ceded or acknowledged as pertaining to the Spanish monarch, and to which the Spanish American Governments consider that they became heirs when they assumed the various powers and prerogatives of the Spanish monarchy. His mission signally failed. A few months ago, after a second visit to Europe, he again left for Chile as Papal agent (it is said as *Cardinal*), to meet, we trust, with a measure of success not greater than that which attended his previous efforts. His last book, *Los Intereses Catolicos en America*, published in Paris, for transmission to South America, on the eve of his setting out, is meant, we presume, as a plausible introduction or apology for the mission on which he is now sent. He complains, in the most bitter terms, of all the South American Governments for keeping the Church in thraldom, and for the little sympathy with which they regard her claims of domination over the minds of men. He lays the blame of all the existing prostration and ignorance at the door of these Governments. He then proclaims the *necessity for concordats* as the only panacea for the evils which exist; and, no doubt, his utmost efforts will be exerted in Chile to arrange a concordat with that Government, on behalf of the Roman Pontiff. That South Americans would have all to lose and nothing to gain through the operation of concordats, will be sufficiently obvious to themselves. We have, therefore, no apprehensions as to the ultimate result of Eyzaguirre's efforts.

One would think that, considering the intellectual and moral state of their country, the various Governments of Spanish America, instead of exalting the Church to higher power, would be forward to arraign her, either on a charge of gross incompetency or of failure. She has exclusively enjoyed the favours and blandishments of these Governments; and now the more meekly she comports herself, the better, we conceive, would it be for her interests. But the question is not, Shall the State call the Church to account for inefficiency, and for the deplorable scandals which confessedly exist? for we have actually, in the last production of this ecclesiastic, Eyzaguirre, an arraignment of the various Spanish American Governments, at least so far as the strongest language of expostulation and of threatening can affect them. Addressing the Government of Chile, he proclaims that it "*begins the very conflicts which weaken its power*, and voluntarily brings itself to the verge of the abyss into which it must sink," unless it pays heed to his warnings, retraces its steps, seeks for a concordat, prevents the erection or use of Protestant places of worship, the education of children in schools directed by Protestants, and the circulation of the Scriptures and other religious works through Protestant agency. Whether, in the event of the Government of Chile not heeding his suggestions, he means that the clergy will lend their influence to whatever retrograde party may seek to revolutionize the country, we are not aware. His language certainly insinuates this, and the example of such men as Eyzaguirre is not without its influence. We have an illustration of this in the most recent intelligence which has come to us from Chile. We see in the *Valparaiso Mercurio*, a daily newspaper, of the 14th April, an energetic protest against the irritating and revolutionary language of what it designates as the "religious press" of the country. That paper deemed it necessary to call public attention to an article in the *Revista Catolica* of Santiago, in the following terms:—"We hear the writers of the *Revista* proclaim the blasphemous proposition, that '*reproach and insult are always lawful when they are merited.*' Applying

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this shameful theory, and abusing with temerity their sacerdotal character and habit, the editors of the *Revista Catolica* of Santiago have discharged a veritable broadside, in one of its late numbers, against the writers and the Governments of South America, maintaining that the innumerable evils under which Spanish America groans '*have no other origin than the systematically hostile course they have always pursued with reference to the Catholic Church ;*' and they finish by declaring that '*it does not belong to the mission of the clergy, nor is it for Catholic interests, to aid the Governments which do such things, in consolidating public peace, or to co-operate in showing respect to the public authorities.*' Never did we believe," adds the *Mercurio*, "that the so-called religious press would use such language and evince such audacity, nor that the prudent moderation of Government should be obliged to tolerate their conduct." When we see such a spirit animating the religious teachers of the people of Spanish America, their sunken and backward condition, morally as well as materially, cannot cause us much astonishment.

It is matter of great satisfaction, amidst such darkness, to discern the first faint streaks of light appearing. There are enlightened statesmen and writers amongst the South American laity, who regard the condition of these Republics in a very different light from such men as Eyzaguirre and the ultramontanists of the *Revista Catolica.* In the front ranks of these more enlightened and patriotic writers may be found a countryman of Eyzaguirre, Don J. Y. Lastarria, an able Chillian lawyer and statesman. He is author of several works of considerable merit. In his first, entitled *Investigations on the Social Influence of the Conquest,* he seeks to set forth some of the germs of present evils. After discussing the origin and influence of human laws, he goes on to speak of the influence on the character of the colonists produced by the social and political condition of Spain itself about the time of the conquest. Deep interest attaches to the discussion, and the candour with which the question is discussed entitles M. Lastarria to a high place amongst the able and dispassionate Spanish American writers of the day. He tells us that it is quite necessary to weigh the influence of a great antecedent event on the Spanish nation and character, before minutely investigating the effects on the colonists of the corrupt and oppressive administration of which he had traced the various lineaments. The important event forming so necessary an element in the investigation, he informs us, was *the Reformation of the sixteenth century.* At that period, when all Europe was shaken to its foundations, and when men began to breathe more freely the air of civil and religious freedom, Spain, which till then had been comparatively liberal, resolutely forbade an entrance to the reformed opinions. "The benefits of the Revolution, then," says Lastarria, "did not penetrate into the land of our fathers; on the contrary, they were rejected with scorn, and the monstrous dictatorship of the throne and of the church —a mixed absolutism which, from that moment, began to work the ruin of that unhappy country—was preferred instead." . . . "Under the protection of the powerful monarch, Charles V., the monstrous tribunal of the Inquisition, persecuting and trampling under its poisonous foot everything opposed to its dictum, prostrated and rendered lethargic the once active faculties of Spain, and left only to her sons the ignorance and fanaticism needful to sustain its domination, and the power of the kings, its protectors. From this, it is easy to conceive how the Spaniard then only served God and his monarch according to the manner in which the Inquisition served them. The cause of civilisation was, according to his idea, the cause of the reprobate; his heart and his conscience were trained only to despise and to combat infidels, to persecute heretics, who were composed of all such as had any truth to proclaim not sanctioned by the holy office; and to bear the standard of fanaticism (not the cross of the Redeemer) wheresoever he was commanded. Thus his passion and the power of the throne conspired together to deceive him, and to corrupt in his heart the purity of the truths of the Gospel, inspiring him with gross superstition, and taking advantage of his implicit faith for the promotion and perpetuation of the cause of despotism." For these reasons, he adds, "I believe that when we examine the political and civil laws which shaped the existence of our colonial society, we ought to consider them as a logical result of that fanatical description of civilisation with which Spain—the fanatical and conquest loving Spain—laid the foundation of our social edifice."

In his next work, the *Constitutional History of the Past Half-century,* we find some very interesting observations so intimately connected with what has preceded, that we are tempted to give a further brief extract. Considering that Lastarria is a Spanish American, and professedly a member of the Roman Catholic Church, a deep interest attaches to sentiments uttered so fearlessly

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under such circumstances. To us, it may be, they are not new; but there is always a satisfaction in finding that truth advances, and can take root in unlikely and unfavourable soil. "In America," he says, "at the beginning of this century, there were two races of diffrrent extraction, and different in their antecedents; two societies holding principles opposed to each other, different in their customs and in their faith. Spain had given origin to one of these races, bestowing on it, with its life, the germ of a vast corruption. England had formed the other, by the vivifying breath of her independent and regenerating spirit. One queen, Isabel the Catholic, had contributed to raise the new Spanish American society on the basis of the conquest, and of the absolute sovereignty of the monarch. A century afterwards, another queen (Elizabeth of England) granted a charter to the first colonial settlements in the northern continent, guaranteeing to them, under certain reservations, the sovereignty and the right of governing themselves. In North America, religious liberty, liberty of the individual, of the tribune, and of the press, as well as industrial and commercial freedom, were consecrated as the bases and guarantees natural to society. In the Spanish colonies, on the other hand, the life, the property, the very honour of the man, belonged to the king. The liberty of the subject had no existence. An exclusive religious belief was dogmatically imposed, without looking for support in the intelligence or the heart of the man, but only in the terror systematically maintained by the Inquisition, and by the civil authority."

It must be peculiarly galling to liberal-minded men like Lastarria, to find at this very day the political constitution of Chile (the most advanced of the South American Republics) provide as follows, in its 5th Article:—

"The religion of the state is the Roman Catholic Apostolic, and the public exercise of any other worship is excluded."

In his "Commentary on the Political Constitution of Chile," he makes the following observations on that obnoxious article: "The article under examination not only acknowledges a fact, but it also contains a legislative precept, viz, that of making it incumbent on the State to recognise only the Roman Catholic religion. The words of the article signify that the State can only protect the Roman Catholic religion. Any other form is consequently beyond the sphere of the law, and cannot expect the protection of the State. Refusing protection to any other, and thus limiting her national duties, the State imposes, under the veil of dissimulation, a strict obligation on society to have only one belief. And what matters it that the individual is not persecuted for his belief, when he is hindered from publicly rendering his tribute of worship to the Divine Being,—an essential part of liberty? To allow a man the right to believe as he chooses, and to hinder him from manifesting what he believes, is to attack this liberty; and such a restriction is the negation of the thing conceded."

Another young Chillian lawyer, Manuel Carrasco Albano, published in 1858, *Commentaries on the Political Constitution of 1833*; and his observations on the 5th Article are to the same effect as those of Lastarria, perhaps even in advance of them. He speaks of liberty of worship as an inalienable right, and concludes by urging the entire separation of Church and State, in the following terms: "The constitution establishes an odious difference betwixt Catholic citizens and dissenting citizens or foreigners. Let us be just, let us extend the constitutional principle, and let us add that, as there is no privileged class, there ought not to be a privileged form of religion." It is a somewhat significant fact that this work had awarded to it the premium offered by the National University of Chile for the ablest production on the present political constitution of the country.*

If it be urged that the question of progress is a question of race, and that the Spanish American being inferior to the Anglo-Saxon, the same development is not to be expected, we will not deny the important bearing of difference of race; but we cannot accept that fact as a sufficient explana-

* In Valparaiso there are now two Protestant places of worship,—yet it is undeniable they remain only on sufferance, and that their existence in Chile is contrary to the letter and spirit of the constitution, which still stands unaltered. The Archbishop of Santiago officially announced the erection of the first of them to the Government, in December 1855, and called for prompt and efficacious measures. The Minister of Public Worship replied to his Grace, that Government had sent for information, and ended his despatch in the following felicitous terms: "The Government is animated with the most ardent zeal for the preservation and propagation of the religion of the State; but it believes that the most efficacious method of preserving it from harm, are the zealous efforts of the regular and secular clergy to diffuse sound doctrines, and to combat the errors of Dissenters by means of the preaching of the Divine Word and the example of good works." We are not aware of the nature of the information obtained by the Government. All we know is, that Government has not put in force the provisions of their intolerant constitution. President Montt is said to have dec ared he would not make himself the laughing-stock of the civilised world by any overt act of intolerance.

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tion of the enormous chasm betwixt Anglo-Saxon and Spanish American national attainments. Dr. Arnold, in his *Modern History*, observes, "It is a question of some interest, whether history justifies the belief of an inherent superiority in some races of men over others, or whether all such differences are only accidental and temporary; and we are to acquiesce in the judgment of King Archidamus, that one man naturally differs little from another, but that culture and training make the distinction. There are some satisfactory examples to show that a nation must not, at any rate, assume lightly that it is superior to another; and, judging calmly, we would not surely wish that one nation should be uniformly and inevitably superior to another. I do not know what national virtue could safely be subjected to so severe a temptation. If there be, as perhaps there are, some physical and moral qualities enjoyed by some nations in a higher degree than by others (and this, so far as we can see, constitutionally), yet the superiority is not so great, but that too much presumption and carelessness on the one side, or increased activity and more careful discipline on the other, may restore the balance, or even turn it the other way."

We have indicated the untoward influences which have acted so prejudicially on the Spanish American populations—ignorance and vice superinduced and perpetuated through priestcraft, superstition, and intolerance; added to which, (so far as the mass of the population is concerned), there has been the engrafting of the Spanish element on the inferior Indian race. In this amalgamation, the latter and inferior element having predominated, the result is, a people at a very low point in the social scale. In order to have reconstructed from such elements the edifice of a moral, industrious, and intelligent society, much more earnest and energetic culture and training would have been needed than have been put in exercise. The present religious system which overspreads these states, we have proved, according to the evidence which itself affords, to have failed most miserably in the construction of an enlightened or moral society. While its influence has been so powerless for good, it has always sought, and still seeks, by a monopoly of the consciences of its votaries, to exclude and prevent the exercise of such other and more healthful agencies as all modern history and all modern experience prove, are exerted with so beneficent effect throughout the nations that embraced the opinions and principles of the Reformation.

The Church of Rome might be as intolerant as the most malignant of her councils would rejoice to see, and yet not fill us with apprehension. Her dreadful power has ever been the arm of the State on which she has leaned, and which she has learned to wield with most baneful effect. Separate and distinct from the civil government, she would be powerless for evil, except so far as her own peculiar dogmas might tell prejudicially on her own special votaries. It is clear, therefore, that were the union betwixt the Romish Church and the State dissevered in all these Republics, the result would be of the greatest importance. Bolivar foresaw the difficulty and the danger of establishing the Roman Catholic Church. His address at the inauguration of the first Constituent Assembly of Bolivia reads even yet like the declamations of a Roman senator; but we regret to say his counsels and his warnings were unheeded. "Legislators!" said he, "I will allude to one article which, according to my conscientious conviction, I have felt bound to omit. In a political constitution, a religious profession ought not to be prescribed; because, according to the best authorities on fundamental laws, these are the guarantees of civil rights; and as religion touches none of these, it is of its nature indefinable in the social order, and belongs rather to the moral and intellectual. Religion governs a man in the house, in the cabinet, within himself. It only has right to examine his inmost conscience. Laws, on the other hand, look upon the surface of things, and only govern outside of the citizen's house. Applying these considerations, can a State rule the conscience of its subjects, watch over the observance of religious laws, and give the reward or the punishment, when the tribunal is in heaven, and God Himself the Judge? The Inquisition only is fit to supplant these. Shall the Inquisition be brought back with its fiery faggots? Religion is the law of the conscience. Every law above it annuls it; for, imposing necessity instead of duty, it takes away all that is valuable from faith, which is the basis of religion."

We think we have rendered it apparent that the Spanish American Republics have made comparatively small progress in material, moral, and social improvement; and we have endeavoured to set forth some of the causes conducing to such results. Were the Argentine provinces, where religious toleration is now accorded, to become settled, and all fear of intestine wars and commotions in the future to be removed, we would urge Anglo Saxons desirous of emigrating, to betake themselves to the pampas, and there enrich themselves in flocks

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and herds. The time, however, has not arrived for rendering such counsel safe. With respect to emigration to the other Republics, which still retain intolerant constitutions, we would say that, so long as Protestant emigrants can have ample protection and toleration in our great and prosperous colonies of Australia and Canada, there is no ground for their renouncing so much as they must be prepared to give up if they should make their home in an intolerant Spanish American Republic.

ART. V.—1. *Lectures on Logic.* By Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart. Edited by the Rev. H. L. MANSEL, B.D., LL.D., Waynflete Professor of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, Oxford, and JOHN VEITCH, M.A., Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics, St. Andrews. 2 Vols. Edinburgh and London, 1860.

2. *A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive: being a Connected View of the Principles of Evidence and the Methods of Scientific Investigation.* By JOHN STUART MILL. Fourth Edition. 2 Vols. London, 1859.

3. *Elements of Logic.* By RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Reprinted from the Ninth (octavo) Edition. London, 1851.

4. *Prolegomena Logica: an Inquiry into the Psychological Character of Logical Processes.* By the Rev. HENRY LONGUEVILLE MANSEL, B.D., LL.D., Waynflete Professor of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, Oxford. Second Edition. London, 1860.

GREAT BRITAIN, according to Sir William Hamilton, is the country in which the nature of Logic has been most completely and generally misunderstood. Whatever may now be said about the misunderstanding, the reproach of indifference to the study, which fell with justice upon some former generations in this island, cannot with equal justice be directed against the present. The most venerable of the sciences, which for ages, as the "ars artium" and "scientia scientiarum," held the central place in the system of human knowledge and in academical study, after a temporary decline, is renewing its claim to regulate knowledge, and afford the highest kind of mental culture. The science, at least in its full comprehension, alike of the Academy and the Lyceum,—which during the middle ages was the chief glory of the Eastern and Western Schools, when crowds were drawn to the logical lectures of Abelard, and when it educated into unparalleled acuteness successive generations of students in Bagdad and Cordova, in Paris and Oxford—the fundamental study in all the older European universities, and especially in those of Scotland, and which, in one of its branches, is the interpretation of the great modern scientific reform;—this science, after a period of decay, is, in all its branches, showing signs of returning life. A new and vigorous logical literature is rising around us in Great Britain, in which especially the names of Whately, Thomson, De Morgan, Mill, Mansel, and Hamilton are familiar. Chairs of Logic have a conspicuous place in our new academical institutions, and are added, where formerly wanting, to our old ones,—this very year having witnessed the foundation of a logical professorship in the University of Aberdeen, by which a fourth is added to the three that have existed for generations in the other Scottish Universities. Logic is probably at present more employed as an organ and test of liberal education, and a knowledge of it is more generally required from candidates from the liberal professions, than at any period since the decline of scholastic studies in the 17th century.

The works placed at the head of this article exemplify the chief phases of Logic in Great Britain during the last thirty-five years. The restoration of the study, after an interval of comparative neglect, may be associated with the third; its subsequent development, in two different directions, is represented by the first and second; the last discusses, with more subtilty than any other British treatise, some of the philosophical principles, by means of which Logic with us is now in a course of transformation from an aggregate of traditional rules and technicalities to a consistent system. The well-known "Elements" of Archbishop Whately, published in 1825, is already in a measure superseded, through the progress of the science, to which, notwithstanding its deficiency in learning and speculative power, that work more than any other attracted even popular attention in this country and America. The numerous logical treatises published in Britain in the intervening period, have presented two forms of advance upon the doctrine of the "Elements." One of these, exemplified by the majority, culminates in the lately published "Lectures" and other logical treatises of Sir William Hamilton; the other is most conspicuously presented in the two volumes of Mr. Mill, which have been before the world for nearly twenty years.

The "Lectures" of Sir William Hamilton,

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and the "System" of Mr. Mill, are among the most notable logical treatises which Great Britain has given to the world. At first sight they appear to have hardly a conclusion or a principle in common. With Hamilton, Logic is a study of *thoughts* or *notions*, purified from their connection with things, and regarded exclusively as subject to certain necessary and formal laws of their own. With Mill, Logic is a study of *things* in the theory of their natural order, with a view to the discovery of systematic methods for bringing our thoughts into harmony with that order. With the former it is the *rationale* of the conditions under which we must think about anything; with the latter it is the *rationale* of the conditions for extracting real science from the things about which we may think. The Logic of the one is the most abstract of the sciences; it begins and ends with necessary truths, the interval being filled by a series of demonstrations. The Logic of the other is an analysis of the general characteristics of the universe as it appears in space and time, with a view to the formation of a code of Physical Discovery; it begins and ends with what is contingent and probable. The dissent and controversy to which these opposite theories give rise serve Logic, as dissent and controversy may be expected to serve those parts of science which are in a state of growth. In the imperfection of human knowledge, it is through mutual antagonism that our partial and one-sided speculations approach towards catholic truth.

But are these two opposite tendencies in Logic absolutely in conflict? If not, under what common principle may they be reconciled? Do Hamilton and Mill represent contradictory or complementary systems? If the latter, does the complement constitute a complete logical system?

It is time for those who desire to restore the beneficial power of a study, now once more on the ascendant in our literature and in the universities, to determine the answers to these questions. Logic declined in a former generation, partly owing to the failure of attempts to form a satisfactory eclectic system, so long as the formal part of the science was confusedly blended with the physical or material. Dr. Whately helped to rescue us in this country from that confusion, and his vigorous performance has, in the formal part of Logic, opened the way to the more rigidly scientific system elaborated by Dr. Mansel and Sir William Hamilton. The *Prolegomena* of Dr. Mansel contains a psychological theory of the formal part of Logic, which alone he recognises, with correlative Discussions (some of them contributed to this new edition) of great interest to advanced students. What we now need, is a philosophical organization of all that has hitherto been included under the name of Logic, so far as it is capable of being brought under a common regulating principle. We must try, in short, to find a basis for an eclectic comprehension of the science, or group of sciences, with which the name of Logic has been associated. In the present age, sciences hitherto separated, tend to unite, as, in a more analytical time, their tendency was to diverge. Issuing in a single stream, in the distant past of history, the waters of knowledge, parted into separate channels in their subsequent course, seem once again to draw together.

From Plato to Hegel, Logic has been (often dimly and half consciously, it is true) recognised as Intellectual Science, or, more definitely, as the Science of Science. The successive attempts to confine it to a narrower province have invariably induced dissatisfaction and occasioned a reaction. In the dialectic of Plato the mind is raised above the details of the different sciences, to the idea of *science as an organic whole*, and *intellectual culture for its own sake.* There the relations and methods of the parts of knowledge, with their respective functions in education, are systematically contemplated; and the lofty doctrine thus produced has, in name, if not in reality, in some of its parts, although not in its organic unity, maintained a central place in the academical education of the world. Liberal education involves systematic reflection—upon the nature of science, its necessary laws, and the conditions of its growth; and this, hitherto accomplished in parts or fragments, and by means of apparently conflicting struggles, is what we understand by logical study. Logicians are those who have engaged in investigating,—either in its fulness, or in respect to some one of its elements,—and for purposes of speculation, or for the practical direction of the understanding,—that kind of knowledge which may be called *reasoned* or *scientific.*

But what is science? what its elements? what the points at which it may be viewed? We cannot find a better answer to this question than one supplied by Sir William Hamilton in these Lectures:—

"A science," he says, "is a complement of cognitions, having, in point of Form, the character of Logical Perfection; in point of Matter, the character of Real Truth. . . . The end of thought is truth—knowledge—science,—expressions which may here be regarded as convertible. Science may, therefore, be regarded as the perfec-

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tion of thought. . . . . But science supposes two conditions. Of these, the first has a relation to the *knowing subject*, and supposes that what is known, is known clearly and distinctly, completely and in connection. The second has a relation to the *objects known*, and supposes that what is known has a true or real existence. The former of these constitutes the Formal Perfection of Science, the latter is the Material."—(Vol. ii., 2, 4.)

Scientific knowledge, in a word, is generalized truth—a knowledge of the many as one—knowledge through notions or (to adopt the more technical term) CONCEPTS,—the sort of knowledge that is expressed by means of Common Terms. A Science is a system of Concepts, in harmony with reality, relating to a special province of truth, and organized, by means of (deductive or inductive) reasonings, on a common principle. "The sciences" are the separate masses of knowledge, thus reasoned, which constitute the intellectual property of mankind, and which are embodied in language. This same scientific knowledge is the characteristic production of Thought or Understanding,—of our Elaborative and Regulative Faculties, applied to the material of our knowledge. It is by attention to the common relation they bear to this distinctive formation of man's highest mental faculties, that the apparently conflicting tendencies of logicians may be seen to conspire, and that the best conception of the study is attained.

All Science—all general knowledge involves two elements, and may be viewed in two aspects—a Formal and a Real. What thinking or understanding produces, may be *formally perfect* without being *really true*. Clearness, distinctness, precision, conclusiveness, method, are some of the qualities of Formal Perfection; harmony between our thoughts and the order of things, between the ideas in the mind of man and the Divine Ideas expressed in the universe—in a word Truth—constitutes Material Perfection. Now, logicians may attempt to analyse Science in either or both these aspects of it; and they may examine each separately, or both in combination.

In the actual history of Logic, Science, sometimes at one and then again exclusively at the other of these two points of view, has been accepted as the appropriate object of analysis. Logic, in different hands, has accordingly assumed different types. Two of these, broadly distinct, are apparent in its history. The one is single and synthetical; the other broken and analytical.

I. When the two modes of viewing Science are treated as one, in obedience to the aspiration after Absolute Science, we have logical systems of the former type, in which Logic is merged in Metaphysics or Ontology. The Dialectic of Plato is one specimen, and the Logic of Hegel is another.

II. The analytical logical systems commence properly with Aristotle. They have assumed one of two phases, as the *formal* or the *material* perfection of Science has occupied the front place. (In Aristotle, Science is analysed both formally and materially,—as to its *form*, chiefly in the treatise on Enunciation, and in the Prior Analytics; as to its *matter*, chiefly in the remaining treatises of the *Organon*.)

(1.) Does the logician aim at the analysis of all or some of the elements which constitute *Formal* Perfection? The system of Pure and Verbal Logic is the result, and that system, originally developed in the Greek Analytics, has been further purified, extended, and simplified in the Lectures of Sir William Hamilton.

(2.) Is the *Material* Perfection of Science the ideal of the logician, and the exclusive or principal object of his analysis? Logic becomes the theory and art of the interpretation of Nature, when the English names of Bacon, Locke, Mill, and Whewell suggest themselves.

The "Lectures" of Sir William Hamilton constitute a treatise mainly in Pure or Formal part of Logic, — which, although the foundation of all logical science, has for two centuries been little cultivated in Scotland. Scotland is now, for the first time, represented in this part of the literature of Logic. The Aristotelian and Ramist doctrine was indeed prominent in the instruction of our Universities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but these Lectures are the first properly Scottish treatise of any moment in Formal Logic. Syllogistic analysis was disparaged by what is called the "Scottish School" of Philosophy, as represented by Reid, Campbell, Stewart, and Brown, and in its place we have the aspirations of Stewart after a "rational" and "philosophical" Logic.

The "Lectures," at the same time, contain expositions, avowedly only supplementary, in what Sir William Hamilton calls Modified Logic. Twenty-two lectures are devoted to Formal, and nine to Modified Logic. The definition adopted in the Lectures—the science of pure thought—is applicable exclusively to the formal part of Logic. The Appendix, which occupies almost a half of the second volume, in which the most suggestive and original part of the book may be found, and in which we may watch the Science in the process of formation in the author's mind, is almost entirely devoted to

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the discussion of doctrines regarding logical forms.

A conspectus of the course is given in the fourth lecture (pp. 64–68), to which we refer our readers. The following passage describes the principle on which Pure and Modified Logic are distinguished by Sir William Hamilton :—

"Pure Logic considers Thought Proper simply and in itself, and apart from the various circumstances by which it may be affected in its actual application. Human thought, it is evident, is not exerted except by men and individual men. By men thought is not exerted out of connection with the other constituents of their intellectual and moral character, and, in each individual, this character is variously modified by various contingent conditions of different original genius, and of different circumstances contributing to develop different faculties and habits. Now, there may be conceived a science, which considers thought not merely as determined by its necessary or universal laws, but as contingently affected by the empirical conditions under which thought is actually exerted ;—which shows what these conditions are, how they impede, and in general, modify the act of thinking, and how, in fine, their influence may be counteracted. This science is Modified or Concrete Logic. . . . It can be questioned whether Modified or Concrete Logic be entitled to the dignity of an essential part of Logic in general, far less of a co-ordinate species as opposed to Pure or Abstract Logic. You are aware, from what I have previously stated under the first introductory question, that Logic, as conversant about a certain class of mental phenomena, is only a part of the general Philosophy of Mind ; but that, as exclusively conversant about *what is necessary* in the phenomena of thought, that is, the *laws* of thinking, it is contradistinguished from Empirical Psychology, or that Philosophy of Mind which is merely observant and inductive of the mental phenomena *as facts*. But if Modified or Concrete Logic be considered either as a part or as a species of General Logic, this discrimination of Logic, as the Nomology of thought, from Psychology, as the Phænomenology of Mind, will not hold. For Modified Logic, presupposing a knowledge of the general and the contingent phenomena of mind, will thus either comprise (Phenomenal) Psychology within its sphere, or be itself comprised within the sphere of Psychology. But, whichever alternative may be preferred, the two sciences are no longer distinct. It is on this ground that I hold, that, in reality, Modified Logic is neither an essential part nor an independent species of General Logic, but that it is a mere mixture of Logic and (Empirical) Psychology, and may, therefore, be called either Logical Psychology, or Psychological Logic. There is thus, in truth, only one Logic,—that is, Pure or Abstract Logic. . . . Pure Logic is the only science of Logic, Modified Logic being only a scientific accident, ambiguously belonging either to Logic or to Psychology." —(Vol. i., 60–63.)

Whether we are so to describe Logic, as that either the object to which thought is applied, or the subject by which it is employed, shall form a part of its essence, or only its scientific accident, perhaps appears a question of arbitrary definition — a verbal question, which relates to the extension, not of the science, but of the name. But the definition of a word which signifies a science, is more than merely arbitrary. It refers to laws and phenomena which are independent of human will ; and it may be advantageous or the reverse, as, on the one hand, it precisely exhausts a class of objects which in themselves invite us to associate them in the same science, or, on the other, errs either through deficiency or excess. The objects presented to us for scientific treatment have real relations to one another that are independent of our arbitrary nomenclature. These relations, and the province which they represent, demand obedience on the part of definitions, if our factitious generalizations are to interpret the realities that are presented to us.

"The meaning of a term actually in use," says Mr. Mill, "is not an arbitrary quantity to be fixed, but an unknown quantity to be sought." And it is to be sought, partly by reference to the real relations of dependence among the objects to which it points, partly also by the usage of our predecessors in the application of the name. Do the relations of the Form, to Nature and Man—the object and efficient cause of Science—make it necessary or expedient that all the three should be investigated in turn within the same intellectual province ? If so, this fact must regulate our definition of Logic. And has the term Logic hitherto been applied by all (or at least by many) logicians to the philosophical analysis of the matter and the manufacturer, as well as of the mere form of reasoned knowledge ? If it has, we are bound, in the construction of our definition, to recognise all the three, unless it can be proved that they are incapable of advantageous scientific association.

Sir William Hamilton acknowledges that "the example of most logicians" is a precedent for the introduction of Modified Logic into his course, while he protests against its recognition as a part of the science. His definition of Logic, which confines the logician exclusively to "what is necessary" in the phenomena of thought, forbids any other treatment of what is only contingent and circumstantial. The consequent anomaly of a Modified Logic is justified, not by scientific principle, but on the ground of its utility and of example. "As all sciences," he says, "are only organized for human ends, and *as a general consideration of the modifying circumstances which affect the abstract laws of thought in their actual manifestations is of*

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great practical utility, I trust I shall not be regarded as deforming the simplicity of the science, if I follow the example of most modern logicians, and add (be it under protest) to Pure or Abstract Logic, a part, or an appendix, under the name of Modified Logic" (vol. i., p. 63).

The definition of Logic which accepts *science*, and not merely *pure thought*, as within the range of logical investigation, receives Modified Logic on scientific, as well as on utilitarian grounds, while it reserves for the Theory of Logical Forms the first place in the order of investigation, and the regulating power in the organization of the whole system. This definition alone satisfies the traditional associations of the word, and the utilitarian aspirations of logicians, while it may be made the basis of a consistent intellectual structure.

But we pass on, in the meantime, to one of the parts into which the logical province is divided,—Pure or Formal Logic, in which Science is analysed merely as thought, or in reference exclusively to its *formal* perfection.

"That Logic," says Kant (and by Logic he means Pure or Formal Logic exclusively), "that Logic has proceeded in a sure course from the earliest times is manifest from this, that since Aristotle it has not needed to retrace a step, unless in the way of clearing off useless subtilties, or developing with more precision what had been previously suggested — changes which belong rather to the scientific beauty than to the certainty of its teaching. This much, however, is specially interesting in regard to Logic — *since the days of Aristotle, it has not been able to take any step in advance, and thus, to appearance, it has attained its perfect development.*"

The only considerable exception to the truth of these last words is to be found in the history of the science since they were written, and especially in its history as influenced by Kant himself. The labours of the German logical analysts of the present century have introduced a new epoch in the history of logical forms, converting what, in this country at least, had become a chaos of technical rules, into a system of unequalled symmetry and scientific beauty.

The post-Kantian reform, vigorously pursued in Germany, has attained its most advanced point in Sir William Hamilton, who, by his discoveries, has done more than any modern logician to illustrate the capacity for progress with which, notwithstanding its traditional immobility, the science of logical forms is endowed. It may be granted that this part of Philosophy has been seldomer than any other visited by men of original genius. Some of the most eminent philosophers have, in fact, been satisfied to remain in ignorance of what they have disparagingly described as "the logic of the schools," which has thus been very much consigned to the pedantry of a lower order of minds. These Lectures show how great a transformation may take place in even the most conservative regions of the intellectual globe, when they are placed under the government of a powerful intellect.

But we must offer some illustrations of the tendency to change and progress now manifested in the China of the philosophical world. Compare the Pure Logic offered in these Lectures, with the Pure Logic, for example, of Dr. Whately, whose "Elements" may be taken as a specimen of the best doctrine current in Great Britain in the last generation. Coleridge speaks of his "inability to conceive how any one can, by any spinning, make out more than ten or a dozen pages about syllogistic logic," adding, that "all these absurd forms of syllogism are one half pure sophisms, and the other half forms of rhetoric." Dr. Whately does not attempt any spinning. He takes what had been done to his hands, and associates it with examples more felicitous and amusing than those of any British logician. He assumes the four logical forms of proposition (A. E. I. O.), as given in the schools of Greece, and through these, developes, in the usual manner, the theory of Syllogism, by the help of the canons and rules, thereby deducing the nineteen Forms of Categoricals, and displaying, as he proceeds, the capacity of Propositions for *Conversion*, and of Syllogisms for *Reduction*.

While the formal science of the "Elements" is condensed within a few pages, that of the "Lectures" is expanded over a large volume. Almost for the first time since Aristotle, Formal Logic, abandoned in general to the secondary order of minds, has received the full strength of a great philosophical intellect. By what process of "spinning" has the science been transformed? We shall try to explain very shortly the nature of the change, the means by which it has been produced, and some of its consequences.

The intellectual units of which every Science is composed may assume either of two forms,—Concepts, and Judgments or Reasonings. We think, understand, exercise our elaborative faculty, either, on the one hand, through Concepts, or, on the other, through Judgments, *i.e.*, *immediate* analyses of what is latent in conception, and reason-

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ings, *i.e.*, *mediate* analyses of what we conceive. The creations of understanding, when in the state of Notions or Concepts, are unanalysed. Judgments and Reasonings are analysed Concepts. Propositions and Syllogisms, in the view of Formal Logic, are simply explications of what is already latent in the meaning of the Common Terms of which they are constituted. Its judgments and reasonings are what Kant calls analytical,—in contrast to *a priori* and *a posteriori* synthetical judgments. The principle of the CONCEPT or COMMON TERM, is thus the fundamental principle of all formal analysis. The logical forms of Proposition and Syllogism are the modes in which the meanings of Common Terms may be immediately or mediately analysed, without a contradiction in terms being involved in the analysis.

Now, the ordinary British manuals of the old school, including Dr. Whately's, in their treatment of Formal Logic, are chiefly occupied in the display of certain forms of Proposition and Syllogism. Notions or Concepts, which Propositions and Syllogisms immediately and mediately analyse, are almost forgotten. No previous review of the logical constituents of Concepts is made, and in consequence no estimate can be formed of the sufficiency of the formal analysis of judgments and reasonings that is offered. The syllogistic structure is reared on the basis of the four Forms of Proposition. But the question, whether these four are *all* the Forms of proposition that are logically possible, is not asked nor are the materials for an answer to it supplied. The materials must be gathered from a logical examination of the concept, or intellectual result common to every act of generalization.

Again. In the older British manuals, the Axioms and Postulates of Logic are (often imperfectly) *acted on* without being *stated.* A kind of necessity is roughly recognised in fact, and as a matter of common sense, which is not expressly acknowledged in any form of words. The unity and completeness of the science is thus marred, in the same way as Geometry would be, if its Axioms and Postulates were not displayed, and the science of mathematical quantity were reduced to incoherent fragments of its present mass, resting on no express basis of Axioms or Postulates at all.

The discovery and application of a remedy to these two defects constitutes the Hamiltonian Revolution in the formal part of Logic.

The seventh and five following lectures contain an analysis partly psychological and partly formal, of Notions or Concepts. These lectures are perhaps the most valuable and interesting in the series. They are the key to the logical system of which they form a part. Along with Dr. Mansel's *Prolegomena*, they are by far the clearest and most satisfactory exposition (with corrections and additions) that has appeared of what the German logicians, since Kant, have been struggling to express. The fifth and sixth lectures contain a statement, with copious historical and critical commentary, of the Axioms and Postulates of Logic. In the remainder of the first volume, as well as in the suggestive and curious appendix to the second, we have the scientific conclusions respecting the forms of Proposition, and of immediate and mediate Inference, which have been reached, by a more searching formal analysis of the results of our generalizing faculty, and a more consistent application to them of the conditions to which every act of Understanding must conform, than has ever been attempted in this country.

Formal Logic, by this means, is transformed, from a mass of empirical rules of reasoning, into a science of the necessary relations, not merely of reasoning in particular, but of thought in general. And it becomes a body of demonstrations like those of Mathematics. The system unfolded in these lectures, for example, might be given, after the fashion of Geometry, in a series of Theorems, mutually related, and all dependent on the Axioms and Postulates. The strictly demonstrative character of the science could be represented by a translation, more explicit than has been attempted in these Lectures, of its doctrines into this form, and by a more immediate application to them of the fundamental Axioms. Indeed, the two lectures in which the Axioms of the science are stated and explained, are, for the purpose now referred to, too much isolated from the body of the science that rests upon them. The appeal to them in the progress of the science is virtual rather than ostensible.

Pure Logic and Pure Mathematics—the two most ancient of the sciences—are both alike sciences of QUANTITY. They are both systems of demonstrations concerning the relation of Whole and Parts. Concepts are really, if not ostensibly, treated by the formal logician as quantities, which stand, in any and every science, in fixed quantitative relations to other Concepts. The elementary doctrines of Logic are the quantitative relations of Concepts to one another, in Proposition and Syllogism, which can be deduced, by means of the Axioms, from the essential elements of the Concept or Common Term. That the Formal part of Logic is a science of quantitative relations, and

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that in this respect it stands in exclusive association with Mathematics, while in other respects they are mutually opposed, is well stated by Sir William Hamilton in the following passage:—

"Logic (Formal) is exclusively conversant about thought strictly so denominated, and thought proper is the cognition of one object of thought by another, *in* or *under* which it is mentally included; in other words, thought is the knowledge of a thing through a concept, or general notion, or of one notion through another. In thought, all that we think about is considered either as *something containing*, or as *something contained*. In other words, every process of thought is only a cognition of the *necessary relations* of our concepts. This being the case, it need not move our wonder that Logic, within its proper sphere (*i.e.*, as pure or formal), is of such irrefragable certainty, that, in the midst of all the revolutions of philosophical doctrines, it has stood not only unshattered, but unshaken. In this respect, Logic and Mathematics stand alone among the sciences, and their peculiar certainty flows from the same source. Both are conversant about the relations of certain *a priori* forms of intelligence:—Mathematics about the necessary forms of IMAGINATION; Logic about the necessary forms of UNDERSTANDING; Mathematics about the relations of our Representations of objects as out of each other in space and time; Logic about the relations of our Concepts of objects, as in or under each other,—that is, as indifferent relations, respectively containing and contained. Both are thus demonstrative or absolutely certain sciences only as each developes what is given,—what is given as necessary in the mind itself."—(i. 42, 43)

The pages of a modern book of Formal Logic, even on a cursory glance, are seen to resemble the pages of a treatise in Algebra. Symbols and symbolic notation take the place of common words and concrete examples. This is a consequence of the essential nature, and, also in part, of the recent progress of the science. We witness the same phenomenon in the Prior Analytics of Aristotle—the earliest systematic treatise on Logical Forms. The modern progress of the formal view of the science has, however, rendered this characteristic more obtrusive. Formal Logic treats of abstractions more remote from reality than any other science does. It may employ concrete examples in its demonstrations, but in so doing it eliminates the *distinctive* meaning of each term, regarding each as significant only of *notional quantity in the abstract.* A symbolic notation is thus convenient in Logic, for the same reason that it is convenient in Algebra. In the words of ordinary language we have ready-made symbols of notional quantities; but then they are at the same time *the symbols of a great deal more*, *i.e.*, of all the special meaning proper to the separate notions which they represent. But of these special meanings,—distinct from meaning as such, or as an abstract quantity,—the forms of Logic cannot render an account. In order to appreciate the science as a body of abstract and necessary truth, as well as to escape from the confusion occasioned by the introduction of words significant by usage of much more than the merely formal or quantitative relations of notions, logicians must forsake ordinary verbal signs, and betake themselves to sensuous representations, cyphers, and a notation of abstract symbols constructed for their own purposes.

Two vital points, connected with the conception and method of the science of logical forms, may here be alluded to. A distinct apprehension of them is necessary to an intelligent study of the system. We refer to the *kind* of quantity which the formal logician measures, and to the *mode* in which he may estimate it.

With regard to the former of these points, we have only to recollect the common character of all generalizations or formations of the elaborative faculty. They all involve a knowledge of the many as one. They all illustrate the power of the mind to *conceive*, *i. e*, to know, by means of common attributes, the many as one—to know in concept.

Now, a conversion of the *many* into one, *by means of common attributes*, implies, in the mental product of every such conversion, *objects converted*, and the *attributes* by which the conversion is effected. Every Concept may, accordingly, be viewed either as a Class, or as a bundle of Attributes. As a class it is conceived as extending to a plurality of objects; as a collection of attributes it contains a meaning. The logician may provide formulas for measuring Concepts, in respect of either or both of these two elements. Notions may be logically compared either as extensive or comprehensive,—as endowed with *extent*, and also with *content*. The earlier logicians, with few exceptions, recognised only those relations of notions which arise out of their *extent*—as classes. Sir William Hamilton puts forward, as entitled to equal logical prominence, those logical relations which emerge from the *content* of notions,—thus rendering the logical system more complete scientifically, and at the same time placing it in a relation of closer sympathy with modern science. The recognition of the twofold possible relation of the Concept—as extensive and intensive—is one of the foundations of a system which aims at an *exhaustive* development, in Proposition and Syllogism, of the formal relations that are latent in the Concept.

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The application of the correlation between the *extent* and *content* of Concepts to the formal theory of judgment and reasoning, suggested by Sir William Hamilton, is one of the most remarkable features of the new analytic. It yields, in the first place, the division of propositions offered in the thirteenth, and of syllogisms in the sixteenth and seventeenth lectures. Propositions and syllogisms may be interpreted in reference either to the *extent* or to the *content* of the notions that are analysed in them. "Man is mortal," signifies, in a proposition of *extension*, "man is contained under the class mortal;" it means, "man contains (among the attributes which form the logical essence of the notion) the attribute mortality," when the proposition is read intensively, or in relation to its *content.*

The recognition, in the formulas of Logic, so far as it can be scientifically worked out, of the *content* as well as the extent of Concepts, not merely adds to the completeness of the theory of logical forms, but also adapts, as we have said, the propositional and syllogistic system better to the modern idea of science. In ancient science words were primarily significant of *classes;* in modern science they are more immediately significant of *attributes.* Aristotle, indeed, recognises both, in his rules for predication in each kind, and in the contrast between *generic* and *attributive* predication; and subsequent logicians have distinguished the *extent* and *content* of notions; but, from oversight, or because the deficiency was less felt in the ancient habit of thought, or through inability to develop the forms of thought when science is regarded as a system of correlated *attributes*, the principle has not hitherto germinated in their hands. Even in those of Sir William Hamilton it is only partially applied, and much yet remains to test its practical importance, as an organ for expressing science, on the side that is *most* cognate to the modern mind. Nevertheless, his alternative interpretation of the formulas of Logic, as significant alike of the *extent* or *content* of Concepts, while it illustrates the elasticity and expansive power of the science, has already added to the facilities it affords for testing the varieties of meaning of which the formal perfection of science is the complement.

So much for the pure intellectual material, as it were, which the logician has to measure and represent in formulas. Now for the number and arrangement of the formulas which that material requires for its measurement, in all the varieties of statement and inference which scientific knowledge does or may assume. The formulas in which we logically express *inferences* depend upon a previous determination of the formulas which are necessary for a full logical expression of the varieties of *proposition.* The four propositional forms of the old Logic distinguish propositions as Affirmations or Negations, relating to *subjects* which may be either Universal or Particular. On this principle any categorical proposition must, when viewed formally, be a Universal Affirmative, a Universal Negative, a Particular Affirmative, or a Particular Negative. Is this classification exhaustive? We have already found that it may be virtually extended by the capacity, latent in every proposition, for being read either extensively or intensively. But is that the only direction in which this part of Logic may be expanded?

We may suppose an addition to the number of propositional forms to be made in two ways:—by an express measurement or quantification of *both* terms, instead of the *subject* term only as in the scholastic formulas;—or by a more *detailed* measurement of our notions than the old logical language for quantification ("all," and "some") permits. The former of these two modes of expansion is the one proposed by Sir William Hamilton as the organ of logical reform; the latter is rejected by him as logically incompetent and cumbrous.

The second of these means for adding to and modifying the formulas of propositions —and, consequently, of syllogism—has been advocated by some eminent logicians,—especially in recent times by Mr. De Morgan,—who virtually proposed to introduce the mathematical whole and mathematical measurement into logic. Sir William Hamilton complains of the vast evolution of logical forms which must follow from the introduction of any quantification *between* the absolutely universal (all, every) and the merely particular (some) pre-designations; and objects that the inevitable complication of the system, by an express quantification of the *comparative* extension of notions, is really of little use in relation to *science*, which is conversant with perfect and not with merely approximate generalizations, while its recognition in Logic introduces a cumbrous load of propositional and syllogistic forms. Universal and Particular, or, as he terms them, Definite and Indefinite quantification, is alone recognised by him. He has, indeed, suggested some refined modifications, in the signification of the symbols of each kind of quantity, and in particular a notation of "some," according as it is significant of "some only," "some at most," and "some at least" (see vol. ii., pp. 278-81).

The *express* quantification of the *Predicate*, and not the expression of *comparative*

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quantity, is, as it is well known to students of Logic, the principle applied by Sir William Hamilton for the expansion and simplification of the logical system. To discuss that principle in its theory, to exhibit its consequences in detail, and to announce and classify the formulas of which it is the parent, would be to write a treatise in Formal Logic. A reorganization of the whole scheme of logical forms is the natural consequence of this doctrine: a movement which has been carried out only in part by Sir William Hamilton. The next step in advance in this part of Logic is a more complete and methodical development of the New Analytic, the adjustment of doubtful forms of proposition and inference, and the arrangement of the collective mass on the most convenient principle, as the logical calculus of the Formal Perfection of all scientific knowledge, and also as the practical instrument for the analysis of the actual masses of reasoned knowledge which men are forming and storing up in language. Those volumes present a remarkable advance in the scientific beauty and symmetry of the system of logical forms. To make good that advance, the new doctrine must be worked on its practical, as well as contemplated on the speculative side. It has still to overcome the repugnance of the forms of ordinary language, when they are required to express what the new analytic has discovered in the form of thought.

The Categorical Syllogism is the one perfect formula of Reasoning or Mediate Inference. In it all the forms of immediate, tentative, and preparatory inference ought to culminate; from it all the varieties of which it is susceptible, and which, in the processes by which scientific knowledge is produced, it actually receives, should be made to emerge. The system of Logical Formulas may be evolved one by one from the principle of the Concept, under the regulation of the Axioms of Logic, in some such order as the following:—

1. Propositional Formulas; *i. e.*, possible forms of statement or proposition—hypothetical or tentative, and categorical or absolute.

2. Formulas of Immediate Inference, *i. e.*, possible forms into which the evolution of propositions without a medium from other propositions must be resolved, including all inferences (hypothetical, disjunctive, etc.) that are not categorical or absolute.

3. Formula of Mediate Inference, or the essential form of Categorical Syllogism.

4. The accidental variations of Form of which Mediate Inference or Categorical Syllogism is susceptible, and especially those which it actually receives in the reasonings and sciences of men.

The long list of Forms, under each of these heads, which may be deduced from the Concept viewed as a Quantity, when it is explicated into Propositions, Immediate Inferences, and Reasonings or Mediate Inferences with their accidental variations, constitutes Formal Logic, and may be set forth by means of the symbolic notation which the science admits. Even with the two modes of Quantity (Definite and Indefinite) which the new Analytic offers to express, and without the introduction of mathematical quantity at all, students of Logic have sufficient scope for discovery, in finding new forms, or in reducing to greater simplicity and scientific beauty those which their calculus already possesses. In this part of Logic, too, they find a model of the formal perfection of science, worthy of being contemplated *merely as such*, and apart from any ulterior uses to which it might be put.

But what of these "ulterior uses?" Is there no other reason for recommending a diligent study of logical forms and their scientific phraseology than the intellectual exercise which it offers, and a prospect of the symmetry which they may be made to yield for the contemplation of the student? Of themselves, these reasons are good ones. We do not know an exercise more fitted to educate the idea of science and the feeling of scientific certainty, in the mind of a modern reader, than a thorough intellectual assimilation of the System of Pure Logic contained in the first volume of these Lectures.

But, apart from the aliment which it thus affords to the scientific taste, a wise study of *the forms of logical expression that are latent in the Concept* may be attended by many important advantages. Of these we have only room to indicate two:—its tendency to correct an abuse of language, and its tendency to keep before the mind a valuable general truth in human nature. A word on each.

It is impossible for any one to *think* informally. Illogical reasoning may appear in oral and written language, but it cannot be a part of our conscious experience. When the Axioms of Logic are violated, in any set of spoken or written words, the speaker or writer cannot be conscious of what the words mean, as thus related. He cannot produce in consciousness what is contradictory in terms. He must be using words, while he is not fully awake to their proposed relations to one another. A contradiction, latent in the words, is, through confusion of thought,

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concealed by the words from him who uses (or rather abuses) them. The essential ambiguity of language accounts for the fact that words are frequently the vehicle of contradictions which cannot be experienced in consciousness, and cannot find a place in any of those forms to which all thought that is really such must be conformed. Informal reasonings are due to the confusion induced by the imperfection of language. The logical calculus of science, if not an organ for the discovery of truth, may at least be employed in the discovery of this kind of error. It does not put meaning into words, but it helps us to discover an inconsistent relation among words, after meaning has been put into them. The study of Language naturally culminates in the study of Logic. Grammar is an appropriate path to the forms of Dialectic. These cannot conquer for us fresh fields of knowledge, but they are a powerful and indispensable auxiliary to language in maintaining our dominion over what we have, or believe that we have, already conquered.

But the philosophical study of the formal or fundamental part of Logic, while it aids in the discovery of the informality, in our scientific or general knowledge, of which language is the cover, and thus determines for us what *within our universe of thought or hypothesis*, we are logically bound to think, is also a standing memorandum of *the limited results which are competent to thinking.* As Locke and Kant have emphatically proclaimed, mere thinking is not, and cannot be, physical discovery; it cannot add to, and can only elaborate into new forms, by proposition and reasoning, division and definition, the matter that has been given to it to propound, reason about, divide, and define. By familiarity with the necessary forms of scientific perfection, and by a systematic application of these forms to professed specimens of science, we may decide whether our previous hypothetical knowledge must, on pain of a contradiction in terms, yield the specimens; but we cannot, by the same means, decide upon the real truth of the hypotheses themselves, nor by any logical manipulation with these hypotheses can we render them more true. Men are subject to the illusion that a merely elaborative activity may extend the area of their intellectual insight. But on the formal side of logical science we are taught, that this sort of activity, while it may improve the intellectual quality of our Concepts, cannot, in itself, promote their harmony with reality—a wholesome and much needed lesson regarding the limitation of the mere understanding.

One who has thus purified and elevated his ideal of the form of science, by a contemplation of the model which this part of Logic offers to him,—who is habitually, with its aid, eliminating confusion from his notions, as propounded and reasoned in language,—and who is deepening his conviction that no manipulation with terms, in the way of defining, dividing, and reasoning out what they mean, can possibly add to that meaning, or render it truer than it was before,—is gaining some of the most important advantages which Logic, merely as a formal science, is fitted to yield. But he is reaping all the benefits of Logic, according to the best conception of it? Must Logic, as the science of science, be confined to the analysis of the *formal* perfection of our scientific knowledge, and excluded from any effort to analyse the *matter* which may be introduced into scientific forms, and the elements in *human consciousness* which promote or impede the formation of Real Science? Can science be treated scientifically only in the way of an analysis of the various non-contradictory forms which thought is able to offer for its reception? Must the "Logic" of our universities and public examinations be confined to a symbolical calculation of the propositional and syllogistic relations of Concepts? Does Logic merely supply the forms, in which we clearly and distinctly manifest, what was previously held obscurely or by implication? Is it only the Art of showing forth what is already contained in Premises—of explicating what is latent in Hypotheses? Does the formal part of the science, which, according to Dr. Mansel, "from the days of Kant has been gradually advancing to perfection," comprehend all that can be included in the logical system? Is the ideal of a Logical System proposed at the commencement of this article incapable of being further realized?

An affirmative answer to these questions, whether or not it is the just answer, at any rate assigns to the logician of the 19th century a narrower and less influential position, in relation to the sciences and to human life, than that occupied by his predecessors in former periods of the restored activity of the science. The prevailing modern conception of the limits of human understanding, and of the dependence of science on the successful interpretation of Nature, has attenuated the "logic of the schools," in the very act of rendering it, in the hands of Kant and Hamilton and Dr. Mansel, more purely scientific and demonstrative. It has wholly removed Logic, as formal, from its ancient basis of Realism, and placed it on that of Nominalism. The Baconian revolution in the methods of scientific research has, in

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short, precipitated the Kantian and Hamiltonian reform, in what has now become in consequence merely the Science of Scientific Expression.

The formal unfolding of the logical consequences latent in hypotheses, and especially in the received meanings of ordinary words, was relatively of greater importance in ancient than in modern science. Ancient mediæval science was essentially a development of what is contained in vulgar premises—an explication, in definitions, divisions, and syllogisms, of what was assumed in current words and maxims. Science was then, more than it now is, an unpacking of the meanings that were circulating, under cover, in the words of ordinary language. The Categories and the Syllogistic Analytics were the two main branches of the mediæval Logic. The Categories were artificial titles under which knowledge was to be arranged. Syllogisms were forms in which the truths assumed to be contained under the Categories were to be evolved. The whole mechanism was fitted to an age apt to look for the extension of its knowledge to a mere unfolding, in definitions, divisions and reasonings, of Notions accepted without a previous inductive criticism of their contents. Truth was looked for through an orderly dissection of the meaning of Words, more than in the critical formation of that meaning, by a comparative examination of what happens in Nature.

It is easy to see that, in this condition of mind, forms of classification, proposition, and inference hold a place in science (and accordingly in the science of science) different from that which the modern British mind assigns to them. In a past age, they were a necessary framework, on which Truth, already latent, might be displayed,—the act of displaying them being the act of forming science. The logician was not so much the formal analyst of thought, as the creator of the only perfect apparatus for the deductive explication of what was believed to be true. From Plato to Bacon, the prevailing habit was to resolve science into Ideas, and to overlook Facts, as unworthy of the philosopher. From Bacon to Hume we mark an extreme reactionary inclination to resolve science exclusively into Facts or objects of Experience. Since the sceptical criticism of Hume has occasioned a comprehensive survey of the nature and origin of science, the prevailing tendency has been to a recognition of each element,—with a divorce of the theory of logical forms from both.

That the analysts of science are dissatisfied with the merely formal side of what is given to them, when it is given as the exclusive object of logical analysis, is plain from various symptoms. What has been called the Baconian Logic is a protest against the restraint; and Mr. Mill, at the other extreme, can hardly be said to entertain Logic formally at all. Many of those who insist on the narrower view of the logical system, do not themselves keep within its bounds. Some of the most valuable parts of Dr. Whately's Elements are, on his own view, extra-logical. Even Dr. Mansel acknowledges that "the compass of Formal Logic" is "small;" and that its "contents, though clear and definite, are, taken by themselves, too meagre to be an adequate substitute for the miscellaneous reading which is at present misnamed logical." He proposes to supplement the defect by combining with the study of logical forms a study of the psychological data which they assume. Material Logic he rejects, along with some recent German analysts, on the ground that "it has no alternative between an impossible universality and an arbitrary exclusiveness, and can only be employed as a bad means of collecting desultory information on many subjects." The contributions already made to the analysis of Science, as governed by physical law, while limited by the finitude of intelligence, prove that a logical theory of *what we think about* need neither be a system of universal knowledge, nor a mere miscellaneous aggregate of "useful" truths.

By his example, and in some measure by his precepts, Sir William Hamilton countenances an extension of logical study beyond the Axioms and their immediate application to pure thought. Not to speak of the second, the first volume of these Lectures, which professedly is confined to Formal Logic, contains much psychological, metaphysical, and historical matter interspersed. But the following reasons are offered for at least putting in a subordinate place the theory of science on its objective side:—

"Of the two branches into which it (Logic falls, Formal Logic, or Logic Proper, demands the principal share of our attention, and this for various reasons.

"In the *first* place, considered in reference to the quantity of their contents, Formal Logic is a far more comprehensive and complex science than Material. For, to speak first of the latter:—if we abstract from the specialities of particular objects and sciences, and consider only the rules which ought to govern our procedure in reference to the object-matter of the sciences in general—and this is all that a Universal Logic can propose—these rules are few in number, and their applications simple and evident. A Material or Objective Logic (except in special subordination to the circumstances of particular sciences) is, therefore, of very narrow limits, and all that it can tell us is soon told. Of the former, on the other

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hand, the reverse is true. For though the highest laws of thought be few in number, and though Logic Proper be only an articulate exposition of the universal necessity of these, still the steps through which this exposition must be accomplished, are both many and multiform.

"In the *second* place, the doctrines of Material Logic are not only far fewer and simpler than those of Formal Logic, they are also less independent; for the principles of the latter, once established, those of the other are either implicitly confirmed, or the foundation laid on which they can be easily rested.

"In the *third* place, the study of Formal Logic is a more improving exercise; for, as exclusively conversant with the laws of thought, it necessitates a turning back of the intellect upon itself, which is a less easy, and therefore a more invigorating, energy, than the mere contemplation of the objects directly presented to our observation.

"In the *fourth* place, the doctrines of Formal Logic are possessed of an intrinsic and necessary evidence; they shine out by their native light, and do not require any proof or corroboration beyond that which consciousness itself supplies. They do not, therefore, require, as a preliminary condition, any apparatus of acquired knowledge. Formal Logic is, therefore, better fitted than Material, for the purposes of academical instruction; for the latter, primarily conversant with the conditions of the external world, is in itself a less invigorating exercise, as determining the mind to a feebler and more ordinary exertion, and, at the same time, cannot adequately be understood without the previous possession of such a complement of information as it would be unreasonable to count upon, in the case of those who are only commencing their philosophical studies."—(ii., 232-33.)

Sir William Hamilton has given so large a share of his attention to the analysis of logical Forms, that the correlative analysis of logical Matter—the conditions of the *assumption of Premises* as distinguished from the conditions of the *deduction of conclusions from Premises*—has received scanty justice at his hands. When Mixed or Material Logic is represented by an aggregate of empirical rules for the discovery of true Propositions—a useful supplement in its own way, and so far as it goes, to the demonstrative science of Syllogism—the estimate of the comparative merits of the two sides of Logic, given in the preceding passage, may be accepted. But those analysts of logical matter who have formed the most advanced conception of this part of the science, aim at something more than a few vague and general rules. The analysis of the formal perfection of science, to which the elaborate system of logical forms is due, has been *thorough-going*, and because it has been so its doctrines are numerous. We find ourselves at work in a part of the Science of Science which is more profound, although it may be less prolific of discoveries, when we pass from the Formal to the Material part of the System—when we analyse the real world, in its relations to Proposition and Syllogism—the *objective cohesion* of *natural* order, and the natural means for unravelling it, instead of the *subjective cohesion* of *verbal* order, and the self-evident laws for its consistent expression—the *limits* of thought, and therefore of statement and reasoning, in a word, of science, regarding this same orderly universe of ours,—and, finally, *the ultimate Premises*, on which all reasoning, and therefore all science, depends. The Order of Nature, in its mediate and ultimate relations to the Understanding—the physical and metaphysical limits to our power of scientifically interpreting the orderly world that is offered to us in Space and Time—and the basis, speculative or practical, on which all our interpretations of it ultimately rest, and by which all our Premises are supported,—these are what the analyst of logical matter has to deal with, in any system of Mixed Logic which aims at a scientific analysis of the *matter*, as rigorous and penetrating as the counterpart analysis of the *form* of thought.

Take any part of this wide and difficult field of research—the order of Nature, for example, and the method of interpreting it that must be common to all the sciences of Nature. Those who recollect the modern logical analysis of Nature, viewed as an object of scientific procedure, which pervades the philosophical writings of Bacon, Berkeley, Hume, Brown, and Mill,—the consequent modification of the old meaning of the word "experience" in the modern scientific mind,—with the many unsolved and now debated questions suggested by the relations between the observed order of nature and religious belief, may well imagine that in few parts of his science is the logician more importuned for answers which demand, on his part, the "invigorating energy" of a reflex action of the intellect. And if some of the answers sought for are beyond the reach of any human science, *the discovery, through reflection, of our inability to supply them*, is a discovery of ignorance not less precious than positive knowledge. But neither the positive answers nor the ignorance can be discovered by "a mere contemplation of the objects directly presented to our observation."

Further. It may be granted that a scientific analysis of the *matter* of human science, with a view to ascertain the implied conditions of scientific procedure, is unable to produce a numerous body of demonstrations, akin to those which have given us the

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necessary forms of scientific thought and expression. This is only to acknowledge that the sphere of the probable and the contingent is not that of the demonstrative and necessary, and that the most thorough going analysis of the former does not conduct us nearer to those necessities of pure thought, into which alone the necessities of concrete belief can never be resolved. The sphere of Material Logic, as less demonstrative, is more human than that of Pure Logic. This last, as the most abstract of the sciences, and, in its most advanced conception, more than ever a science of symbolic notation, is open to some (not all) of the objections which Sir William Hamilton has elsewhere so powerfully presented against an educational discipline that is chiefly mathematical.

Again. It is true that "Material Logic" is "less independent" than Formal Logic, in as far as material truth is subordinate to formal truth. Nothing which contradicts the axioms that constitute the *formal* perfection of science can be really true; but, on the other hand, whatever conforms to these axioms is not, *for that reason alone*, true in reality. Formal Logic, as the most abstract, is the most independent part of science. But, in this sense, the special sciences are less independent than either Formal or Material Logic, because (philosophically) dependent on both. The dependence of the logical analysis of the material which is presented for admission into scientific forms, upon a previous analysis of the forms themselves, is one among several reasons for placing the material analysis second in order, in the development of the science of science, and for regulating Logic as mixed or material, by a reference to Logic as formal, not the latter by reference to the former. But it is not a reason for giving a monopoly of attention to Formal Logic.

Material or Mixed Logic, as understood by us, is, in short, Cosmology and Ontology, introduced into Logic—so far as is necessary for determining the nature of the real relations which connect together the things thought about, in the propositions and reasonings of which science is made up,—the limits of the propoundable,—what must ultimately be propounded,—and the rules for the legitimate assumption of Premises.

We regret, on philosophical as well as on educational grounds, that Mr. Mill, in his attempt to found a system of Material Logic on the observed order of nature, has evaded what he calls the "metaphysical" questions which pervade the whole tissue of his argument. With all our admiration of his general talent, and his liberal and eclectic spirit, we regard him as in that respect ministering to the partial and one-sided "cultivation of the powers of Observation to the neglect of the higher faculties" with which, in the following passage, Sir William Hamilton charges the exclusive votaries of physical science at the present day:—

"In this department of knowledge there is chiefly demanded a patient habit of attention to details, in order to detect phenomena; and, these discovered, their generalization is usually so easy that there is little exercise offered to the higher faculties of Judgment and Reasoning. It was Bacon's boast that Induction, as applied to nature, would equalize all talents, and leave little to be done by the force of individual intellect. This boast has been fulfilled; Science has, by the Inductive Process, been brought down to minds, who previously have been incompetent for its cultivation, and physical knowledge now usefully occupies many who would otherwise have been without any rational pursuit. But the exclusive devotion to such studies, if not combined with higher or graver speculations, tends to wean the student from the more vigorous efforts of mind, which, though unamusing and even irksome at the commencement, tend, however, to invigorate his nobler powers, and to prepare him for the final fruition of the highest happiness of his intellectual nature."—(Vol. ii., 138.)

The physical interpretation of Nature is founded on our conception of PHYSICAL ORDER, and on our faith in its permanence. The modern scientific habit may readily render this the exclusive and dominant conception of the mind, which then converts the final meaning of the universe and of life with the laws of the natural system, absorbing all in a narrow and rigid scientific Fatalism. But we find, when we turn from Science in its relations to Nature, to Science in its relations to Man in the fulness of his being, that the trust in Cosmical Order, of which Physical Logic is the theory, is not the *only* fundamental belief,—that it must be interpreted by a reference to deeper faiths, and to an Order more comprehensive and absolute than its own. We thus correct the partial sciolism of those who are blind to all that cannot be resolved into cosmological proof, by pointing to modifying Beliefs which are found, in the light of consciousness and of the whole history of man, to be not less worthy of trust and reverence than those which are formed by an inductive generalization of the events of the universe presented to us in space and time.

It is the comparative imperfection of what may be called the Cosmological and Ontological part of Logic, at least in a being of limited faculties like man, which demands, in a comprehensive logical system, an analysis of Science in its relations to Humanity, as well as in its relations to Thought and

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to Nature. In this, which we may term the Psychological and Historical part of Logic, the constitution of man in its catholic integrity, as revealed in consciousness and in history, the human occasions of error, and the human foundations of science, are sought for. The investigation embraces the influences, proceeding from man, by which the understanding is modified, and either carried away from Truth, or conducted to an insight which mere physical interpretation cannot give. The logician learns to correct and expand his previous theory, by the familiarity which he here gains with faith, and with the facts of MORAL, as well as those of Physical causation and order.

May we not anticipate in the Logic of the Future a further advance in the analysis of Science, as formal and also as physical,—conjoined with a more philosophical apprehension of the relation of each to the other, of the nature and limits of physical science in the finite mind, and of the many occasions of error to which man is exposed in his endeavours to form it. A system of Logic, founded on the results of the separate analysis in the past of the Formal and Material Elements of Science, will thus naturally occupy three points of view. As the science of science, it may attempt to analyse its object,—

1. In respect to its Formal Perfection.
2. In respect to the Theory of its Physical or Cosmological Development, as the interpretation of cosmical order.
3. In respect to the forces in Man, by which thought is or may be affected, in its efforts to elaborate true Science from the material that is offered to it in Nature.

Logic, when working at the first of these points of view, may be called Pure, Formal, and Verbal; at the second, Physical, Cosmological, and Ontological; at the third, Modified, Psychological, and Historical.*

In a final definition, we may, accordingly, decribe Logic† as "the science of *human* science," and the three parts into which its teaching is in consequence resolved may be thus exhibited:—

I. Pure or Formal Logic.

II. Mixed or Material Logic. { 1. Physical, Cosmological, and Ontological, conducting to
2. Modified, Psychological, and Historical.

This ideal thus summons the logical student to three departments of labour, of three degrees of difficulty, each related to the other, and all casting a reflex light on Science, by disclosing the formal laws of its formation, the physical and metaphysical limits within which it is possible, and its dependence on the human being by whom it is formed.

This is not the occasion for illustrating the past influence upon the progress of the sciences, and also a principal organ in liberal education, of the occasional and more systematic efforts which have been made to analyse logically the Form and Matter of Science. The marvellous power of intellectual digestion manifested in the philosophy and theology of the middle ages must be referred to the medicinal properties of the formal Analytic of the Schools; the gradual purification and rectification of the modern code of physical discovery cannot be separated from the growth of juster logical views regarding physical causation, the order of nature, and the natural limits to our power of interpreting, either physically or metaphysically, the mysterious universe which is presented to us in space and time. These are two among many examples of the past and possible future influence of a study, which, more than any other, appeals to the higher mental faculties, and which has never, in any of its three phases, received the breath of human life, without reacting upon life in many direct and indirect ways.

The present article is purposely confined to some of those discussions regarding the Province of Logic, which arise when a science so comprehensive in its idea, and embracing elements which in the past have often been conflicting instead of conspiring,

* We have just lighted upon a passage in the Appendix to his Lectures (p. 243) in which a threefold division of Logic, somewhat similar in principle, as it seems, to that implied throughout this article, is thus hinted at by Sir William Hamilton :—

"Perhaps, 1st, Formal Logic (from the laws of thought proper) should be distinguished from, 2d, Abstract Logic (material, but of abstract general matter; and then 3d, A Psychological Logic might be added as a third part, considering how Reasoning, etc, is affected by the constitution of our minds."

† Metaphysics, on the view given above of the Logical System, is partly involved in that system; but it may also be treated at an independent point of view. In the current meaning of the term, Metaphysics is vaguely convertible with the Philosophy of Mind, or Psychology; in its stricter meaning it corresponds to Ontology, or the science which pretends to treat of Substance and Cause, apart from their manifestations in experience. As Ontology in particular, or Psychology in general, it may be approached (1) through Formal Logic,—when it becomes part of Logic, or (2) irrespectively of Logic,—either on its own account, or (*e.g.*) through Ethics, and for purposes of Ethical Science—in relation to the theory of Duty and the Good, instead of the theory of Science and the True.

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is recovering its prominence. We do not enter on the details of logical doctrine which the books before us present or suggest. We are, moreover, reluctantly compelled to keep back weighty passages contained in the Lectures which we had marked for quotation, including illustrations of the extracts from books far out of the reach of common readers, of which these volumes must always be regarded as an invaluable repertory. But they are of course in the hands of all students of philosophy, who will find several of the most interesting extracts to which we have now referred in the Lectures on the nature and occasions of error. They will also turn to the closing Lecture, on "Books as a means of Intellectual Improvement," by one whose personal intercourse with books, as the organ of information and speculative excitement, was probably more exclusive and intense than that of any other among his fellow-countrymen.

It is almost unnecessary to add, that these "Lectures" are, in their present form, a model of editorial ability. We may infer this from the deserved reputation of the editors for speculative acuteness and accuracy. Oxford and the Scottish Universities have been centres of logical study in Great Britain; and the most important British treatise in Formal Logic is appropriately introduced into the world by a representative of each. Dr. Mansel is everywhere known as one of the foremost among living psychologists and logicians: and in the recent appointment of Mr. Veitch to the Chair of Logic at St. Andrews, the Universities of Scotland have an additional security for the transmission of their characteristic glory as lights of mental science in Europe.

Art. IV.—*Lord Macaulay's Place in English Literature.*

All the writings of Lord Macaulay, which, in his own judgment and in the judgment of his his friends, seem worthy of a permanent place in English literature, have now been given to the world. His whole literary career, from an epitaph on Henry Martyn, written at the age of twelve, to the biography of William Pitt, the work of mature fifty-nine, is before us. Unfortunately we have nothing more to look for. It is well known that but little of the History has been left in a state which will allow of its publication; and Lord Macaulay's place in the world of letters must therefore be determined by what we already possess. His "Biography," it is true, has yet to be written. From that source, however, we can hope to hear nothing more of the writer; and it may even be doubted whether any very valuable addition will thereby be made to our knowledge of the man. The lives of most public men reveal their characters, and this was, in an especial degree, true of Lord Macaulay. Without being in any sense an egotist, he yet felt so warmly on public affairs, that in writing and speaking on them he unconsciously revealed himself. No one can handle themes of which his heart is full, without affording glimpses of his real nature. Lord Macaulay never wrote or spoke except on themes of which his heart was full; and hence in his writings and speeches the character of the man is more truly, because less intentionally, portrayed than in the writings of professed egotists like Byron or Rousseau. Nor should it be forgotten, that in political life, although the highest offices were denied him, he played no undistinguished part. He shared in the great Reform battles, in the storms which preceded the fall of the Melbourne Ministry, and in the bitterness of the opposition which arrayed itself against Peel. In these contests, and in the results which they entailed, ample opportunities were afforded for displaying all the qualities which dignify or discredit the career of a politician. No portraiture has yet been given to the public of Lord Macaulay's social and domestic characteristics, and on these, therefore, a stranger must be silent. But we know enough to enable us to assign him his place in the republic of letters, and to ascertain how far, in the great game of politics, his opinions were worthy to be accepted, and his example to be followed.

It is not, we confess, without hesitation that we attempt this subject. Lord Macaulay's death is still so recent, his loss is so irreparable to that most important branch of literature, the historical literature of our country, that we find it no easy matter to discharge, with fitting composure, the duty of critic. It is hard to be impartial in the midst of regret. When the feeling is strong upon us that the place which has been left vacant can never be supplied—that the task which has been left unaccomplished will never be completed—we are hardly able to be coldly impartial. So much, too, has been written on Macaulay, that it is impossible to write anything better than has been written already. But it is possible to write something more. His works have been reviewed as they have variously appeared; but, until the present time, all his writings

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have never been brought together. It is now in our power to regard his labours as a whole, to notice the gradual development of style, to remark the growth of his ideas, and to admire the stability of his convictions. Such a study cannot be unimportant or uninstructive; and we shall endeavour to pursue it with as much impartiality as our fervent admiration for the great historian whom we have lately lost will allow.

When Lord Macaulay's contributions to the *Edinburgh Review* first appeared in a collected form, the popularity which they obtained was quite unprecedented; nor has it been approached since by any of the compilations of a similar nature which have become so common. Sydney Smith's articles alone, from the humour, the sound sense, and the knowledge of the world which they display, are worthy to be placed beside them. But Lord Macaulay took a wider sweep than the accomplished churchman, and lent to a more varied range of subject the charm of a more brilliant style. Any detailed criticism of these essays now-a-days would be absurd. Everybody has read them, and the verdict of public opinion has been definitely pronounced. They are a perfect mine of information. We have criticism on poetry, on essay writing, and on novel writing, in the articles on Byron, on Addison, and on Madame D'Arblay. We have elaborate portraitures of the greatest English statesmen—of Burleigh, of Walpole, and of Chatham. We have solutions of the most vexed questions of English history, as in the article on Sir William Temple. We have the great difficulty of Church and State connection discussed upon rational principles. And, above all, we have the magnificent Indian disquisitions. It is not too much to say, that an effect equal to the effect produced by "Lord Clive," and "Warren Hastings," was never produced by any two articles since article-writing began. In the paper on Clive, surprise was expressed at the general ignorance of Indian affairs, even among educated Englishmen. The publication of these two essays went far to dispel that ignorance. They could not, indeed, narrate the whole. Yet, any one who studies them attentively will at least have laid a good foundation for further inquiry. He will find that he has acquired not a little knowledge of the rise of our Indian empire, and of what may be called the Constitutional History of our rule in the East. And, what is of greater importance, he will find excited within him a very strong desire to learn more. India has been unhappy in her historians; but to these essays belongs the triumph that, in spite of the heaviness of Mill, the prolixity of Orme, and the common-placeness of Elphinstone, Englishmen are at last beginning to know something of the "annals of that marvellous empire which valour without parallel has annexed to the throne of the Isles."

But Lord Macaulay, great though he was as an essayist, has won for himself a more enduring title to fame. His genius was essentially historical. His first essays were historical; his best essays were historical; and, last of all, we have the History itself by which his reputation will be finally determined.

All of us remember the manner in which the first two volumes of the History were received. No book, not even the best of the Waverley series, ever experienced such popularity. The *Times* devoted not only articles, but leaders, to its praise. Every Review in the country went into ecstasies. One notorious exception indeed there was; but that exception only sufficed to bring out more forcibly the otherwise universal concord. Such harmony was too beautiful to last. Gradually faint murmurs of disapprobation made themselves heard. As years went on, these increased in number and deepened in tone, until the reaction reached a height on the appearance of volumes III. and IV. The greeting accorded to them differed markedly from that which had welcomed their more fortunate predecessors. Faults before unnoticed were pointed out; blemishes before hinted at were enlarged upon; beauties before brought into strong relief, were passed over or denied. The whirligig of time brought round revenges which might have satisfied even the soul of Mr. Croker. The *Edinburgh Review* itself, bound to render all suit and service to its great contributor, began to falter in its allegiance. This was no more than might have been expected. Such changes from one extreme of opinion to the opposite extreme, are as common in literature as in anything else. But the reactionary spirit leads into as great error as the original enthusiasm. Every part of Lord Macaulay's history possesses peculiar and appropriate merits; but were a choice forced upon us, we should give the preference to the third and fourth volumes over the other two. The first part of the work, indeed, possessed the charm of novelty. All the more prominent characters were brought on the stage; and the celebrated second chapter, from the nature of its subject, stands alone. The brilliant circle which surrounded Charles II. is painted with the pencil of Watteau, in colours rendered brighter by contrast with

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the sombre court of his successor. The fall of James from the height of almost absolute power to the long exile at St. Germains, is traced in a manner hardly less dramatic than that in which Thucydides traces the fate of the Sicilian expedition from the bright midsummer morning on which it sailed, to its end in the quarries of Syracuse. Yet it is not too much to say that the varied powers of the historian are more displayed in the latter portion of his narrative. The siege of Derry is the most exciting thing in the book. The battle of Landen will bear a comparison even with the battle-pieces of Sir William Napier. The passage of the Boyne is finer than the rout of Sedgemoor. In these volumes, too, we have evidence of an ability, for the exercise of which the earlier volumes afforded no scope — we mean, the power of carrying on, without confusion, a complex story. From the beginning of the work down to the abdication of James we are seldom out of Britain, and the action is simple and continuous. After the accession of William, the plot deepens and widens. The subject changes, the scene shifts, and yet every transition is managed without effort and without abruptness. The historian passes easily from the campaigns in Ireland to the intrigues of St. James', from the battle-fields of the Low Countries to the mountains of Scotland,—never confusing his readers,—never unequal to his theme. Few qualities are rarer than this, and none is more important. Students of the fifth and sixth volumes of Mr. Froude's history will best appreciate its value, by having had most occasion to lament its absence. That gentleman's guidance is like the magic carpet in the *Arabian Nights*. It whisks us about from country to country, over sea and over land, with a rapidity which takes our breath away, and disturbs all our ideas of space and time. Above all, the last part of Lord Macaulay's work is valuable, as telling us so much which it behoves us to know. Less picturesque it may be than what went before; but we are certain that it is more instructive. Volumes I. and II. tell of an overthrow; volumes III. and IV. tell of a reconstruction—a work far greater in itself, immeasurably greater, in that it has been enduring.

In the progress of its development, the political constitution of England has been exposed to two great shocks, arising out of two great convulsions in the minds of the people: one, the change of the national faith at the Reformation; the other, the long struggle of the Commons against the Crown. When William of Orange appeared on the stage, both convulsions—the change of religion and the struggle for liberty—had left deep scars. The empire was torn with religous dissensions; all constitutional forms were unsettled. From this chaos William had to evoke order; those scars it was his to heal. His reign was the new birth of our constitution—the real beginning of the modern history of England. How he accomplished his arduous task, how, under his wise guidance, the constitution recovered the shocks it had undergone, and, renewing its youth, gave promise of a strong and lasting existence,—this is the theme, than which no theme can be nobler, of the concluding volumes of Lord Macaulay's History. The position and influence of the monarchy were defined by the Bill for Settling the Coronation Oath, and the Bills for Settling the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. The clergy and the Tories retained sufficient power to defeat the Comprehension Bill, and to maintain the test. But by the Toleration Act, religious differences were, in part at least, composed; and Dissenters experienced the strange freedom of being allowed to follow, without molestation, the dictates of their consciences. The ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland was fixed, and fixed upon such principles, that, had it not been wantonly altered by the advisers of Anne, it would have been spared the shock of so many secessions. The Bank of England was founded; the national debt began; the whole financial system of the country had its origin. English politics acquired the characteristics which they retain to the present day, by the formation of the first regular Ministry under Sunderland. Party warfare lost the violence and cruelty which had before disgraced it, and became animated by a comparative moderation of spirit ever after that Act of Grace, the granting of which constitutes one of William's purest titles to fame. The scandal of our State trials was swept away by the law which secured to the judges their seats during life or good behaviour, and by the law for regulating trials in cases of treason; and, above all, the liberty of the press was established.

All these great changes—changes which made the England of 1697 hardly recognisable by the statesmen of 1687—are narrated in the historian's best manner. They are the topics of which Lord Macaulay is most thoroughly master, and in the handling of which he is most perfectly at home. Brilliant as are his pictures of courts, stirring as are his scenes of battle, it is in describing social ameliorations and parliamentary struggles that his genius has achieved its most signal triumphs.

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Yet, in spite of all this, these volumes never enjoyed the popularity of their forerunners. Enemies soon found this out. The mere caprice of reaction had dictated the general judgment, but hostile critics readily set themselves to justify that judgment. At first they had, for the most part, been frightened into silence; but now they took heart of grace and spoke. To a certain extent this is a compliment—*qui n'a pas de lecteurs, n'a pas d'adversaires*—but it has gone on too long. Even death put no period to detraction. Especially vehement have been the assaults contained in a series of articles in *Blackwood's Magazine*, commencing with praises of Presbyterianism in August, 1856, and ending with praises of Dundee in September 1860. The ruling motive of these articles has not been to vindicate the reputation of the departed great, but to diminish the just fame of the historian. To accomplish this end, positions the most contradictory have been taken up, pleas the most inconsistent have been urged. Covenanters and Claverhouse, Highlanders and Western Hillmen, Marlborough and Penn, are all to be defended with equal zeal, if so only Lord Macaulay may be abused. Foolish jesting does not deserve, random assertion does not admit of, a reply. Such opponents are, like the opponents of Gibbon, "men over whom victory was a sufficient humiliation."

The defence of Penn, however, has been differently conducted. Mr. Hepworth Dixon first took up the case; his arguments were condensed by a Mr. Paget; and their joint advocacy has been so plausible, that on one or two points Lord Macaulay has seen fit to answer. He has reiterated his belief, that it was the Quaker himself, and not a lowly namesake, who negotiated that scandalous business of the little girls of Taunton for the maids of honour, and he has given his reasons for that belief. He has justified the language he employed with regard to Penn's advances to Alderman Kiffin; and he has maintained the correctness of his account of Penn's conduct in the affair of Magdalen College. Those answers, in our judgment altogether convincing, appear only in the small seven volume edition of 1858. This is not as it should be. The notes containing those replies should be incorporated in every future edition of the History. The publishers will culpably neglect the duty which they owe to Lord Macaulay's reputation unless they look to this. On no point, however trivial, can it be unimportant to establish his accuracy.* It would be out of place to transcribe here Lord Macaulay's arguments; and, indeed, our space prevents us from entering into the depths of the Penn controversy. The more fully this is done, the more will the trustworthiness of the historian be brought out; but to accomplish the task thoroughly, would in itself afford material for an article, and that not a very short one.

The most hostile critics have failed, in our opinion, to convict Lord Macaulay of misinterpreting his authorities. But some assailants have occupied a different ground, and have accused him of a different fault,—the fault of carelessness in selecting his authorities. This is an error to which French historians are especially prone. M. Thierry, for example, is a conspicuous offender. With him, one authority—so that it be quotable—is as good as another. Nothing tends so much to mislead. The reader is thrown off his guard. An imposing array of names, formally cited, allays any suspicion. He never thinks of inquiring further. He is lulled into a false sense of security, and accepts the assertions of the historian as all resting upon equally good foundations. This charge has been particularly urged against the description of the social position of the clergy, in the celebrated second chapter of the History. Now it can be easily shown—indeed, Macaulay's assailants have themselves succeeded in showing—that his sketch is true to his authorities,—that it is, in every particular, corroborated by the literature of the period. But then the question remains, What was that literature, and who were those authorities? Mr. Churchill Babington, in his "Character of the Clergy, etc., Considered," exults greatly in the fact that one of them—Oldham—was an Atheist; and another—T. Wood—was a Deist. The inference that both were on that account liars, is, perhaps, rather rapid. And even if we ascribe to them an irresistible tendency to falsehood, we must not forget that, like Captain Absolute's invaluable servant, they were bound to lie so as to be believed. The question simply is, how far the satirical and popular literature of the day may be relied upon as being true? Now the first object of a satirist is to be read, the next is to produce an effect; but in order that he may do either, it is requi-

* As a matter of fact, the majority of readers have never seen the small edition. One of the latest critics, for example, calmly assumes, as a matter beyond dispute, the confusion between William Penn and George Penne in the Taunton business, and exultingly refers to it as an instance of Macaulay's inaccuracy. The critic, when he wrote, had evidently never seen Macaulay's arguments in support of his original statement.

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site that he keep within the bounds of probability. A gross caricature can never be a powerful satire. While, therefore, the satirist must exaggerate in order to attract, he must yet, in all his exaggeration, preserve a certain measure of truth. If satirists represent a class of the community as being exclusively composed of men of low origin, we may safely assume that high birth among that class is rare. If the comedians of a whole century agrée in making the members of a certain profession invariably marry servants, we may conclude that the alliances contracted by that profession were not, as a general rule, exalted.* Take the literature of our own day. *Punch* is our professed satirist; the *Times* habitually indulges in exaggerated writing. Yet we suspect that a discerning historian could draw a very fair picture of the manners and customs of the period from the pages of these two periodicals. Any one, however, who attempts such a task has a reasonable claim upon our indulgence; for it is only by the greatest industry and the most unerring tact that success can be approached. At best there will always be many who refuse to accept the results. Such refusal, however, should be courteously conveyed. In the case we are supposing, the author should not hastily be reproached with carelessness or with wilful inaccuracy. He may, indeed, have blundered. He may have trusted too much to one satirist; he may have mistaken the spirit of another, But if past conditions of society are to be reproduced at all, this risk must be run. Lord Macaulay has faced it, and has been bitterly abused in consequence. He is able, indeed, to quote authorities more imposing than those to whom we have referred. The Grand Duke Cosmo, Lord Clarendon, and even the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, corroborate, in various minute points, the view he has taken. But, as a whole, the case is undoubtedly rested on the representations of satirists and popular writers. The matter is not one which admits of being definitely settled by argument. It is of no avail to be true to your authorities, when the value of those authorities is denied. And as no more valid authorities than those rejected satirists can be cited, the question must be left to every man to determine for himself, or to leave alone, as he likes best.

Lord Macaulay's account of the Highlands and of the Highlanders is very much in the same position as his sketch of the clergy. Here also, it is urged contemptuously, his chief authorities are satirists and Cockneys. Now it is perfectly true that the opinions expressed by the satirists and entertained by the Cockneys of that day, with regard to Highlanders or anything else, are of historical value, and well worthy to be preserved. For though it be the fashion to sneer at Cockneys now, at that time the inhabitants of London were, in wealth, power, and intelligence, greatly in advance of any other part of the kingdom. But the fact that such opinions were entertained is one thing; the truth of such opinions is a very different thing. The difficulty of presenting a fair picture of the Highlanders of 1689 is indeed extreme. At that date they were absurdly caricatured; in our own day they have been not less absurdly exalted into heroes of romance.

"Thus it has chanced," says the historian, "that the old Gaelic institutions and manners have never been exhibited in the simple light of truth. Up to the middle of the last century they were seen through one false medium; they have since been seen through another. Once they loomed dimly through an obscuring and distorting haze of prejudice; and no sooner had that fog dispersed, than they appeared bright with all the richest tints of poetry. The time when a perfectly fair picture could have been painted has now passed away. The original has long disappeared; no authentic effigy exists; and all that is possible is to produce an imperfect likeness by the help of two portraits, one of which is a coarse caricature, and the other a masterpiece of flattery."

The "imperfect likeness" thus produced is not a very attractive one.* It mightily offended all the victims of that Celtic mania, which, for some years past, has been making Scotland ridiculous. Foolish men who like to wear kilts, foolish young ladies who cry over ballads about Prince Charlie, and foolish writers who affect a sentimental and unreal Jacobitism in order to move such

* Lord Macaulay has given deep offence by his remarks on this subject. That those remarks are unpleasant however, is more obvious than that they are unfounded. A century later, a novelist, who had no dislike to the Church, describes his most perfect heroine as allowing a marriage between her waiting-maid and a "young Levite" attached to her establishment. And, considering that she belonged to the household of the virtuous Pamela, Miss Polly Barlow had been very near those frailties which, according to Swift, make it prudential to give up hopes of the steward, and fall back upon the chaplain. A waiting-maid of uncertain virtue, even though the waiting-maid of a Pamela, would hardly be considered a very appropriate alliance for a clergyman now-a-days.

* Its untruthfulness, however, is not so clear. Among other arguments in its favour, it recommends itself to our acceptance by agreeing, in all essentials, with the picture drawn by an historian so unprejudiced and so painstaking as Mr. Burton.

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tears, cannot endure that their fond delusions should be swept away. Loudly, therefore, has Lord Macaulay been accused of cherishing a bitter hatred towards Scotland. This absurd cry has been echoed by many who bear no love to the Celts, but who think that the historian has borne too hardly on Scottish statesmen. Both grounds of accusation are equally unfounded. Lord Macaulay, it is true, has invested the Highlanders with no false romantic attractions; and he has spoken of men like Perth and Melfort in no very gentle terms. But he did not, therefore, undervalue the Scottish character, or fail to appreciate duly the true glories of Scottish history. He only judged more wisely than his critics where these glories are to be found. He would not seek them in the annals of an aristocracy, at their best never very faithful to the cause of their country's freedom; and, at the times of which he wrote, hopelessly degraded into a tribe of unprincipled place-hunters. Nor would he seek them in the exploits of half-naked savages, whose love of independence was but an impatience of law, whose loyalty was but a longing to quarrel and a lust to plunder. It is among the middle classes of the Lowlands that the best characteristics of Scotchmen have ever been displayed. Those characteristics—love of freedom, zeal for religion, attachment to order—are virtues of which any nation may be justly proud; and they are virtues which Lord Macaulay was the last man to esteem lightly. A more eulogistic estimate of the Scotch character is nowhere to be found than in the article on Burleigh and his Times.

The inaccuracy of the history, therefore, often as it has been asserted, has not been satisfactorily proved.* Perhaps no history has ever been exposed to such searching criticism. Some few mistakes have been detected, which the author has not been slow to correct. Considering the extent of the work, and the details upon which it enters, it is astonishing that those mistakes have been so few, and upon matters so unimportant. And, on the other hand, the severe scrutiny to which the book has been subjected, fairly entitles us to assume that no inaccuracies have escaped notice. Guizot tells us that he read the "Decline and Fall" carefully three times over. After the first reading, he thought the historian superficial and untrue. A second perusal modified this hasty judgment; and, at the close of the third, the belief was forced upon him, that Gibbon's trustworthiness and research were alike admirable. Candid readers who do the same justice to Lord Macaulay, will arrive, we think, at the same conclusion.

The charge of *partiality* has been urged with not less vehemence than the charge of inaccuracy. Now, whatever may be thought of his delineations of individual character, it must, we should imagine, be conceded that this historic vice is not apparent in his treatment of parties. He does not, indeed, conceal which of the opposing interests commands his sympathies. It would have been impossible to have done so; it would have been foolish to have made the attempt; for, in truth, it was no vulgar conflict which then raged, and on the event depended no slight or ignoble issues. In the struggle of the Great Rebellion we can imagine doubts as to where the right was to be found—fears that the triumph of neither party would be attended with unmixed good. In the political strifes subsequent to 1688, principles less important have been involved; Oromasdes and Arimanes have hardly entered the lists. But, at the Revolution, we can conceive no doubts as to the merits of the dispute: we can sympathize with no fears for the result of William's victory over James; and the stake was the future destiny of England. Freedom and Protestantism against tyranny and Popery—"the side of loyalty, prerogative, church, and king, against the side of right, truth, civil and religious freedom"—that was the contest which then fell to be determined, and the result of such a contest no man can deem a matter of small account. But while Macaulay makes no pretence of an unreal and undesirable indifference, he is not therefore unjust. He rejoices that victory rested where she did; he appreciates the efforts and the sacrifices by which she was won; but he does not the less see clearly and condemn strongly the errors and the crimes by which victory was stained. The excesses of contending factions are visited with rigid justice. An even balance is held between them; we have the one weight and the one measure. The unscrupulousness of

* A late critic in the *Saturday Review* (August 4, 1860), allows himself such license of expression as to talk of "Macaulay's perversions and inventions," and "his violations of nature and distortions of history." Stronger language cannot well be imagined. It would require some modification if applied to Mitford's Greece. Now, it will hardly be believed that this condemnation is totally unsupported by facts. Throughout the article in which it appears, not a single instance is given even of inaccuracy—there is no attempt made to bring one forward. We take no exception to the strength of the language, had it been justified. First prove that an historian perverts and invents, and then condemn him as severely as you please. But to pronounce sentence with this violence, without proof, or any attempt at proof—thus to sneer down the work of a lifetime—thus to prejudice readers without once appealing to their reason, admits of no excuse.

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the Whigs during the madness of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Bill; the unscrupulousness of the Tories when reaction and prudent tactics had brought round the day of their revenge, are denounced with equal severity. The murder of Stafford meets with no milder sentence than the murders of Russell or of Sidney. The boots and thumbscrews which delighted James in the torture-chamber at Edinburgh, are not allowed to gain a forgiveness for the assassina tion of Sharpe or the rabbling of the western clergy. To few passages that we know of in history would we point, as animated by a spirit of more perfect fairness, than the sketch of the origin and characteristics of the two great parties which have so long struggled for ascendency in the State.

But with individuals the case is said to be different. Here, it is alleged, the historian indulges whims and fancies, forms likings and dislikings without ground, and expresses them without moderation. Now, impartiality in history assumes various forms. Among the possessors of this virtue many would unhesitatingly assign to Thucydides the foremost place. But a little reflection will convince us that, in the proper sense of the term, he does not possess it at all. He seems impartial because he never judges. Nothing is more extraordinary in literature than the calmness*—amounting to indifference—with which he contemplates the extremes of wickedness and the extremes of goodness. The most exalted patriotism never warms him into admiration; the blackest treason calls forth no censure. On two occasions alone, so far as we can remember, are his feelings with regard to his characters permitted to appear: one, when the mention of Cleon excites his personal animosity; the other when he wastes his sympathy over the incompetent respectability of Nicias. It is easy to trace in this unnatural calmness of the moral nature the sceptical influences of the Sophists, and the confusing influences of the state of warfare into which the Greece of his day was thrown. In another age, similar causes, in an exaggerated form, produced kindred though worse results. In mediæval Italy, the moral indifference of Thucydides deepened into the moral obliquity of Machiavelli. Some French writers—as Mignet and M. Comte—share in this quality of the great Grecian, deriving it possibly from similar causes. Such writers cannot be properly called impartial, because the plan which they adopt affords no scope for the exercise of the virtue Of English historians, the most impartial, perhaps, is Gibbon. In him this arises from a sarcastic disregard of the whole matter; his narrative sweeps along far beyond the reach of agitation from the struggles and passions of which it treats. Of a different stamp, again, is the impartiality of Mr. Hallam, which consists in abusing everybody; and different from any is the impartiality of Sir James Mackintosh, which consists in abusing nobody.

Now, properly speaking, none of these tendencies constitutes true impartiality. An historian is not bound to abstain either from forming opinions or from expressing them. He is under no obligation either to relinquish his right of judgment or to preserve silence as to what his judgments are. On the contrary, it is his duty to form an estimate of the characters whose actions he records, and to present that estimate to his readers. If he neglects to do this, he fails in the chief part of his undertaking. For, after all, the real use of studying the annals of past times is to acquire a knowledge of the men of past times. History, in its best aspect, is but biography on a large scale. The old idea of the past interpreting the future—of philosophy teaching by examples—is very much exploded. It sounds imposing; yet it contains little real meaning. Events so seldom repeat themselves, that the experience is at best of doubtful utility; and the philosophy is but the chance reflections of the writer. The philosophy of history in the hands of Sir A. Alison is but a sorry affair. History, like metaphysics, is daily becoming more esteemed for its true advantages,—the light which it throws on human nature—showing how powerfully it is modified by circumstances—what there is in it which no circumstances have strength to alter,—in a word, for the assistance which it lends to "the proper study of mankind." But in order to afford us this light, in order to teach us how to distinguish what is transitory from what is permanent in morality, historians must state their views of character, and display impartiality, not by concealing these views, but in forming them. Silence is not required, but caution before speaking. The charge of partiality can then only be justly brought, when, from a knowledge of the principles professed by any statesman, we can certainly foretell what will be the estimate formed of that statesman's character. A writer who always favours Whigs; a writer who always favours Tories; a writer who never has a good word for a Catholic; a writer who

* This peculiarity is well brought out in a very able and interesting article on "the Characteristics of Thucydides," by Professor Sellar of St. Andrews, which appeared in the last volume of the series of Oxford Essays.

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never shows a generous appreciation of Protestants;—all these are equally partial and misleading narrators of past events. But such leanings must be shown uniformly and deliberately. An historian may be keenly alive to demerits in some instances; he may be too blind to faults in others; he may sometimes even take up false conceptions altogether; but unless he can be proved to do so wilfully and on wrong grounds, he is not fairly open to the reproach of partiality.

If we adopt this test, to call Macaulay partial is absurd. With him, no man's politics are a protection or a cause of offence. If he speaks in language justly severe of Tories like Lauderdale and Sunderland, does he use language at all milder when he speaks of Whigs like Marlborough or Breadalbane? Are the Church and State virtues of Hyde less commended than the democratic virtues of Sidney? An unruly prater like Sir Patrick Hume, or a wild fanatic like Ferguson, meet with no more mercy than the apostate Melfort or the savage L'Estrange. Can it be maintained that he bears too hardly on the mixed character of Danby, or fails to mark the faults which marred the gentle nature of Shrewsbury? The accomplishments of Somers move him to no warmer admiration than the integrity of Nottingham; and he speaks in language of unfeigned reverence of the almost ideal perfection of Ken. The list might be indefinitely extended. In truth, had he been less partial, he would have been less blamed. The vehemence of his assailants, and the opposite quarters from which the assaults have come, afford the strongest proof that he has exposed the misrepresentations and offended the prejudices of all parties alike. Had he taken a side, writers on that side would have supported him. As it is, the zealots of every faction have been hot against him, while no passions have been roused in his defence. From the first he has been hated by the extremes of all sects, and this, in our opinion, constitutes his best claim upon our confidence. One innocent critic cannot get over his condemnation of the Whig Marlborough. We would suggest a very simple explanation. It is merely that he does not apportion his praise or blame according to political considerations.

Undoubtedly it behoved Lord Macaulay to form his views of character with fairness and with care, for he has not been slack in impressing those views on his readers. They are reiterated with a persistency and a strength of language only to be justified by a profound conviction of their truth. Marlborough can't be robbed at St. Albans, without our hearing how long and how bitterly he regretted his lost money; Edward Seymour never steps on the stage without his pride, his licentiousness, and his meanness being made present to our minds. All this we are free to think not merely defensible, but a necessary result of the life which Lord Macaulay has given to his narrative. His characters are not allegories of the virtues or the vices, but beings of flesh and blood, who act in a manner deserving of praise or blame, and who must be praised or blamed accordingly, if we are to breathe the atmosphere of a moral world at all. In the severity of his judgments we can find no good ground of complaint. The statesmen of the Revolution deserve no gentle handling. People are fond of crying out, in a sort of feeble wonderment, Can the men to whom England owes her freedom have really been such a set of knaves? Can an evil tree bring forth good fruit, etc.? Somewhat in the same way, Mr. Froude assumes that all the known virtues adorned Henry VIII., because the Reformation was hurried on by the matrimonial proceedings of that prince: an ingenious style of argument, according to the principle of which, wise commercial legislation will suffice to canonize Richard III., and the Edict of Nantes prove incontestably the ascetic morality of Henri Quatre.

The fact is that the men of that time were not good men,—in a sense, evil trees *did* bring forth good fruit. The task of governing England in the middle of the 17th century was the very thing which imparted to them a peculiar stamp. They were bred in times of trouble, their public life was a series of dark and dangerous intrigues, in which men shared at the risk of their necks. Statesmen who spend their existence in sudden and violent political changes, ending with a revolution and the overthrow of a dynasty, do not escape unmarked with the scars of battle. They will rarely be men of high principle and steadfast adherence to truth; but they will be subtle in counsel, prompt in action, regardless of pledges, skilful in deceit, keen-sighted to discern the signs of change, swift to avert its consequences by a timely treason. Such men were the statesmen of the times of the later Stuarts. Lord Macaulay has himself compared them to the French statesmen of the last generation, when the "same man was a servant of the Republic, of Bonaparte, of Louis XVIII., of Bonaparte again after his return from Elba, of Louis again after his return from Ghent." Lord Wharton, an old Puritan, in the debate on the Abjuration Bill, declared with amusing simplicity, that he had spent his political life in taking oaths

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which he had not kept, and that he would not be a party to laying any more such snares for the consciences of his neighbours. Human nature is always the same. In times far distant, the same causes produced the same mental phenomena among the statesmen of the Grecian Republics. The prescience and the treacheries of Themistocles may be compared to the prescience and the treacheries of Shaftesbury; Alcibiades, under whom the Athenians were never defeated by sea or land, and who so cruelly betrayed his country to her bitterest foe, presents a striking parallel to Marlborough, always victorious and never faithful.

How great soever may be the obligations which we owe to men of this stamp, to forgive them everything on that account is surely to forget a very old rule of morality. But, in truth, our debt to most of the leading statesmen of that period is very small. What they did was to serve James until James's tyranny began to reach themselves, to squabble for places under William when William ascended the throne, and as soon as they had got those places to commence intriguing with St. Germains. The lump was indeed leavened with material of a different sort. We owe the perfected success of the Revolution not to these men, but to the few conscientious Whigs who opposed James from the first, and the few upright Tories who served William faithfully when the kingly power had been transferred. We owe it to the zeal of such men as Burnet, to the integrity of such men as Nottingham, to the ability of Somers, to the serene intellect of Halifax. Above all, we owe it to the steadiness of the bulk of the people hating Popery and despotism, to the sagacity and tolerance of the Prince who won, to the bigotry, folly, and obstinacy of the Prince who lost. We owe little to a body of unscrupulous though experienced statesmen, who served and deserted both princes with an edifying impartiality, who condescended occasionally to guide the fortunes of the Revolution, and who did not betray the cause of the Revolution more than half a dozen times. It is not services like these which can win the gratitude of posterity for looser principles and not greater abilities than those of Fouché or Talleyrand. History has another duty to discharge than to whine over such offenders a plaintive "surely they can't have been so very bad." There is nothing praiseworthy in that affected amiability which persists in devising excuses for what is inexcusable, which shrinks from an expression of honest indignation. It has its origin in mere cowardice—in a reluctance to look at things as they really are. In every-day life nothing is more irritating or more tiresome; and it is too bad that the same folly should be imported into history. We greatly prefer the severity of Mr. Hallam to the overstrained lenity of Sir James Mackintosh.

We have mentioned Marlborough. Upon what grounds the manifold perfidies of this man have been defended, we are wholly at a loss to conceive. We would not try him by a high standard. We would give him the full benefit of the principle, that men are to be judged according to the sentiments of their own time. We think, indeed, that this principle is at present carrying us rather too far. In general, it is doubtless sound; but its indefinite extension may be dangerous. Circumstances produce an almost boundless effect upon opinion; but there is something permanent in morality over which circumstances have no effect. It is not good that the power of circumstance should be strengthened—that the changeful element in morality should be magnified, and the abiding element overlooked — that historians should suffer right and wrong to melt into each other, as if no real distinction could be maintained. The present style of "making allowance" savours too much of the easy indifference of Lucio. It tends to excuse all vice, and to obscure all virtue,—degrading the latter into an accident, exalting the former into a discreet, almost an unavoidable conformity to the spirit of the age. It is the duty of history to oppose that morality which forgives everything which contemporaries did not condemn, which would palliate the crimes of Cæsar Borgia, which can see nothing very revolting in the atrocities of the Black Prince at Limoges. But even if we strain this principle to the utmost, it cannot avail Marlborough. To him was assigned by his contemporaries an easy pre-eminence in treason over all the traitors who surrounded the last Stuart. In the bitterest extremity of despair, James declared that Churchill could never be forgiven. When he sought forgiveness by acts as base as those by which he had incurred hatred, even the desperate Jacobites would not trust him. In their greatest extremity they gave up the most feasible plot ever formed against William, simply because it had been suggested and was to be carried out by Marlborough. Yet the men who thus judged him did not know his worst. Among his compeers his character alone was darkened with military dishonour, as well as by political treason. Even Russell fought honestly at La Hogue. "Understand this," said he to Lloyd, "if I meet them I fight them; ay, even if his Majesty

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were on board." Marlborough fought too, when it was for his own interest, and he never failed to fight successfully, But when he wanted to "hedge" politically, he was restrained by no professional feeling. He was faithless to his colours as readily as to his promises. Desertion was as easy to him as lying. Even this was not all. Few soldiers, however depraved, will wish to bring about the defeat and death of their fellow-soldiers. Marlborough, without a pang, betrayed Talmash and eleven hundred Englishmen to destruction. The infamy of having revealed to James the intended attack on Brest exceeds, to our thinking, almost any infamy recorded in history. Lord Macaulay's estimate of Marlborough is much the same as that formed by a great writer of our day, who, though not a professed historian, is, we suspect, as shrewd a judge of the men of the past, as he has shown himself to be of the men of the present. So, too, with regard to Claverhouse, the similarity between the portraiture drawn by Macaulay and the portraiture drawn by Scott is very striking. The judgments passed upon the character are widely different; but the representations given of the character are very much the same. The historian considers no amount of courage and ability should win forgiveness for wilful oppression, for utter contempt for the rights, and utter callousness to the sufferings of others. The novelist, less judicial and more imaginative, forgets the bad citizen and the cruel oppressor in the distinguished soldier, and the faithful adherent to a fallen dynasty. Yet, as the historian admits the professional ability, so the novelist does not conceal the hardness of heart. Claverhouse paints his own character in a conversation with Morton during the celebrated ride from Drumshinnel to Edinburgh. The total want of conscience and the absolute indifference to human life which he there avows, is more than sufficient to justify any condemnation.

Every reader remembers the Malborough of Esmond; but some may have forgotten the following passage in the lecture on the first George:—

"We are not the historic muse, but her ladyship's attendant, tale-bearer, valet de chambre—for whom no man is a hero; and as yonder one steps from his carriage to the next handy conveyance, we take the number of the back; we look all over his stars, ribbons, embroidery; we think within ourselves, O you unfathomable schemer! O you warrior invincible! O you beautiful smiling Judas! What master would you not kiss or betray? What traitor's head, blackening on the spikes on yonder gate, ere hatched a tithe of the treason which has worked under your periwig?"

What have we to set against all this? That he was a man of surpassing ability, and very fond of his wife. As to the latter plea, we can only say that nothing else was to be expected from his singular prudence. It was even more important to be on good terms with his imperious spouse, than with the Dutch deputies. But, though his wife may have been beholden to him for his love and obedience, we cannot see that his country was. Let us cheerfully award him all praise as a complaisant husband. Yet meditations on the domestic happiness of Duchess Sarah would have afforded but insufficient consolation to the dying Talmash. This plea is simply childish, but the former opens up a wide subject. As an administrator, Marlborough might have rivalled Richelieu; as a warrior, he excelled Condé. Are all his crimes to be, on that account, forgiven? Is history thus to make intellect her god? The question is not unworthy of a little attention.

Our most popular living historian has announced the doctrine that force of character covers all sins. Completed success requires unreserved honour; the energy which deserves, though it may fail to command success, obtains respectful admiration. A man who achieved the heights of Cromwell can have committed no fault; our sympathies are asked even for the imperfect career of Mirabeau. The greatest work of this new philosophy has been the glorification of Frederic Wilhelm. When that amiable monarch deserts his allies in a peculiarly blackguard manner, he is described as "advancing in circuits spirally, with his own reasonable private aim sun-clear to him all the time." When he shoots the companion of his son's flight, and is hardly restrained, by the outcry of all Europe, from shooting his son, we are told that we are not yet sufficiently enlightened to pass a judgment on the proceeding. So, too, when Cromwell sullies his fame by the butcheries of Wexford and Drogheda, he is "precipitated out of eternities," and "bathed in eternal splendours;" and we are ordered to suspend our opinion of Mirabeau until some new moralities have been revealed to us, those which we have at present being insufficient for the purpose. Among Mr. Carlyle's imitators, this tendency assumes shapes yet more fantastic. It lowers history into advocacy in the hands of Mr. Froude; it elevates the use of red paint by Queen Elizabeth into the dignity of a duty in the hands of Mr. Kingsley; it drives Mr. Motley into unworthy sophistry in the attempt to extenuate the equivocations by which William the Silent dimmed

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his uprightness, that he might win the daughter of the Elector Maurice. This is not merely ridiculous, it is positively pernicious. It deprives us of any standard whereby to judge human actions. It is of no great moment what opinions we may form of historical characters; but it is of the greatest moment that our ideas of right and wrong should not be confused. As the new moralities necessary to justify Mr. Carlyle's strange enthusiasms are not likely to be speedily made manifest, we may as well have the old moralities, which have so long served us, left undisturbed. To this Lord Macaulay's method presents a marked contrast. He never, indeed, fails to make due allowance for men endowed with dangerous gifts, or tried by severe temptations. He never bears harshly on crimes committed, not from sordid or unworthy motives, but in pursuit of a great public end, and under the influence of extreme or ill regulated zeal for the public interests. No writer has done more to win for Cromwell his proper place in the regards of Englishmen. Carlyle, in his "Hero-worship," declares that "Cromwell is yet on the gibbet, and finds no hearty apologist anywhere." A "hearty apologist," in the Carlylian sense, he certainly had not found. But twenty years before Carlyle's lecture was delivered, Macaulay had sketched a flattering portrait of Cromwell, in the dialogue between Cowley and Milton; and eight years later, in his essay on Hallam, he filled up this sketch into the most brilliant and most truthful likeness of the great usurper which can be found in the language. But, on the other hand, he does not disregard the plain rules of morality which are understood by plain men. Rigid moralists will pronounce him even too generous in his estimate of Machiavelli; too much inclined to what he calls the doctrine of set-off in his accounts of Clive and Hastings. Yet he never supports the teaching of "the Prince," because the author of the Prince suffered exile, torture, and degradation, for the cause of his country's freedom; he does not palliate forgery, because forgery was committed by the conqueror of Bengal; he does not excuse cruelty and robbery, because there was no extreme of the one or the other which Hastings was not prepared to perpetrate for the sake of the Indian revenue. We verily believe, that had Mr. Carlyle written the history of India he would have made out that for a British soldier to be guilty of the crime which deceived Omichund, was merely "to advance spirally with his own aim sun-clear in view;" that the horrors of Rohilcund, and the spoliation of the princesses of Oude were but measures of energetic administration, easily to be justified by the principles of the new morality. Such indiscreet advocacy is twice mischievous—evil in its effect upon readers, unjust towards those whom it endeavours to defend. It excites a spirit of antagonism. A determination on the part of a writer to see no evil will produce a tendency on the part of readers to see evils which do not really exist. We feel justly irritated when Mr. Carlyle denies that we can worthily admire Cromwell, so long as we condemn the execution of Charles; it is hard that Mr. Froude should forbid us to feel akin with the gay and gallant youth of Henry, unless we also sympathize with his cruel and imperious old age. Not even in defence of William is Macaulay thus indiscriminating. He does not excuse the massacre of Glencoe on the ground which would certainly have been occupied by the author of the Latter-day pamphlets, that the Macdonalds were a pack of unruly thieves. He argues that William was kept in ignorance of the real design: that is a question of fact, as to which he may or may not be mistaken. But he never palters with right or wrong in the attempt to blind us as to the nature of the deed; he does not hesitate to denounce as a grave crime the forgiveness which William, upon this as on another great occasion, extended to his guilty servants. It is thus that history should be written, if history is to instruct and to elevate.

Among the many excellencies which have combined to render Lord Macaulay, on the whole, the most popular writer of the day, his style is not the least deserving of attention. It is curious to remark how soon that style was formed, and how little it ever changed. His early writings, indeed, are, as he himself admits, overlaid with a gaudy ornament which his mature taste rejected. The ornate essay on Milton contrasts strangely with the purity of the essay on Pitt. But the marked characteristics of the style—the short sentences, the absence of pronouns, the use of antitheses—remained always the same. The last of these peculiarities has been blamed, as tending to mislead. We question very much whether, in the hands of Macaulay, it ever misled anybody. Antitheses are pernicious, either when they are so forced as to throw no light on the subject, or when they are so broadly expressed as to convey an erroneous view. As employed by Macaulay, they are guarded from both evils. He never employs them vaguely, from a mere love of balancing sentences; and he never fails so to limit them as to remove all danger of

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their carrying the reader too far. They are useful as stimulants. By the powerful flow of his narrative, readers are apt to be borne along unthinkingly. An antithesis occasionally introduced, breaks the fascination, and rouses the attention which had been charmed into luxurious rest. They are to him what uncouth phraseologies and strange constructions are to Carlyle. The use of them is undoubtedly an artifice; but it is a very agreeable artifice, and can only mislead those who are determined to be misled in order to be censorious. But many, even among warm admirers, feel that the style is pitched in too high a key. Majestic as it is, it wants repose. The finest passages, they say, lose much from a want of relief. To a certain extent the objection is true. In varying beauty, Lord Macaulay's style is not equal to that of Mr. Froude, while it is far short of the magic with which Mr. Newman's language rises and falls, seemingly without effort, as if in necessary harmony with the changing theme. But in this Mr. Newman is, so far as we know, absolutely unrivalled; and Mr. Froude has followed, though at a distance, the steps of the master. Like the goblin page in the Minstrel's Lay, he has had one hasty glance into the mystic book, and learned some imperfect knowledge of the spell. On the other hand, if we compare Macaulay with Gibbon, the result is different. A volume of Gibbon positively fatigues the reader; while it would take a good many volumes of Macaulay to communicate any feeling of weariness. In this particular, Macaulay is to Gibbon as Thucydides is to Tacitus. The historian of Greece, and the historian of England, are perhaps deficient in the art of telling a simple story in simple words; but both have far more of this art than the historian of the Empire, or the historian of the Decline and Fall.

Beyond doubt, one of the greatest merits of Lord Macaulay's style was its clearness. It has all the lucidity of Paley, with a brilliancy which Paley never reached. He can give expression to exact thinking, or conduct subtle argument in a manner as easy to follow as the simplest narrative. In his disquisition on the nature of the Papacy in the review of Ranke, in his refutation of Mr. Gladstone's Church and State crotchets, and in the papers on the Utilitarian Theory, there is not a sentence hard to be understood. Some very profound people object to this, but we confess to a weakness for comprehending what we read. There is a great distinction between thought, and the expression of thought. It is not desirable that the thought should always be obvious and easy, but it is impossible that the expression of it can be too clear. There must be no obscurity in the medium. The matter of the sentence may be difficult, but that is no reason why the form should be slovenly. No one, we suppose, would call Berkeley a shallow thinker; and yet no thinker ever conveyed his thoughts more distinctly to his readers. When any writer's language becomes cloudy, the reason simply is, that the ideas of which it is the vehicle are vague. To attain this clearness, Lord Macaulay does not discard ornament, and content himself with inelegant simplicity. On the contrary, "brilliant" is the epithet which rises to the lips of every one in speaking of his style. He presents a strange contrast to the historian of the middle ages. His lucid narrative contrasts with Mr. Hallam's trick of hinting at a fact, of implying what he should have clearly told; his eloquence contrasts with Mr. Hallam's abrupt and austere judgments; his fervour contrasts with Mr. Hallam's total want of enthusiasm. In a question of popularity, he is to Mr. Hallam what Mr. Hallam is to Brady or Carte. His writings cannot fail to recall the common remark, that history is like oratory. That poetic faculty which is the highest reach of the imagination he wanted. Even the vigorous and stirring "Lays" do not establish a claim to rank as a poet. But the imagination of the orator—a thing quite distinct from the knack of the debater, and which may be manifested in writing as well as in speaking—was his in large measure. A like power, and a greater deficiency, may be remarked in Mr. Gladstone. That gentleman's want of poetic feeling, indeed, is so extreme as to excite astonishment. It seems impossible in any man of ordinary cultivation. Macaulay, on the other hand, approached the heights of poetry. He could never have written those wonderful volumes in which Homer is almost made prosaic, could never have compared Athene to the electric telegraph. But the oratorical fervour of the great speaker often reminds us of the oratorical fervour of the great writer. No man ever possessed to a greater degree than Lord Macaulay the real secret of an orator,—the power to enter into, and to rouse at will, the emotions which sway masses of mankind. Rhetorical, in the proper sense of the word, he was not. The distinction is not easy to give exactly; but perhaps we may find it in this, that the strength of the orator lies in power and sincerity; while the rhetorician is an artist only, bent on temporary success, with or without convictions, as the case may be. By the former spirit Macaulay was always

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actuated; to the latter he was always a stranger. Some wonderful critics have indeed declared, that, wanting heart himself, he never reached the hearts of others—that he coloured his characters from a mere love of effective contrasts, heedless of the truth of his portraits. Astonished silence is the only answer to such criticism as this. The heart of the man, even in the cool judgment of Mr. Thackeray, beats in every sentence he has written. He is persuaded, some may think too firmly persuaded, of the rectitude of his views. His strong beliefs, and his warm, almost passionate expression of them, have done not a little towards his unparalleled popularity. It is by the power of his enthusiasm alone that he rises almost into the regions of poetry when he tells of Cromwell's charge at Naseby, or the fury of the Huguenots who followed the white plume at Ivry.

We have already compared Macaulay to Thucydides. He resembles the Greek in yet another point—his knowledge of what he sometimes calls the laws of historical perspective. No historian can be exhaustive. He cannot tell the whole truth,—he must content himself with conveying an impression of it. "The perfect historian," says the essay on History, "is he in whose work the character and spirit of an age is exhibited in miniature." But to accomplish this requires the utmost discretion in selecting leading points, and in rejecting what is incidental. Thucydides had this gift in perfection, and Macaulay does not fall short of him. Both writers are sometimes minute, and sometimes general. Many things they narrate in the fullest detail, for many others a cursory notice is sufficient; yet they are never prolix, and never jejune. It is this power, together with a faculty of orderly arrangement, which makes Lord Macaulay's narrative take such a hold on the mind. His changes of scene are managed with such method, that we are never confused; and he assigns to each part so exactly its due share of consideration, that we cannot fail to apprehend distinctly the proportions of the whole. All the innumerable touches which give reality never bewilder, never obscure the clearness and consecutiveness of the record.

An historian, to be really great, must possess some of the qualities of a great dramatist. The highest condition of genius—the creative faculty—may be wanting. But although he need not create, he must be endowed with that secondary power of the imagination, which disposes and arranges existing materials so as to animate them with life. "It would be a great thing," wrote Niebuhr, "if I could make the Romans stand before my readers, distinct, intelligible, familiar as contemporaries, living and moving." What Niebuhr longed to do, Macaulay has been able to accomplish. His characters live and move before us. His earliest writings show a constant endeavour to realize and to represent the scenes and the actors of other times. In the fragment of a Roman tale, and the dialogue between Milton and Cowley, we have the first glimpses of that power which drew the vivid picture of the "club" in the essay on Johnson, and which has given to these four volumes of history an interest surpassing all but the most perfect triumphs of dramatic art. Not a few worthy people, indeed, regard this interest with a vague alarm. They consider it, as Plato long ago considered the fact, "as something sweet, and wonderful, and divine;" but they accord it no hearty welcome; they had rather crown it with a crown of doubtful honour, and send it away into another country. They don't understand how a history can be as entertaining as a novel. The phenomenon is strange: it frightens them; and, not without some irritation, they reject it as an imposture. In their judgment, the historian, like the philosopher, must have "the dry light, unmingled with any tincture of the affections." He must be a passionless machine, and his production must have the unexciting merits of an Almanack. As, in social intercourse, many persons get credit for sincerity by being disagreeable, so, according to this canon, history must win a reputation for trustworthiness by being dull. It is impossible to convince any who hold this belief—whose requisition from an historian is, *surtout point de zèle.* We can only wonder at the peculiarity of their taste, and leave them, without argument, to their preference of the frigid virtues of Rollin over characters drawn with the accuracy of Clarendon, and sustained with a force and consistency not unworthy of Scott. In this respect Macaulay has rivalled Tacitus. The portrait of William is deserving to be placed beside the portrait of Tiberius. These historians possessed the power of giving individuality to their characters in a manner only surpassed by the greatest masters of fiction.

It has been urged with more plausibility, that this attraction is obtained by violations of human nature,—that, in order to secure it, contrasts are worked out with a sharpness which results in the delineations not of possible human beings, but of grotesque and unnatural monsters. It is difficult to determine what inconsistencies in men's charac-

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ters transcend belief. Sir Walter Scott has been accused of exceeding probability in his attempt to reproduce in Buckingham the original of Zimri. But has Macaulay exceeded it in the instances most commonly brought against him—Bacon and Marlborough? The grounds of the charge are curious. Because Marlborough married a woman without money, therefore he was not avaricious; because he always loved his wife, therefore he was not cold-hearted. As if conflict of passions was a thing unknown; as if calm and unimpassionable natures were not the chosen abiding-places of one enduring emotion. Again, because a knot of young gentlemen at Cambridge, never much exposed to the seductions of place and power, have found intellectual culture strengthen their unassailed virtue, therefore Bacon, in his eager quest after the world's prizes, could never have deserted Essex or fawned on Buckingham. As if the long history of human frailty had never been written,—as if temptation had never lured men from rectitude,—as if intellect had never stooped to sin.

Such criticism refuses to see any incongruities, will not allow of their existence. It prefers writers like the later classical historians, whose characters are impersonations of the virtues and the vices, acting always after their kind. It argues after the fashion of the gentle Cowper, who never would believe that Hastings had hanged Nuncomar, because Hastings had been a good-natured boy at Westminster. But, in truth, it is founded on a total mistake. We cannot arrive, as it were, at the centres of men's dispositions, from which all their thoughts and actions will radiate naturally. Characters are not circles. It is not thus that the great masters have portrayed human nature. Shakspere's men and women do not act in unvarying obedience to any ruling passion; they abound in inconsistencies, such as the existence of a love for Ophelia in the heart of the depraved and guilty Queen. If this be true in the world of fiction, it is much more true in the world of reality. For the best artists obey a canon of propriety which forbids them to run into extremes. Inconsistencies and incongruities they indeed give us; but lest they shock by a too great improbability, they soften what they know to exist. They wisely avoid what is so extraordinary as to seem unnatural, though they may be persuaded of its truth, as the discreet painter does not seek to represent startling and uncommon effects of sea or sky, even such as he may have himself beheld. No such privilege is accorded to the historian. He may not select or tone down. He is but a copyist, and must represent faithfully whatever nature brings before him. It is not his business to make nature natural—to reconcile what is with our ideas of what ought to be. Hence his representations are often strange and inexplicable. After all that has been written, even by such a thinker as Carlyle, can any one say that he comprehends men like Mahomet or Cromwell? The inconsistencies and contradictions of their lives lie before us; but we cannot, save by an arbitrary exercise of fancy, ascribe them to a common origin. They are to us enigmas; probably they were enigmas to themselves. To go no further than the pages before us, can anything be conceived more unaccountable than the proceedings of Rochester in the intrigue which dismissed Catherine Sedley from the palace? We have a statesman who, in addition to the vices of drinking and swearing, approves himself an adept in the part of a procurer, and who employs the agency of his own wife in order to divert the jealousy of the Queen in the direction of an innocent lady. Yet this very man, in the midst of such an intrigue, retires to his closet and composes a religious meditation so fervent and so devout that it would not have misbecome the lips of Ken. Hyocrisy cannot be imputed, for his prayers and his penitence were offered up in secret, and were known to no man till the grave had closed over him for more than a century. The historian may well add, "So much is history stranger than fiction; and so true it is, that nature has caprices which art dares not imitate." Attempts to explain such things are vain. Man's analysis, like the syllogism, is all unequal to the subtilty of nature.

A strong dramatic tendency has one danger,—it leads to exaggeration. The persons of the drama are so grouped, their actions are so narrated, their expressions so introduced, as to bring out peculiarities in the strongest light. Great as is the attraction bestowed by this style of writing, it may give to some traits of character an undue prominence over others. Yet it may be doubted whether this leads to essential error. The misrepresentation is in form rather than in fact. Macaulay has supplied a half-defence of the method in his essay on Machiavelli: "The best portraits," he says, "are perhaps those in which there is a slight mixture of caricature; and we are not certain that the best histories are not those in which a little of the exaggeration of fictitious narrative is judiciously employed. Something is lost in accuracy; but much is gained in effect. The fainter lines are neglected; but the great characteristic features are im-

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printed on the mind for ever." The theory is rather a dangerous one, but we suspect it is right in the main. Attention is arrested by art in disposition, fertility of illustration, and force of language. Taken literally, these may express more than the real state of matters, but a slight effort of reason will make the truth apparent. The question of accuracy, however, has been already discussed. We would only now ask those who complain of Macaulay's deceptive art this one question: Have they themselves been ever really misled by it, or have they represented it as misleading merely because such a charge seemed a plausible objection to an historian whose principles they disliked? If the charm employed has been in truth so potent and so subtle, it is somewhat odd that so many should have escaped its action. As to the question of effect there can be no dispute. We know his characters, as we know the men and women with whom we live. Danby, Halifax, Shaftesbury, Marlborough, William, can never be forgotten. The features of even his secondary personages are "impressed on the mind for ever."

If, going beyond the four volumes of the History, we take the series of Historical Essays into consideration, we shall find ourselves justified in calling Lord Macaulay an historian of England in a very wide sense. Of the feudal days, indeed, he tells us little; but in his half dozen essays he has so illustrated critical periods of our history as to convey general views of surprising accuracy. Any dilligent student of those papers, and of the History, will have no slight acquaintance with at least the later acts of that great drama, the growth of the English Constitution. He will be able to give no superficial answer to the question, What has made England what England is? how comes it that her destinies have been so immeasurably happier than those of nations whose political condition she at no very distant date nearly resembled? how has it been her lot alone to "combine, beyond all example and all hope, the blessings of liberty with the blessings of order," escaping monarchical tyranny on the one hand, and the not less oppressive tyranny of democracy on the other? Such an enquiry must be interesting to students of all countries, and assuredly none can be more worthy the attention of Englishmen. There are many now-a-days who, imagining themselves wiser than their neighbours, deem such matters of small account, and look down on them as surface questions. To such shallow thinkers the invigorating influences of an honest patriotism must be ever unknown. They affect to despise the noble science of patriotism; they merely show that they cannot understand it. If they would use their eyes and look on what the nations are even now enduring all around them, they might learn to appreciate more justly what we owe to the founders of English liberty. "Laws themselves," says Carlyle truly enough, "political institutions. are not our life; but only the house in which our life is led; nay, but the bare walls of the house." Yet surely the house is somewhat; and we do well to take good heed that the walls be strong. If the tenement is insecure, the life which it shelters will be uncertain and full of danger. A free constitution is not valuable for itself alone, but for the security, the peace, the justice, and the individual happiness which only a free constitution can guarantee; and for the knowledge, the industry, and the elegant cultivation which a free constitution can best foster. To learn how this priceless possession has been acquired, is the surest way to learn how it may be preserved. "To us," says the historian, "nothing is so interesting and delightful as to contemplate the steps by which the England of the Domesday Book, the England of the Curfew and the Forest laws, the England of crusaders, monks, schoolmen, astrologers, serfs, outlaws, became the England which we know and love, the classic ground of liberty and philosophy, the school of all knowledge, the mart of all trade. . . . The history of England is the history of this great change in the moral, intellectual, and physical state of the inhabitants of our own island." We never could understand how the author who could thus feel and thus write should have been so bitterly disliked by Conservatives. Surely no history, as a whole, was ever conceived in a more truly Conservative spirit. We would put Macaulay into the hands of every one whom we desired to educate in a healthy pride of race. No writer ever taught more plainly that important though hard lesson, the rational and equitable relation of the various classes of society towards each other; ever inculcated more strongly an intelligent love of country, an enlightened understanding of the political privileges we enjoy. No man ever obeyed better the injunction of the poet—

> "Love thou thy land with love far brought
> From out the storied past."

"He loved England as an Athenian loved the city of the violet crown, as a Roman loved the city of the seven hills." He seems to cherish the devotion of a soldier for the emblem of his country's greatness—

> "The glorious SEMPER EADEM; the banner of our pride."

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His heart is stirred when he but alludes to the grand or pathetic scenes in English story—Elizabeth at Tilbury, the agony and relief of Derry; the dying prayer of Sidney, Russell's last parting from his wife; and we, do not we thrill with a proud emotion as we read? If Englishmen would have their patriotism deeply rooted; if they would be made assured that the history of their own land is rich in nobler associations, and bright with the light of purer virtue, than the vaunted records of Greece or Rome; if they would learn reverence for the laws which have been handed down, would acquire firmness to preserve, or "patient force" to change them, let them study every fragment which has been left by the most fervent annalist of England. And, as he gloried in his country's past, so he was pleased with her present, and hopeful of her future. The tendency of our popular writers is rather the other way. There are among us many prophets of evil, of whom the foremost is Mr. Carlyle. To him, as to Heinrich Heine, "everything seems pushed uneven." His eyes are sick for the sight which they see. When he looks abroad, he beholds not a prosperous and happy nation; but everywhere folly, mammon worship, and misery — an aristocracy which cannot lead, a grubbing middle-class, a depressed and degraded people under all. Lesser lights cant like their leader, though in feebler tones.

In a late number of *Macmillan's Magazine*, Mr. Maurice tells his readers to discard the cheerfulness of Macaulay, exhorting them "not to affect content with all around them, for they feel discontent." Surely this is to be sad from mere wantonness. It is true, of course, that

> "We look before and after,
> And pine for what is not."

But is this more true of us than it would have been of all generations of men who have passed away, than it will be of all generations of men who are to come? The admonition to "clear the mind of cant" might be well retorted. A close companion to this mourning over the present is a habit of triumphing in some fancied past, which the *Times* has happily called "the high-flying style of writing history." Certain writers have a favourite period during which all men were of a loftier stature than common, or, to use the approved expression, "walked in the light of an idea." Spanish galleons were plundered only from hatred of the Spanish religion; Elizabeth was approached with a servility and adulation which would have revolted Louis XIV., solely because she is the bulwark of the Protestant faith; and, accordingly, the pious sailors and courtiers are duly exalted above the men of our degenerate days. Lord Macaulay has avoided these kindred errors. He can appreciate past times without disparaging his own. He can reverence Hampden and Somers without sneering at Fox or Grey; he does not see that the nobles who deserted Caroline of Brunswick at the bidding of George IV. were more servile than the nobles who found Anne Boleyn guilty, and who voted for cutting off Cromwell's head without a trial, at the bidding of Henry; nor can he understand how men who were half-way between Protestant and Papist under Henry, good Catholics under Mary, and good Protestants under Elizabeth, were more actuated by zeal for religion than a generation which has sent missionaries over all the world, and which has raised self-supporting churches in greater numbers than the numbers of the Establishment. Thinking thus of his own day, he contemplated the future with a rational hope. He had passed through times which were not always times of pleasantness; he had shared in struggles which were no child's play; yet he never lost faith in the destinies of England. He has told us the grounds of this faith in his noble address at Glasgow: "Ever since I began to make observations on the state of my country, I have been seeing nothing but growth, and hearing of nothing but decay." In the annals of England he read a long story of advance and improvement, and he never discovered any reason to believe that the advance would be soon arrested,—that the improvement would speedily cease. The New Zealander may come at last; but his celebrated sketch will not be taken at an early date. We prefer, we own, the hopeful creed. Indeed, we confess to regarding with peculiar aversion these unexplained denunciations of our present condition. They owe, too frequently, their warmth, if not their origin, to an agreeable feeling in the mind of the denunciator, that his deeper insight proves him wiser and better than his fellows. They can do no possible good, for they are never so definite as to instruct. If we must rail at the world, let us do so, with Jacques, in good set terms—in language which can be understood. Till these dwellers in gloom tell us distinctly what is wrong and how to mend it, we shall take leave to consider cheerful confidence quite as rational as vague alarm, and a great deal more pleasant.

As a writer of history, Lord Macaulay possessed a great advantage in the fact that he had lived history. Familiarity with the conduct of affairs imparts a great power

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in the narration of them. Macaulay, indeed, never scaled the topmost heights of Olympus; and it is sad to think that the claims of a second-rate Cabinet office should have hindered the completion of the work of his life. But, though we may regret the years devoted to such duties as the duties of Paymaster of the Forces, we cannot regret any time spent in Parliament, or in intercourse with leading statesmen. The greatest historians of antiquity were conversant with the political world. The most brilliant historians of France owe much of their attractiveness to the same cause. The want of this advantage gives a deadness to the most profound historians of Germany. Gibbon tells us that the "eight years he sat in Parliament were a school of civil prudence, the first and most essential virtue of an historian." In the fragments of Fox and Sir James Mackintosh, questions of state policy are handled with an ease and freedom for which we look vainly in the pages of Lingard or Hume. Mr. Grote's unsuccessful endeavours to bestow the ballot on the people of England brought him a valuable if indirect return when he came to discuss the reforms of Cleisthenes. It is not good that men who aspire to treat themes of great concernment should live apart from the spheres in it. Such themes are agitated, estranged within a little circle of admirers. Some acquaintance with public life might have shaken Mr. Carlyle's preference for despotic rule; a little experience in drawing up statutes might have disturbed Mr. Froude's belief in the reliability of preambles as historical authorities.

It is worthy of remark how little Lord Macaulay's opinions varied throughout life. Even his judgments of character remained unaltered. The Bunyan and the Johnson of 1830 reappear without change in the Encyclopædia Essays of 1854–56. On disputed points of English history, on great questions of government, the same uniformity is preserved. As youth did not hurry him into extremes, so age did not frighten him into reaction. In the dialogue between Milton and Cowley we have the same estimate of the Great Rebellion, and the actors in it, as in the introductory chapter of the History. The solution of the franchise difficulty proposed in the review of Mitford's Greece is maintained in the articles on the Utilitarian Controversy, and was expressed at the very last in the celebrated letter on the character of Jefferson. Nor can it be said that his opinions, though formed early, show any traces of being formed hastily. The right of the people to the franchise has of late been much debated; but we have improved nothing upon the doctrine, that the government of a community should be entrusted only to the educated and enlightened portion of it. From that doctrine may our statesmen never swerve, either from a restless craving for self-advancement, or from an abject deference to the passions of the crowd. That great party to which Macaulay on his entrance into life elected to belong, commanded his adherence till the close. If there be any prudence in moderation, if there be any wisdom in timely reform, if veneration for the past has any beauty, if a true understanding of the present affords any safety, if, in a word, there be any glory in Whiggery, Macaulay was the man to set it forth. His historical mind was naturally attached to that political creed which alone can trace its historical development, which alone can boast great historical associations. He was, in the best sense of the word, a thorough party-man. He understood, what now-a-days so few appear to understand, that a member of a representative body must often yield on some point to the opinions of the majority of those with whom he generally agrees, if government is to be carried on at all. He never consented to sacrifice what he considered a vital question; but, on the other hand, he knew that capricious isolation is not statesmanship. His life was a protest, and his writings abound in warnings against that vain love of independent action which afflicts a country with a succession of feeble administrations, and which brings about a state of confusion and weakness such as no lover of representative institutions can contemplate without anxiety. He was the last of a long series of eminent Englishmen, including such names as the names of Addison, Burke, and Mackintosh, whose allegiance has been the chiefest honour of the Whig party, who have served their country in public life, but have rendered to their country, and to mankind, services far more valuable and more enduring by the labours of their retirement.

It has been often remarked that no great power of humour, or play of irony, can be discovered in Macaulay's writings. His wit, on the other hand, is brilliant; and of the sarcastic tone he was a master. There is considerable fun in the remarks on Dr. Nares' Life of Burleigh, and in the allusions to "the Sweet Queen" in the article on Madame D'Arblay. The reviews of Montgomery's Poems, and of Croker's edition of Johnson, could hardly have been more biting; and for a combination of sarcasm and crushing invective, we hardly know where the Sketch of Barere can find a parallel. But he was not a humorist. On this subject a great deal

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of cant is talked now-a-days. "A man's humour," says the author of *Friends in Council*, "is the deepest part of his nature." This saying, like most sayings which strive to be very fine, may be true or false according as it is explained. If it mean that the humour of a character shows much of the real nature of that character,—that a universal play of "any man in his own humour" would tell us not a little of men's dispositions, then it may be true. But, if it mean that a man of humours is a deeper or a clearer thinker than a man without them, then we suspect it is false. A humorist sees, perhaps, more than other people, but he does not see with greater distinctness or greater truth. Humour is like the ointment of the dervise in the Eastern tale: if partially applied, it reveals many hidden treasures; but if it cover both eyes, the whole mental vision is darkened. Men ardent in the search of truth are impatient of its whims and vagaries. With regard to irony the case is much the same. As an intellectual art, irony is a sort of yielding in order to gain at last, —valuable as a weapon of controversy, of no avail in the discovery of truth. Even as wielded by its greatest master, it affords a victory over an opponent, but it does not advance an investigation. In those dialogues in which Socrates employs it most, nothing strikes the reader so forcibly as the reflection that no progress is ever made. And it is precisely when Socrates desires to make progress, to teach something real, to inculcate some great lesson, that the ironical tone disappears. It then gives place to earnest reasonings, or to the sublimity of his gorgeous myths. As a habit of the moral nature, irony is even more questionable. It is often an affectation; and even when unconscious and sincere, it repels the generality. Plain men regard it as an impertinence; zealous men regard it as an unwarrantable concealment, or as a cowardly reluctance to meet questions fairly. For an historian, especially, in whom simplicity of view is essential, humour and irony alike are dangerous and misleading gifts. They may impart a charm, but it is a charm which will lure astray. An ingenious critic in the *Saturday Review* has summed up Lord Macaulay's imperfections by saying, that he wanted "the fitful, reserved, and haughty temperament which characterizes the highest order of genius." A more absurd sentence was never written. Every one of the qualities here so placidly ascribed to the highest natures is a weakness. Fitfulness marks a want of strength and a want of balance; reserve arises from a fear lest frankness should betray deficiencies; and haughtiness is a sign simply of a very unamiable feeling of superiority to others, often cherished by merely clever men, but to which genius is uniformly a stranger. We can readily believe that these unpleasant qualities characterize the highest as well as the lowest order of Saturday Reviewers; but we shall be slow to think that they existed in "my gentle Shakspere," or that they marred the manliness of Sir Walter Scott. They are to be found only in second-rate men who wish to be esteemed geniuses, and when so found, are very heartily and very justly disliked by all mortals.

Some historians, aware that great things have been done in their own day, write of what they have seen and known. Among the historians of the past, some write because they are possessed by an idea which they long to enforce, as Hume by his love for the Stuarts, Thierry by his theories of race. Others again, conscious of literary power, devote that power to history because history is a popular study, and elect to write of a period because that period seems picturesque, to celebrate a character because that character seems imposing. Possibly the period they determine upon may be unsuited to their powers; the character they would exalt may be unworthy; but their choice is made, and by that choice they must abide. Possibly experience may show that they have no aptitude for historical investigation, no faculty of discerning character, no power of weighing evidence; but the discovery comes to late, and these defects are supplied by wayward opinions and arbitrary judgments. To such an origin we may, without unfairness, ascribe the "historic fancies" of Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Froude. But the true historian of past times is he who selects some epoch because long familiarity has made that epoch present to him as his own. He does not read that he may write; he writes because he has read. So only will he be able to rival the excellencies of an historian who writes of his own times. Study will have given almost as intimate an acquaintance with his subject; and his narrative will therefore be almost as vivid and as truthful. It was in this way that knowledge forced authorship on Gibbon. He had been long conversant with his great theme before. "At Rome, on the 15th of October 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the barefooted friars were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter, the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to my mind." So too the history of England was no novel subject to Macaulay. It had been his favourite study from boyhood. The torment devised for him by Sydney Smith was, that he should constantly hear people making

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false statements about the reign of Queen Anne, without being able to set them right. Much as he knew about many things, he knew most, and cared most, about the annals of his country. We may learn some day when the idea of writing them first took possession of his mind. Unhappily, though we may have a companion to the scene at Rome, we shall never have a companion to that passage in which Gibbon describes a yet happier moment of his life, when "on the day, or rather night, of the 27th of June 1787, between the hours of eleven and twelve, I wrote the last lines of the last page in a summer-house in my garden." The "establishment of fame" has been indeed accomplished even by the fragment; but we have had a painful illustration of the truth of the reflection which spread "a sober melancholy" over the mind of Gibbon—the reflection that "whatsoever might be the future date of the history, the life of the historian must be short and precarious."

In spite of the incompleteness of his work, the name of Macaulay will have no lowly place even in the long roll of English worthies. His labours in literature have done more to spread abroad a true understanding of English history than those of any English writer, and his conduct in political life need not fear comparison with the most upright of English statesmen. It is perhaps too much to hope that another such historian will appear to tell of the past greatness of England; but we may surely entertain the expectation, that the men to whom England's future may be confided in times of trouble will have something of the masculine sense, the lofty love of truth, the unswerving adherence to principle, which ennobled the nature of Lord Macaulay.

Art. VII.—1. *The Biglow Papers.* By James Russell Lowell. London: Trübner. 1859.
2. *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.* By Oliver Wendell Holmes. Edinburgh: Strahan. 1859.
3. *The Professor at the Breakfast Table.* By Oliver Wendell Holmes. Edinburgh; Strahan. 1859.
4. *Mosses from an Old Manse.* By Nathaniel Hawthorne. London: Routledge. 1856.
5. *Poems.* By R. W. Emerson. Boston: Munroe and Co. 1847.
6. *Dred.* By Harriet Beecher Stowe. London: Low and Son, 1856.
7. *The Minister's Wooing.* By Harriet Beecher Stowe. London; Low and Son. 1859.
8. *Nature and Human Nature.* By the Author of "Sam Slick." London: Hurst and Blackett. 1859.
9. *Wise Saws and Modern Instances.* By the Author of "Sam Slick." London: Hurst and Blackett. 1859.
10. *The Old Judge, etc.* By the Author of "Sam Slick." London: Hurst and Blackett. 1859.
11. *The Season Ticket.* London: Bentley. 1859.
12. *Fisher's River Scenes and Characters.* By "Skit, who was raised thar." London, Low and Son. 1859.
13. *Tales from the Norse.* Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1859.

The influence of healthy Wit and Humour is a benign one, if it comes to us at times, and kindly makes us forget sad thoughts and cankering cares; makes the oldest feel young and fresh, and turns the wrinkles of our sorrow into ripples of laughter. There have been great and wise men who have so felt the sins and sorrows of their kind as an individual burthen — Dante, for example, whose lips were seldom seen to smile—and so they have walked our world very sadly, with no eye for the "gayest, happiest attitude of things," no heart to rejoice in it. But not all great and good men have been mirthless. Shakspere, who mirrored our whole humanity, did not leave the laugh out of its reflected face. He tells us "your merry heart goes all the day," and he knew how much the merry heart may have to carry. "We may well be refreshed," says Jeremy Taylor, "by a clean and brisk discourse, as by the air of Campanian wines, and our faces and our heads may well be anointed and look pleasant with wit, as with the fat of the Balsam tree." One man will be struck with the difference between things as they are, and as they ought to be, or might be. It fills his spirit with sadness. Another cannot help laughing at many of their incongruities. But the man who can laugh as well as weep is most a man. The greatest humorists have often been also the most serious seers, and men of most earnest heart. Hence their humour passes into pathos at their will. And all those who have manifested the finest perfection of spiritual health have enjoyed the merry sunshine of life, and wrought their work with a spirit of blithe bravery.

Humour has a much earlier origin than Wit, as we moderns interpret that word. Humour begins with the practical joke. It

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is supposed that the first perception of humour among savages must have occurred to the conquerors when they were torturing and slowly murdering their captured enemies, whose writhings and grimaces furnished them with fun that was fine, if the humour was coarse. The humour of the court fools and jesters consisted mostly of the practical joke. It is the same with the humour of boys. Humour not only has an earlier beginning than Wit, but it has also a far wider range. It will reach the uneducated as well as the educated; and among the former may often be found very unctuous humorists. In the earlier history of nations and literatures, when life is strong and thought is unperplexed, we get writers full enough in force, and direct enough in expression, to touch nature at most points. Hence the earlier great writers reach the depths of tragedy, and the breadths of humour. In their times they see the full play of strong passions; the outward actions in which life expresses itself, when it lives up to its limits; and all those striking contrasts of life, those broad lights and bold shadows of character which, as they cross and recross in the world's web, make rare and splendid patterns for the tragic poet and humorist. By-and-bye we find less embodied strength in the outer life, and more subtlety and refinement of the inner life. Our writers cannot reach the boundaries of the master minds, and so are compelled to work more and more within the wide limits, circle within circle, and, the more limited the circle, the more they still try to be innermost, and make up in fineness of point and subtlety of touch for what they have lost in larger sweep, broader handling, and simpler strength. This, we think, is the literary tendency that leads, among other things, to our modern wit, instead of the old English humour. It would have been perfectly impossible for the wit of *Punch* to have been produced in any other time than ours, or in any other place and societary conditions, than those of London. No past time could have given us Thomas Hood, who may here stand for "Wit:" and the present time has lost the secret of Old Chaucer's humour.

We cannot pretend to "split the difference" betwixt Wit and Humour. It would demand the most piercing keenness and delicate discrimination, to analyse the workings of the mind, and allot the relative portions contributed by the various powers in producing wit or humour, and to subtly and amply show their differences. We can only here broadly state a few distinctions.

Wit deals more with thoughts, and Humour with outward things. Wit only reaches characteristics, and therefore it finds more food in a later time and more complex state of society. Humour deals with character. The more robust and striking the character, the better for humour: hence the earlier times, being more fruitful in peculiar character, are most fruitful in humour. Wit is more artificial, and a thing of culture; humour lies nearer to nature. Wit is oftenest shown in the quality of the thought; humour by the nature of the action. With wit, two opposite and combustible qualities of thought are brought into contact, and they explode in the ludicrous. Humour shows us two opposite personal characters which mingle, and dissimilitude is dovetailed in the laughable. Wit may get the two persons, as in the instance of Butler's *Hudibras*, but it fails to make the most of them; it deals with the two characters in thought. It is for the great humorist, like Shakspere or Cervantes, to show us the two opposite characters in action.

Wit, in its way of working, is akin to Fancy. The greatest wits in poetry are as remarkable for their facility of fancy. But Humour is allied to the greatness and oneness of Imagination. Wit, like Fancy, is a mosaic-worker. It loves sudden contrasts and striking combinations; it will make the slightest link of analogy sufficient to hold together its images and ornaments. It will leap from point to point, like the squirrel from bough to bough, bending them down for its purpose. Humour, like Imagination, pours itself out, strong and splendid as flowing gold, with oneness and continuity. Wit twinkles and corruscates, gleams and glances about the subject. Humour lightens right to the heart of the matter at once, without byplay. Wit will show you the live sparks rushing red-rustling from the chimney, and prettily dancing away in the dark, a "moment bright, then gone for ever." But Humour shall give you a pleasanter peep through the lighted window, and show you the fire glowing and ruddy—the smiling heart of home—shining in the dear faces of those you love, who are waiting to overflow in one warm embracing wave of love the moment the door is opened for your coming. Wit teases, tickles, and titillates. But Humour floods you to the brim with measureful content. Wit sends you a sharp, sudden, electric shock, that leaves you tingling from without. Humour operates from within, with its slow and prolonged excitation of your risible soul. Wit gives you a quick, bright nod, and is off. "What's going on?" said a bore to Douglas Jerrold. "I am," said he. That is just what Wit does. You must be sharp, too, in taking the

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hit, or you may find yourself in a similar situation to the poor fly that turns about after its head is off to find it out. One of Wit's greatest elements of success is surprise. Indeed, sometimes when your surprise is over, you find nothing else; you have been cheated upon false pretences. Not so with Humour. He is in no hurry. He is for "keeping it up." He don't move in straight lines, but flows in circles. He carries you irresistibly along with him. With Wit you are on the "qui vive;" with Humour you grow glorious. If brevity be the soul of wit, the soul of humour is longevity. Wit loves to dress neatly, and is very fastidious as to a proper fit. It will inform you that Robert Boyle was the "father of chemistry, and brother to the earl of Cork." Humour is not particular respecting its clothes, so long as they are large enough. It don't care about making ends meet so precisely. It will tell you a tale about seeing bees as big as bull-dogs, and yet their hives were only of the usual size; and if you ask how they managed to get in and out, "Oh," says Humour, "let *them* look to that." Wit dwarfs its subject to a Lilliputian size, and holds it up for laughter because of its littleness. Humour makes as much of its subject as possible. It revels in exaggeration; it reigns in Brobdignag. Wit is thinner; it has a subtler spark of light in its eye, and a less carnal gush of jollity in its laugh. It is, as we often say, very dry. But Humour rejoices in ample physical health; it has a strong ruddy nature, a glow and glory of sensuous life, a playful overflow of animal spirits. As the word indicates, Humour has more moisture of the bodily temperament. Its words drop fatness, its face oozes with unctuousness, its eyes swim with dews of mirth. As stout people often make the best dancers and swimmers, so Humour relies on size. It must have "body," like good old wine. We may get Wit in the person of poor, thin, diaphanous Hood, and irritable, little, pale Pope; but for Humour we require the splendid *physique* of Shakspere, the ruddy health of Chaucer, the *aplomb* of Rabelais, or the portly nature of Christopher North. Humour has more common human feeling than Wit; it is wealthiest, wisest, kindliest. Lord Dudley, the eccentric, said pleasantly to Sydney Smith, "You have been laughing at me constantly, Sydney, for the last seven years, and yet, in all that time, you have never said a single thing to me that I wished unsaid."

After all our attempts to define the differences between wit and humour in the abstract, there yet remain a hundred differences in kind and in character, both individual and national.

Chaucer's humour is the bright overflow of a merry heart's sunshine. The wit of Hood is often the flash of a sad heart's sunshine. That smile on the fond, fatherly face of the old English poet is like sunlight sleeping there. And into what genial humour and bright wisdom it wakes! His humour is broad as all out of doors; liberal and kind as the summer light. Hood's wit is often the heat-lightning that frolics about the gathering gloom of a coming night. Betwixt these two representatives of humour and wit, who stand nearly five centuries apart, there lies a wide world of wit and humour, running through all the grades of difference; from the bitterness of Swift, to the sweetness of Goldsmith; the diamond-like point of Pope, to the sublime grotesque of Burns; the pungency of Thackeray, to the ringing mirth of Sydney Smith's working-day humour—Humour stripped to the shirt-sleeves, and toiling away at its purpose with the jollity of Mark Tapley; from the quaint, shy, and sly humour of Lamb,—who in his own nature seemed to unite the two opposites necessary to humour and wit, and to make them one at will, with the oddest twist in the world,—to the caustic wit of Jerrold, "steeped in the very brine of conceit, and sparkling like salt in fire." Shakspere himself might supply us with illustrations through all this range, if necessary; for he includes both Chaucer and Hood, and fills those five centuries between.

Then there are many differences betwixt the wit and humour of different nations. German humour generally goes ponderously upon all fours. French *esprit* is intangible to the English mind. Irish humour is often so natural that its accidents look intentional. The Scotch have been said not to understand a joke. Undoubtedly they have not the Cockney quickness necessary to catch some kinds of word-wit. But where will you find richer, pawkier humour? Take, for example, that book of Dean Ramsey's on Scottish life and character, which keeps overflowing from one edition into another, because its humour is uncontainable, uncontrollable.

The most obvious characteristic of American humour is its power of "pitching it strong," and drawing the long bow. It is the humour of exaggeration. This consists of fattening up a joke until it is rotund and rubicund, unctuous and irresistible as Falstaff himself, who was created by Shakspere, and fed fat, so as to become for all time the very impersonation of Humour in a state

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of corpulence. That place in the geography of United States called "Down East" has been most prolific in the monstrosities of mirth. Only there would a tree'd coon have cried to the marksman with his gun pointed, "Don't fire, Colonel, I'll come down." Only in that region do they travel at such speed that the iron rails get hot enough to serve the carriages with heat instead of hot-water bottles, and sometimes so hot that on looking back you see the irons writhing about like live snakes, trying to wriggle off to the water to cool themselves. Only there do they travel so fast that the signal-whistle is of no use for their engines, because, on one occasion at least, the train was in, and smashed in a collision, long before the sound of the whistle got there! Only there can a blow be struck so "slick" as to take an animal's ear off with such ease, that the animal does not know he is one ear short until he puts his forefoot up to scratch it. Only there, surely, are the thieves so 'cute that they drew a walnut log right out of its bark, and left five sleepy watchers all nodding as they sat astride a tunnel of walnut-wood rind. North Carolina, we suppose, cannot be "Down East," else some of the stories that "Skit" tells in his "Fisher's River Scenes and Characters" have the old family features as like as two peas. Charles Lamb's idea of the worst possible inconvenience of being in a world of total darkness was, that, after making a pun, you would have to put out your hand and grope over the listener's face, to feel if he was enjoying it. It would require a broad grin to be felt. Some of these stories are of the sort to produce a broad grin which might be felt in total darkness. One is of a man named "Oliver Stanley," who was taken prisoner by wild "Injins." After some consideration, they put him into an empty oil barrel, and headed him up, leaving the bung-hole open, that he might be longer in dying. They were of the savage kind of humourists before-mentioned, but did not require to see the victim's grimaces; belonging to modern times, they could chuckle over the joke "subjectively." The prisoner relates a portion of his experience:—

"I detarmined to git out'n that, ur bust the trace; and so I jist pounded away with my fist, till I beat it nearly into a jelly, at the eend uv the bar'l; but it were no go. Then I butted a spell with my noggin', but I had no purchase like old rams have when they butt; fur, you know, they back ever so fur when they take a tilt. So I caved in, made my last will and testerment and vartually gin up the ghost. It wur a mighty serious time with me fur sure. While I were lying thar, balancin' accounts with tother world, and afore I had all my figgers made out to see how things 'ud stand, I hearn suthin' scrambulatin' in the leaves, and snortin' uvery whip-stich, like he smelt suthin' he didn't adzactly like. I lay as still as a salamander, and thought, maybe there's a chance fur Stanley yit. So the crittur, whatever it mout be, kep' moseyin' round the bar'l. Last he come to the bung-hole, put his nose in, smelt mighty pertic'ler, and gin a monstrous loud snort. I holt what little breath I head, to keep the crittur from smellin' the internuls uv the bar'l. I soon seen it was a bar—the big king bar of the woods, who had lived thar from time immortal. Thinks I, old feller, look out; old Oliver ain't dead yit. Jist then he put his big black paw in jist as fur as he could, and scrabbled about to make some 'scovery. The fust thought I had was to nab at his paw, as 'a drowndin' man will ketch at a straw;' but I soon seen that wouldn't do, fur, you see, he couldn't then travel. So I jist waited a spell with great flutterbation of mind. His next move was to put his tail in at the bung-hole uv the bar'l to test its innards. I seen that were my time to make my Jack; so I ceized holt, and shouted at the top uv my voice,

'Charge, Chester! charge!
On, Stanley, on!'

And the bar he put, and I knowed tail holt were better than no holt; and so on we went, bar'l and all, the bar full speed. Now *my hope were* that the bar would *jump over some presserpiss*, break the bar'l all to shiverations, and liberate me from my nasty, stinkin', ily prison. And, sure 'nuff, the bar at full speed leaped over a caterack *fifty foot high*. Down we went together in a pile, *cowhollop*, on a big rock, bustin' the bar'l and nearly shockin' my gizzard out'n me. I let go my tail holt—*had no more use fur it*—and away went the bar like a whirlygust uv woodpeckers were arter it. I've nuther seen nur hearn from that bar since, but he has my best wishes for his present and future welfare."

A good deal of our old friend Sam Slick's mother-wit may be fathered "Down East." He is a great master of the humour of exaggeration; a brobdignagian of brag, more successful in splitting sides than in splitting hairs. What the shepherd in the Noctes calls "bamming," that is Samuel's great glory. He is rich in his own proverbial philosophy, and peculiar quaint character. Half Yankee, half Englishman, but all himself, as he would say, "he's all thar." Without any poetry, he can be sufficiently rich and droll. We said that humour began with the practical joke. This is the beginning of much of Sam Slick's humour. We find by his latest book that, in his own way, he is delightful and incorrigible as ever. Here is a sample from the "Season Ticket." Mr. Peabody, an unmitigated Down-Easter, is describing the quality of some land in British North America, and he gives a forcible illustration of the natural richness of the soil:

"I took a handful of guano, that ere elixir of vegetation, and I sowed a few cucumber seeds in

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it. Well, Sir, I was considerable tired when I had done it, and so I just took a stretch for it under a great pine-tree, and took a nap. Stranger! as true as I am talking to you this here blessed minute, when I woke up, I was bound as tight as a sheep going to market on a butcher's cart, and tied fast to the tree. I thought I should never get out of that scrape, the cucumber vines had so grown and twisted round and round me and my legs while I was asleep! Fortunately, one arm was free; so I got out my jack-knife, opened it with my teeth, and cut myself out, and off for Victoria again, hot-foot. When I came into the town, says our Captain to me, 'Peabody, what in natur' is that ere great yaller thing that's a stickin' out of your pocket?' Nothin' sais I, lookin' as mazed as a puppy nine days old, when he first opens his eyes, and takes his first stare. Well, I put in my hand to feel; and I pulled out a great big ripe cucumber, a foot long, that had ripened and gone to seed there."

Sam Slick does not, however, try to make people grin, till they get the lockjaw, merely for the pleasure of seeing them "fixed up." Nor does he open their eyes to the widest, to show them nothing. His great object has been to wake up the Britishers to a true sense of the value of those great possessions of ours in North America. He has given us many a poke in the ribs, and hearty thump on the back, by way of enlightening us in matters of great importance, which we have ignorantly neglected. His exaggerations have often given weight to the blows which he has struck as with Thor's sledge-hammer. Mentioning Thor's hammer reminds us, also, that this humour of exaggeration, this vociferant laugh from "Down East," is a far new-world echo of the old Norse humour. There really seems to be nothing new under the sun. In the Negro melodies imported from America we recognise the familiar tones that hint at an old-world pre-existence. Many Americans would be surprised to find that even their favourite word "slick," which is considered a Yankee "institution," is a good old English word. They may discover it in the Second Book of Chapman's translation of Homer's *Iliad*. And this broad and boundless Yankee humour, which overflows in illimitable exaggerations, will be found to have its original springs in the broad humour of the blythe old Norsemen. Race, says Emerson, works immortally to keep its own. And this humour, having once got into the Anglo Saxon blood, keeps flashing out in many unexpected ways and places. As one type of an idea which runs and reappears again and again through all this kind of humour, take that story told of Thor and his companions on one of their expeditions to Utgard. One night, when weary, they look round and see a house wide open, and so they enter. The house has one large hall and a little closet. In the morning they find this house is only the glove of a giant. The door was the glove-wrist, the little closet was the place for the thumb. Now, this type of an idea, as we call it, has been printed from a thousand times for humorous purposes. Sailors and soldiers, in telling their wonderful stories, still use it with as much effect as ever.

We shall give one more illustration of our meaning from the "Norse Tales," translated with such tender beauty, and robust vigour, by Mr. Dasent. In this story, the stretching of it, the piling of it up, the going in for it, and resolute thoroughness, are altogether "Down East" in character and keeping.

"Once on a time there was a king who had a daughter, and she was such a dreadful story-teller, that the like of her was not to be found far or near. So the king gave out, that if any one could tell such a string of lies as would get her to say 'That's a story,' he should have her to wife, and half the kingdom besides. Well, many came, as you may fancy, to try their luck; for every one would have been very glad to have the princess, to say nothing of the kingdom. But they all cut a sorry figure; for the princess was so given to story-telling, that all their lies went in at one ear and out of the other. Among the rest came three brothers to try their luck, and the two elder went first; but they fared no better than those who had gone before them. Last of all, the third, Boots, set off, and found the princess in the farmyard.

"'Good morning,' he said, 'and thank you for nothing.'

"'Good morning,' said she, 'and the same to you.' Then she went on—

"'You haven't such a fine farmyard as ours, I'll be bound; for when two shepherds stand one at each end of it, and blow their ram's horns, the one can't hear the other!'

"'Haven't we, though?' answered Boots. 'Ours is far bigger; for when a cow begins to go with calf at one end of it, she don't get to the other before her time is come.'

"'I dare say,' said the princess. 'Well, but you haven't such a big ox, after all, as ours yonder; for when two men sit one on each horn, they can't touch each other with a twenty-foot rule.'

"'Stuff!' said Boots; 'is that all? Why, we have an ox who is so big, that when two men sit one on each horn, and each blows his great mountain-trumpet, they can't hear one another.'

"'I dare say,' said the princess; 'but you haven't so much milk as we, I'll be bound; for we milk our kine into great pails, and carry them indoors, and empty them into great tubs, and so we make great, great cheeses!'

"'Oh! you do, do you?' said Boots. 'Well, we milk ours into great tubs, and then we put them into carts and drive them indoors, and then we turn them out into great brewing-vats; and so we make cheeses as big as houses. We had, too, a dun mare to tread the cheese well together, when it was making; but once she tumbled down into the cheese, and we lost her; and after we

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had eaten at this cheese seven years, we came upon a great dun mare, alive and kicking. Well, once after that, I was going to drive this mare to the mill, and her backbone snapped in two. But I wasn't put out, not I; for I took a spruce sapling, and put it into her for a backbone, and she had no other backbone all the while we had her. But the sapling took root, and grew up into such a tall tree, that I climbed right up to heaven by it; and when I got there, I saw the Virgin Mary sitting and spinning the foam of the sea into pig's bristle ropes; but just then the spruce fir broke short off, and I couldn't get down again; and so the Virgin Mary let me down by one of the ropes; and down I slipped straight into a fox's hole; and who should sit there but my mother and your father cobbling shoes! and just as I stepped in, my mother gave your father such a box on the ear, it made his whiskers curl.'

"'*That's a story!*' said the princess; "my father never did any such thing in all his born days!'

"So Boots got the princess to wife, and half the kingdom besides."

This extract will not only serve to show the kinship between Norse and Yankee humour, it also shows how such astounding audacity may reach its success through a knowledge of human nature's weak points. There is no doubt but what Boots might have gone on lying for ever, in the abstract, without producing the desired effect on the princess. He slyly throws her off guard by that suggestion of royalty cobbling shoes. Her Majesty is touched. That does it. This kind of audacity is a large element in humour, especially if we get some small and weaker body, with a fine audacity of self-assertiveness, that we can patronize in its contest with a much larger opponent. A little fable of Emerson's is a case in point. Moreover, we again see the two opposite personal characters here mingling in the laughable, which we specified as necessary for the production of humour.

"The Mountain and the Squirrel
Had a quarrel;
And the Mountain called the Squirrel 'Little Prig.'
Bun replied,
You are doubtless very big;
But all sorts of things and weather
Must be taken in together,
To make up a year
And a sphere.
And I think it no disgrace
To occupy my place.
If I'm not so large as you,
You are not so small as I!
And not half so spry.
I'll not deny you make
A very pretty squirrel track;
Talents differ; all is wisely put;
If I cannot carry forests on my back,
Neither can you crack a nut."

It is not always that humour asks our sympathy for the weaker vessel. It often delights in the triumph of the strongest, and makes us enjoy it in spite of ourselves. Therefore we are inclined to make the most of a chance like this. In the first place, what right had the great big Mountain to call the Squirrel a "Prig?" He commits himself, and forfeits all our sympathy at the beginning. After that, size goes for nothing in his favour; it only serves to heighten our sense of the ludicrous. Bun replied—as the celebrated Manager did to *Mr. Punch*—His frisky philosophy corruscates with humour. There is the proper twinkle in his eye; the archest of turns in the curling tail. His faith in himself is enough to move a mountain.

"If I'm not so large as you,
You are not so small as I."

That puts things in a different light to what the Mountain has been accustomed to. As some one said to Sydney Smith, "You have such a way of *putting* things." Then, while the Mountain ponders slowly in silence, there follows that clenching

"And not half so spry."

And before the total unanswerability of that is half seen through, Bun walks over the old fellow, and scratches his head for him with a grave satiric grace—

"I'll not deny you make
A very pretty squirrel track."

The conclusion is absolutely annihilating to all gross size and substance:—

"If I cannot carry forests on my back,
Neither can you crack a nut."

We do not propose to include Washington Irving's works in this sketch of American humour. They were appraised, and have taken their place, long ago. They possess humour of the genial Addisonian kind, an airy grace, and fine-old-English gentlemanliness, which will always delight. But America has produced four other genuine and genial humourists in Hawthorne, Mrs. Stowe, Holmes, and Lowell. These have given to American literature a better right of challenging a comparison with other literatures, in the department of humour, than perhaps in any other. The humour of Hawthorne is a singular flower to find on American soil. As Lowell sings of him—

"There is Hawthorne, with genius so shrinking and rare,
That you hardly at first see the strength that is there:
A frame so robust, with a nature so sweet,

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> So earnest, so graceful, so solid, so fleet,
> Is worth a descent from Olympus to meet.
> 'Tis as if a rough oak, that for ages had stood,
> With his gnarled, bony branches, like ribs of the wood,
> Should bloom, after cycles of struggle and scathe,
> With a single anemone trembly and rathe."

He is a humorist for the fastidious few, not for the multitude. As a satirist, his weapon does not make great gaping flesh-wounds; it is too ethereal in temper. Nor does he mockingly offer the sponge dipped in gall and vinegar. He is a kindly, smiling satirist. But his smile often goes deeper than loud laughter. He is one of the tenderest hearted men that ever made humour more piquant with the pungency of satire. There is a side of sombre shadow to his nature which sets forth the bright felicities of subtle insight with a more shining richness. He has a weird imagination, which at will can visit the border-land of flesh and spirit, whence breathe the creeping airs that thrill with fearful fascination. His mirth is grave with sweet thoughts; the very poetry of humour is to be found in his pages, with an aroma fine as the sweet-briar's fragrance. How rare and delicate is his satire, may be seen in the "Celestial Railroad" of the "Mosses from an Old Manse." A modern application of "Pilgrim's Progress," showing how we have altered all that now-a-days. Where the little wicket-gate once stood, is a station-house. No more need to carry the burthen like poor Christian: that goes in the luggage-van. The Slough of Despond is bridged over. Instead of the antique roll of parchment given by Evangelist, you procure a much more convenient small square ticket. The old feud and dispute between Prince Beelzebub and the keeper of the wicket-gate have been amicably arranged on the principle of mutual compromise. The Hill Difficulty has been tunnelled through, and the materials dug out of it have served to fill up the Valley of Humiliation. And, most delightful and satisfactory transformation of all, Apollyon, Christian's old enemy, instead of meeting poor pilgrims in mortal conflict, is now liberally and laudably engaged to drive the engine. The only drawbacks to this new and improved safe and speedy passage to the Celestial city is, that somehow few ever get beyond Vanity Fair; and those that do, sink down in death's deadly cold river, with no shining ones to help them from the other side.

The deepest humour and pathos will often be found in twin relationship. They are the two sides of the same mental coin. There is a humour that touches us into tears; and great grief will have its gaiety of expression. Sir Thomas More and Sir Walter Raleigh on the scaffold will make their cheerful jest. We know that Cowper wrote his *Johnny Gilpin* when in one of his melancholy moods. So, often, with the rarest humour, you are reading or listening with an eager delight and expectancy of laughter, and, while the last smile has not yet done rippling over the face, it seems as though the humourist had by mistake struck the wrong chord; the tears are in the eyes at a touch like that long thrilling note of the nightingale's which comes piercing through the midst of her merry ecstasy, with such a heart-cry of yearning pathos, you are saddened in a moment; although the sadness is a richer pleasure than the mirth. Thackeray at times produces this effect very artfully. Only, when he has produced it, he seems to mock at your changed mood, as though he should say, "You were laughing just now; pray proceed; don't let *me* interrupt your merriment."

Mrs. Stowe, in a simpler way, has reached to this depth of humour where it passes into pathos. Nowhere more remarkably than in that scene in "Dred," with "Tiff" and his dying mistress, where the faithful old fellow sits at the bed-side with the big pair of spectacles on his large up-turned nose, the red handkerchief pinned round his shoulders; he busily darning a stocking, rocking a cradle with one foot, singing to himself, and talking to a little one, all at one time.

"I shall give up," moans the poor dying woman. "Bress de Lord, no, Missis," says the cheery old soul, taking all the fault on himself, as though he were the cause of her hopelessness. "We'll be all right agin in a few days. Work has been kinder pressin' lately; and chil'n's clothes an't quite so 'spectable; but den I's doin' heaps o' mendin'. See dat ar," said he, holding up a slip of red flannel, resplendent with a black patch; "dat ar hole wont go no furder; and it does well enough for Teddy to wear, rollin' round de do', and such like times, to save de bettermost,"—honest fellow, he carefully ignores the fact that the child has no bettermost,—"and de way I's put de yarn in dese yar stockins' an't slow. Den I's laid out to take a stitch in Teddy's shoes; and dat ar hole in de kiverlet, dat ar'll be stopped afore mornin'. O, let me alone, he! he! he!—ye didn't keep Tiff for nothin', Missis, ho! ho! ho!" and the black face became unctuous with the oil of gladness as Tiff proceeded with his work of consolation.

There are few comic creations more touch-

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ing than this ugly, faithful, self sacrificing dear old Tiff, left as father and mother to the poor children. Tenderly as a hen he gathers them under his old wings of shelter, and nurses and protects them. Mindful of the old dignity, and anxious for the family honour, he tells Miss Fanny to order him round well "afore folks." "Let folks hear ye; 'cause what's de use of havin' a Nigger, and nobody knowin' it?" "Keep a good look-out how Miss Nina walks, and how she holds her pocket-handkerchief, and, when she sits down, she gives a little flirt to her clothes, so dey all sit round her like ruffles. Dese yer little ways ladies have." With what a blithesome, never-failing cheerfulness, he meets and conquers all difficulties! He has eyes that will make a bright side to things with their own shining. When his old rickety vehicle breaks down on a journey, it has "broke in a strordinary good place this time." The bag of corn bursts; and as "dat ar de last bag we's got," why, he is ready to burst also with laughter at the "curosity." His fire goes out as soon as lighted; upon which he exults thus—"Bress de Lord! *got all de wood left, anyway*." Great wisdom often smiles through his humour. Here we have him philosophizing in a contemplative attitude: "I thought de Lord made room in every beast's head for some sense; but 'pears like hens an't got de leastest grain. Puts me out seein' them crawing and crawing on one leg, 'cause dey an't sense enough to know where to sit down with t'other. Dey never has no idea what dey goin' to do, I believe; but den dar folks dat's just like 'em, dat de Lord *has* gin brains to, and dey wont use 'em. Dey's always settin' round, but *dey never lays no eggs*—so hens an't de worst critturs after all." Most touching is old Tiff's solicitude about getting the children into Canaan, fighting his way through the thorniest paths of this world—inquiring of everything and everybody the shortest way to Canaan. He's bound to that place, and the "chil'en" must be with old Tiff; couldn't do without him nohow. He hears the solemn sound of the pines at night, as they keep "whisper, whisper, never tellin' anybody what dey wants to know."

"What I's studdin' on lately is, how to get dese yer chil'en to Canaan; and I hars fus with one ear, and den with t'oder, but 'pears like a'nt clar 'bout it, yet. Dere's a heap abont 'most everything else, and it's all very good; but 'pears like an't clar arter all about dat ar. Dey says, 'Come to Christ;' and I says, 'Whar is He, any how?' Bress you, I *want* to come! Dey talks 'bout going in de gate, and knocking at de do', and 'bout marching on de road, and 'bout fighting and being soldiers of de cross; and de Lord knows, now, I'd be glad to get de chil'en through any gate; and I could take 'em on my back and travel all day, if dere was any road; and if dere was a do', bress me if dey wouldn't hear old Tiff a rappin'! I 'spects de Lord would have fur to open it—would so. But, arter all, when de preaching is done, dere don't 'pear to be nothing to it. Dere a'nt no gate, dere an't no do', nor no way; and dere an't no fighting, 'cept when Ben Dakin and Jim Stokes get jawing about der dogs; and everybody comes back eating der dinner quite comf'table, and 'pears like dere want no such thing dey's been preaching 'bout. Dat ar troubles me—does so—'cause I wants fur to get dese yer chil'en in de kingdom, some way or other."

Tiff does not consider that he has got hold of much religion, nor can he read much in the Bible; he is "'mazin' slow at dat ar; but den I'se larned all de *best words*—like Christ, and Lord, and God, and dem ar." "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin," says the poet; and poor old, black, ungainly Tiff has a hundred such touches.

It is noticeable that Mrs. Stowe's richest and most affecting humour should be Negro humour. Is this intentional—her wilier way of pleading their cause? or is it a confession that the dark people have lighter hearts and merrier natures, in spite of slavery, than her Yankee white friends have, with all their freedom? We consider her power of *differenciating* the Negro character, by means of the individual humour, to be one of her most remarkable gifts as a novelist. The humour of "Candace," in the "Minister's Wooing," is very different from that of Tiff, and sufficient, of itself, to outline the character. Hers has a more "keeking" shrewdness. That is an immortalizing observation of hers—"Dogs knows a heap more than they likes to tell." Of course, their difficulty is to get a publisher. 'Tis not often that such an interpreter as Burns comes to read their look; although many of us must have felt that they often needed one. This, again, is very keen—"Some folks say," said Candace, "that dreaming about white horses is a certain sign. Jinny Styles is very strong about that. Now, she came down one morning crying, 'cause she had been dreaming about white horses, and she was sure she should hear some friend was dead. And sure enough a man came in that day, and told her that her son was drowned out in the harbour. And Jinny said, 'There, she was sure that sign never would fail.' But then, ye see, that night he came home. Jinny wasn't *really disappointed;* but she always insisted he *was as good as drowned any way, 'cause he sank three times*."

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The speciality of old Hundred's humour, again, is different, as Topsy is from Tiff. He has been making all sorts of excuses to his mistress to prevent the horses going out.

"'Now an't you ashamed of yourself, you mean old Nigger?' said Aunt Rose, the wife of Old Hundred, who had been listening to the conversation, 'talking about de creek, and de mud, and de critturs, and lor knows what all, when we all know its nothing but your laziness?'

"'Well,' said Old Hundred, 'and what would come o' the critturs if I wasn't lazy, I want to know? Laziness! it's the bery best thing for the critturs, can be. Where'd dem hosses a been now, if I had been one of your highfelutin' sort, always drivin' round? Who wants to see hosses all skin and bone? Lord! if I had been like some o' de coachmen, de buzzards would have had de pickin' of dem critturs long ago.'

"'I rally believe that you've told dem dar lies till you begin to believe 'em yourself,' said Rose. 'Tellin' our dear, sweet young lady about your bein' up with Peter all night, when de Lord knows you laid here snorin', fit to tar de roof off.'

"'Well, must say something! Folks must be 'spectful to de ladies. Course I couldn't tell her I *wouldn't* take de critturs out; so I just trots out 'scuse. Ah, lots o' dem 'scuses I keeps. I tell you, now, 'scuses is excellent things! Why, 'scuses is like dis yer grease dat keeps de wheels from screaking. Lord bless you, de whole world turns on 'scuses. Whar de world be, if everybody was such fools to tell de raal reason for everything they are gwine for to do, or an't gwine for to do?'"

Oliver Wendell Holmes has been long known in this country as the author of some poems, written in stately classic verse, abounding in happy thoughts, and bright bird peeps of fancy, such as this, for example,—

"The punchbowl's sounding depths were stirred,
Its silver cherubs smiling as they heard."

And this first glint of spring—

"The spendthrift Crocus, bursting through the mould,
Naked and shivering, with his cup of gold."

He is also known as the writer of many pieces which wear a serious look until they break out into a laugh at the end, perhaps in the last line, as with those on "Lending a Punch Bowl"—a cunning way of the writer's; just as the knot is tied in the whipcord at the end of the lash, to enhance the smack. But neither of these kinds of verse prepared us for anything so good, so sustained, so national, and yet so akin to our finest humorists, as is the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table;" a very delightful book—a handy book for the breakfast table. A book to conjure up a cozy winter picture of a ruddy fire, and singing kettle, soft hearth rug, warm slippers, and easy chair; a musical chime of cups and saucers, fragrance of tea and toast within, and those flowers of frost fading on the windows without, as though old Winter just looked in, but his cold breath was melted, and so he passed by. A book to possess two copies of; one to be read and marked, thumbed and dog-eared; and one to stand up in its pride of place with the rest on the shelves, all ranged in shining rows, as dear old friends, and not merely as nodding acquaintances. Not at all like that ponderous and overbearing autocrat, Dr. Johnson, is our Yankee friend. He has more of Goldsmith's sweetness and loveability. He is as true a lover of elegance and high-bred grace, dainty fancies and all pleasurable things, as was Leigh Hunt; he has more worldly sense without the moral languor; but there is the same boy-heart, beating in a manly breast, beneath the poet's singing robe For he is a poet as well as a humorist. Indeed, although this book is written in prose, it is full of poetry, with the "beaded bubbles" of humour dancing up through the true hippocrene, and "winking at the brim" with a winning look of invitation shining in their merry eyes.

The humour and the poetry of the book do not lie in tangible nuggets for extraction, but they are there; they pervade it from beginning to end. We cannot spoon out the sparkles of sunshine as they shimmer on the wavelets of water; but they are there, moving in all their golden life, and evanescent grace.

Holmes may not be so recognisably national as Lowell; his prominent characteristics are not so exceptionably Yankee; the traits are not so peculiar as those delineated in the *Biglow Papers*. But he is national. One of the most hopeful literary signs of this book is its quiet nationality. The writer has made no straining and grasping efforts after that which is striking and peculiar; which has always been the bane of youth, whether in nations or individuals. He has been content to take the common, home-spun, everyday humanity that he found ready to hand—people who do congregate around the breakfast table of an American boarding-house; and out of this material he has wrought with a vivid touch and truth of portraiture, and won the most legitimate triumph of a genuine book. We presume it to be a pleasant fiction of the author's that Americans ever talk at all at such a time. But, perhaps, the Autocrat's example may be of service, and ultimately a chatty meal may take the place of a most voracious silence. If so, that may conduce to a juicier, ruddier, plumper humanity than exists in the States at present.

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Holmes has the pleasantest possible way of saying things that many people don't like to hear. His tonics are bitter and bland. He does not spare the various foibles and vices of his countrymen and women. But it is done so good-naturedly, or with a sly puff of diamond-dust in the eyes of the victims, who don't see the joke which is so apparent to us. As good old Isaac Walton advises respecting the worm, he impales them tenderly, as though he loved them. As we said, we can't spoon out the sparkles. It is more difficult to catch a smile than a tear. But we shall try to extract a few samples:—

"The company agreed that the last illustration was of superior excellence, or, in the phrase used by them, 'Fustrate.' I acknowledged the compliment, but rebuked the expression. 'Fustrate,' 'prime,' 'a handsome garment,' 'a gent in a flowered vest'—all such expressions are final. They blast the lineage of him or her who utters them, for generations up and down."

"Good Americans, when they die, go to Paris."

. . . . .

"Give me the luxuries of life, and I will dispense with its necessaries."

. . . . .

"Talk about conceit as much as you like, it is to human character what salt is to the ocean; it keeps it sweet, and renders it endurable. Say rather, it is like the natural unguent of the sea-fowl's plumage, which enables him to shed the rain that falls on him, and the wave in which he dips."

. . . . .

"Insanity is often the logic of an accurate mind overtasked. A weak mind does not accumulate force enough to hurt itself. Stupidity often saves a man from going mad. Any decent person ought to go mad, if he really holds such and such opinions. It is very much to his discredit in every point of view, if he does not. I am very much ashamed of some people for retaining their reason, when they know perfectly well that if they were not the most stupid or the most selfish of human beings, they would become *non-compotes* at once."

. . . . .

"What a comfort a dull but kindly person is, to be sure, at times! A ground-glass shade over a gas-lamp does not bring more solace to our dazzled eye than such a one to our minds. There are men of *esprit* who are excessively exhausting to some people. They are the talkers that have what may be called the *jerky* minds. They say bright things on all possible subjects, but their zigzags rack you to death. After a jolting half-hour with these jerky companions, talking with a dull friend affords great relief. It is like taking the cat in your lap after holding a squirrel."

. . . . .

"'Don't you know how hard it is for some people to get out of a room after their visit is over?' We rather think we do. 'They want to be off, but they don't know how to manage it. One would think they had been built in your room, and were waiting to be launched. I have contrived a sort of ceremonial inclined plane for such visitors, which, being lubricated with certain smooth phrases, I back them down, metaphorically speaking, stern-foremost, into their native element of out-of-doors."

Lucky dog! to have hit upon such an invention! Sad dog! not to have communicated it!

We are not so sure that the "Professor" is equal to the "Autocrat," but are not as familiar with him yet. If the first be a book of the class in which we place it, it could not be repeated with the same success. The first "sprightly runnings" always have an aroma that comes no more. It is very readable, however, and full of good things. Some of the old boarders re-appear in these pages. The "young man called John," individualized with homely humour, is one of these. With all his external roughness, this "young man John" has a refinement of feeling; such, we think, as seldom troubles boarders:—

"It a'n't the feed,—said the young man John,—it's the old woman's looks when a fellah lays it in too strong. The feed's well enough. After geese have got tough, 'n' turkeys have got strong, 'n' lamb's got old, 'n' veal's pretty nigh beef, 'n' sparrergrass's growin' tall 'n' slim 'n' scattery about the head, 'n' green peas are gettin' so big 'n' hard they'd be dangerous if you fired 'em out of a revolver, we get hold of all them delicacies of the season. But it's too much like feedin' on live folks and devourin' widdah's substance, to lay yourself out in the eatin' way, when a fellah's as hungry as the chap that said a turkey was too much for one, 'n' not enough for two. I can't help lookin' at the old woman. Corned-beef-days she's tolerable calm. Roastin'-days she worries some, 'n' keeps a sharp eye on the chap that carves. But when there's anything in the poultry line, it seems to hurt her feelins so to see the knife goin' into the breast, and joints comin' to pieces, that there's no comfort in eatin'. When I cut up an old fowl and help the boarders, I always feel as if I ought to say, Won't you have a slice of Widdah?—instead of chicken."

The greatest of all American humorists is James Russell Lowell; and greatest of all American books of humour is the "Biglow Papers." If Holmes can match the Queen Anne men in their genial way, with a pleasant tincture of Montaigne, Lowell reminds us more of the lusty strength and boundless humour of that great Elizabethan literature. Not that he imitates them, or follows in their footsteps; for if there be an American book that might have existed as an indigenous growth, independently of an European literature, we feel that book to be the "Biglow Papers." The author might have been one of the men who met and made merry at the "Mermaid," because of his thoroughly ori-

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ginal genius, his mountain-mirth, his glorious fulness of life, his pith and power. The humour of the "Biglow Papers" is "audible, and full of vent," racy in hilarious hyperbole, and it has that infusion of poetry necessary to the richest and deepest humour. The book is a national birth, and it possesses that element of nationality which has been the most enduring part of all the best and greatest births in literature and art. In the instance of all the greatest poets and painters, they are the most enduring and universal who have drawn most on the national life. The life of art, poetry, humour, must be found at home or nowhere. And the crowning quality of Lowell's book is, that it was found at home. It could not have been written in any other country than America. The setting is admirable, and most provocative to the sense of humour. Good old Parson Wilbur—half Puritan, half Vicar of Wakefield, mixed in America—with his pleasant verbosity, his smiling superiority, supplies a capital background to the broad and homely humour, the novel and startling views, the quaint rustic expression of his talented young parishioner. We know how it enhances the effect in art when the means chosen are of the simplest kind. We know also how much more galling satire may be when it comes from those we have looked down upon as illiterate. This is the great success—and sting in it—of Hosea Biglow's humour. Here is an uneducated Yankee provincial, smelling of the soil, speaking in a local dialect, pitching into humbugs, literary and political, with the most amazing confidence; striking blows with his sinewy strength and gaunt arms like the passing sails of a windmill. He does not fight as a cultivated gentleman, with revolver and bowie knife even, but lays it on in vulgar fistic fashion, stripped to the naked nature, with such vigour that the humbugs are "nowhere" before they know where. The result is indeed most laughable!

At the time when the Biglow Papers were written, the Northern States of America by no means stood in that free and fighting attitude against slavery which they have since attained. Thus Hosea satirises them:—

"Aint it cute to see a Yankee
Take sech everlastin' pains
All to get the devil's thankee,
Helpin' on 'em weld their chains?
We begin to think its natur
To take sarse an' not be riled;
Who'd expect to see a tater
All on eend at bein' biled?"

Hosea went dead against popular feeling on the subject of the Mexican war. On seeing a recruiting sergeant he grows glorious in his riotous way of poking fun:—

"Jest go home and ax our Nancy
Wether I'd be sech a goose
Ez to jine ye,—guess she'd fancy
The etarnal bung wuz loose?
She wants me for home consumption;
Let alone the hay's to mow,—
Ef you're arter folks o' gumption,
You've a darned long row to hoe."

We honour the heroic courage of the man who, when it was dangerous to do so, gave brave utterance to many unpalatable truths. To quote his own words,—

"We honour the man who is willing to sink
Half his present repute for the freedom to think.
And, when he has thought, be his cause strong or weak,
Will risk t'other half for the freedom to speak:
Caring nought for what vengeance the mob has in store,
Let that mob be the upper ten thousand or lower."

And this is just what Lowell has done. But we must return to our friend Hosea, who will tell us, among other things, "What Mr. Robinson thinks."

"Parson Wilbur sez *he* never heerd in his life
Thet th' Apostles rigged out in their swallow-tail coats,
An' marched round in front of a drum and a fife,
To get some on 'em office, and some on 'em votes:
But John P.
Robinson, he
Sez they *did'nt know everythin' down in Judee.*"

Hosea's report of the remarks made by Increase D. O'Phace, Esq. (*i. e.*, Dough-face), at an extrumpery caucus, contains some sly hits at the stump orators who appeal to the mob for their suffrages. As for example:—

"A marciful Providence fashioned us holler
O' purpose that we might our principles swaller."

And—

"I'm willin a man should go tollable strong
Agin wrong in the abstract, fer thet kind o' wrong
Is ollers unpop'lar an' never gits pitied,
Because its a crime no one ever committed:
But we musn't be hard on particklar sins,
Coz then we'll be kickin' the people's own shins."

The broadest grins, and most uproarious laughter, will be provoked by the amusing letters of "Birdofredom Sawin,"—a lazy, cheerful rascal who enlists, thinking to make his fortune in the Mexican war. He describes the difference between his expectations and the reality he has found since he "wuz fool enuff to goe a trottin' inter Miss

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Chiff arter a drum and a fife" as Hosea says,—

"Its glory,—but, in spite o' all my tryin' to git callous,
I feel a kind o' in a cart, aridin to the gallus.
But when it comes to *bein'* killed,—I tell ye I felt streaked
The fust time ever I found out wy baggonets wuz peaked."

In another letter he describes the result of "goin' whar glory waits ye" in his own particular case. He has lost one leg. Still there is comfort in the thought that the liquor won't get into the new wooden one; so it will save drink, and he will always have one "sober peg:"—

"I've lost one eye, but thet's a loss its easy to supply
Out o' the glory thet I've gut, fer thet is all my eye;
And one is big enough, I guess, by diligently usin' it,
To see all I shall ever git by way o' pay for losin' it,
"Ware's my left hand? O, darn it yes, I recollect wut's come on it;
I haint no left arm but my right, and thet's gut jest a thumb on it."

However, dilapidated as he is, and good for nothing else, he thinks he may do as candidate for the Presidency. And certainly he shows great knowledge of American human nature in his instructions for issuing an address, and tact in canvassing:—

"Ef wile you're lectionearin' round, some curus chaps should beg
To know my views o' state affairs, jest answer *wooden leg!*
Ef they aint satisfied with thet, an' kin' o' pry an' doubt,
An' ax fer suthin' deffynit, jest say *one eye put out!*
Then you can call me 'Timbertoes'—thet's wut the people likes;
Suthin' combinin' morril truth, with phrases sech as strikes.
Its a good tangible idee, a suthin' to embody
Thet valooable class of men who look thro' brandy toddy."

He's all right on the slavery question, as he once found by special experience that niggers are not fit to be trusted. We regret not being able to give it, for it is one of the best things in the book, but are anxious to quote this charming little poem, which is perfect as a Dutch interior, and has a richer human glow:—

THE COURTIN'.

"Zekle crep up, quite unbeknown
An' peeked in thru the winder,
An' there sot Huldy all alone,
'ith no one nigh to hender.

Agin' the chimbly crooknecks hung,
An' in amongst 'em rusted
The old queen's arm that gran'ther Young
Fetched back frum Concord busted.

The wannut logs shot sparkles out
Towards the pootiest, bless her!
An' leetle fires danced all about
The chiney on the dresser.

The very room, coz she wuz in,
Looked warm from floor to ceilin',
An' she looked full ez rosy agin,
Ez the apples she wuz peelin'.

She heerd a foot and knowed it, tu,
Araspin' on the scraper,—
All ways to once her feelings flew
Like sparks in burnt-up paper.

He kin' o' l'itered on the mat,
Some doubtfle o' the seekle;
His heart kep' goin' pitypat,
But hern went pity Zekle."

We learn from the Parson that he was "not backward to recognise in the verses a certain wild, puckery, acidulous flavour, not wholly unpleasing, nor unwholesome to palates cloyed with the sugariness of tamed and cultivated fruit." And we find a delicious bit of simple worldly-wisdom in the dear old fellow's way of ushering them into the world. As it is the custom to attach "Notices of the Press" to the second edition of a work, he conceived it would be of more service to prepare such notices and print them with the first edition; for, as he very justly remarks, "to delay attaching the *bobs* until the second attempt at flying the kite, would indicate but a slender experience in that useful art." We could have wished that a portrait of "Hosea Biglow" had been attached to the book, but, as it is not, this graphic etching by his father is of all the more interest. It is a remarkable glimpse of his remarkable son's remarkable mode of composing his poetry. "Hosea he com home considerabal riled, and arter I'd gone to bed I hearn Him a thrashin round like a short-tailed Bull in fli-time. The old Woman ses she to me ses she, Zekle ses she, our Hosea's gut the chollery or suthin anuther, ses she, dont you Bee skeered, ses I, he's oney amakin pottery, ses I, he's ollers on hand at that ere busynes like Da & martin, and sure enuf, cum mornin, Hosy he cum down stares full drizzle, hare on eend and cote tales flyin, and sot right of to go reed his varses to Parson Wilbur, bineby he cum back and sed the parson wuz dreffle tickled with 'em as I hoop you will Be, and sed they wuz True grit." It is too bad, we think, that while there have been so many editions of Longfellow's works in this country, there has never been a collected edition of Lowell's

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Poems. We thank the author of "Tom Brown's School Days" for his hearty preface to the "Biglow Papers," and hope that the success of this volume will lead to his editing a perfect collection of Lowell's Poems.

Having cursorily passed through various phases of American humour, we are not about to make comparisons which might be differently "odorous" on different sides of the Atlantic. The Americans themselves are all too fond of measuring stature with European prototypes. We consider their literature to have passed through a most interesting condition, and to be doing quite as well as might have been expected. If its rootage in our literature was so much in its favour, there are also disadvantages when we come to estimate results. It has now gone through the initiative phases, we take it, and is very fertile in promise for the future. Homers, Dantes, and Shaksperes, the greatest poets and humorists, cannot be fairly expected in the first century of a literature. The beauty and grandeur of external nature alone will never inspire the highest and deepest writings; but human life, with its manifold experiences, its glooms and glories, sorrows and rejoicings, pains, pleasures, and aspirations. Nothing but a future full of promise can compensate American writers for the lack of that rich humanized soil of the past which belongs to us! Down into this soil the tree of our national life grasps with its thousand fibry fingers of rootage; and from this soil, made of the dust of our noble dead, it draws up a sap of strength, and lifts it up toward heaven in the leaves and blossoms with which it still laughs out exultantly atop.

As Holmes tells us—

> "One half our soil has walked the rest,
> In Poets, Heroes, Martyrs, Sages."

With us every foot of ground grows food for Imagination, and is hallowed by memorable associations; it has been ploughed and harrowed by some struggle for national life and liberty; ennobled by long toiling; and watered by sweat, and tears, and blood. We have streams that run singing their lyrical melodies; mountains that lift up their great epics of freedom; valleys full of traditionary tales; mossy moors over which the wind wails o' nights like a sighing memory of "old unhappy things and battles long ago;" and pastoral dales over which there broods a refreshing mist of legendary breathings. In a soil like this, we may look for poetry to strike its deepest roots, humour to flower with its lustiest luxuriance, and generous humilities to spring from such a proud possession. But America has no such humanized soil of the historic past, which has for ages been enriched by the ripe droppings of a fertile national life, that fall and quicken the present, to bring forth new fruit in season. There is a noticeable leanness in American life, a "'cuteness" of manners, that tell plainly enough of this lack in the kindlier nurture. It wants the fatness and the flavour of the old-world humanities. Their literature is bearing fruit; but there has not been time for the vintage to ripen down in the cellar, and acquire the mellow spirit that sits i' the centre, and the surrounding crust of richness that comes with maturity, which are to be met with in some of the old-world wines. So much may be set off to the want of a past. Then follow the adverse influences of the present, some of which are peculiarly hurtful in the States. We are acquainted with educated Americans who are glad to come to England whenever they can, just to realize all the meaning we find in "Home;" all the rich heritage that we have in our "Freedom;" and to live a little unconscious life, where the evil eye of publicity cannot penetrate. Life with them has not sufficient privacy, and is wanting in that repose which is necessary for the richer deposits of mind to settle in. How can the grapes ripen for the vintage if you pluck away the large green-sheltering leaves that shield the fruit, with their dewy coolness, from too much sun? More sanctity of the inner life is what American literature needs. The healing springs will be found to rise in solitude, and secret haunts. That restless, outward-hurrying, feverish, political life, is greatly against the quiet operation of the creative mind which needs a still resting-place, and long, lonely broodings, to bring forth its offspring of "glorious great intent." The political life leads to the development of aggressive force, instead of that assimilative force requisite to feed a noble literature. It makes a thousand appeals to self-consciousness; this brings a train of adverse influences in a sensitiveness which is always thinking the world's eyes are on it; a defiance of opinion which it fears, and a self-love which is most illiberal to others. A love of privacy has been one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the English nature. Out of all the proud and loving thoughts that fill our minds at the name of Shakspere, there is none more endearing than that which reminds us of his true English love of the old place where he was born and bred, and of his desire to get back there, and own his house and bit of land amid the scenes of his boyhood. Though his domestic ties had been none of the near-

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est, and some of his home-memories were far from flattering, yet his heart was there; and back to it he went, from all the allurements and triumphs of his London life, to have his wish and die. The bane of American life and literature is the love of publicity. With small national capital as stock in trade, the individual wealth requires all the more hiving and hoarding. Long, slow ripening is necessary, instead of a sudden and continual rushing into print, for this inevitably fritters away the power of growth.

However, these unhelpful and hindering conditions that we have adverted to are mainly the result of surrounding circumstances, or such as belong naturally to the youth of a nation. They will be conquered in time. Life must precede literature; and a noble, unconscious life will produce a great and fruitful literature. In that aspect of which we have been speaking, as well as in others which speak for themselves, our American brethren are certainly not poor. They have our hearty thanks for what they have already accomplished, and our best wishes for the future.

ART. VIII.—1. *Nettleton and his Labours.* By BENNET TYLER, D.D. Remodelled by Rev. A. A. BONAR. 2d Edition. Edinburgh, 1860.

2. *Historical Collections relating to Remarkable Periods of the Success of the Gospel, and Eminent Instruments employed in promoting it.* By Rev. JOHN GILLIES. Glasgow, 1754.
3. *Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in Northampton; and Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England.* By JONATHAN EDWARDS, A.M. Reprinted at London, 1839.
4. *Revivals of Religion in the British Isles, especially in Scotland.* Edinburgh, 1836.
5. *Theological Essays reprinted from the Princeton Review.* Edinburgh, 1856.
6. *Lectures on Revivals of Religion.* By W. B. SPRAGUE, D.D. Reprinted, Glasgow, 1832.
7. *Power of Prayer.* By S. I PRIME, D.D. London and Edinburgh, 1860.
8. *The Great American Revival.* By JOHN G. LORIMER, D.D. Glasgow, 1859.
9. *The Year of Grace.* By the Rev. WILLIAM GIBSON, Professor of Christian Ethics at Belfast. Edinburgh, 1860.
10. *Authentic Records of Revival now in Progress.* London, 1860.
11. *The Ulster Revival a Strictly Natural and Strictly Spiritual Work of God.* By STEPHEN GWYNN, Jun., A.B. Coleraine, 1859.
12. *Evidences of the Work of the Holy Spirit.* By GEORGE SALMON, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. Dublin, 1859.
13. *The Work and the Counterwork.* By EDWARD A. STOPFORD, Archdeacon of Meath. Dublin, 1859.
14. *The History, Character, and Consequences of Revivalism in Ireland.* By P. W. PERFITT, Ph.D. London, N.D.
15. *The Welsh Revival.* By the Rev. THOMAS PHILLIPS. London, 1800.
16. *An Account of the Work of God at Ferryden.* By Rev. W. NIXON, Montrose. London, 1860.
17. *Revival Lessons.* By JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D.D., of New York. Edinburgh, 1859.
18. *Hecker's Epidemics of the Middle Ages.* Translated by B. G. BABINGTON. Sydenham Society. London, 1844.
19. *The Pastor of Kilsyth.* By Rev. ISLAY BURNS. Edinburgh, 1860.

WE have placed at the head of this article the titles of a few, and only a few, of the publications called forth by recent religious movements, and of a few works of a similar kind of older date. The publications named are a very bare representation of a literature of considerable extent, eminently deserving to be sifted and studied more impartially than it has yet been. We propose in the present article to direct attention to some of the leading points on which a fair consideration of "Revivals" depends. It is no disadvantage to the object we have in view, that the commotion of opinions and articles occasioned by the Irish movement has quieted down. Many of our contemporaries, quarterly and monthly, have already sketched from various points of view, the leading features of that movement, and have given judgment upon it, certainly in a sufficiently discordant manner. In consequence we may hold ourselves relieved from the obligation to occupy much space with the scenery and historic details of the revivals to which we shall refer; and we may thus find more room to discuss some of those principles, applicable to the subject of Revivals, which are requisite to a fair appreciation of such movements, and which are often misapprehended. It is the more desirable that attention should be fixed on this part of the subject, because it is highly probable, judging from various indications, that we shall see more revivals in this country; and, however this prospect may be regard-

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ed, it is well, at all events, that the principles which bear upon the subject should be frankly discussed, and definitely apprehended.

The word "Revival" is a vague one, and requires to have its meaning fixed. In the present article we shall be forced, unfortunately, to use it in a narrow and technical sense, in order to confine our remarks to a sufficiently manageable topic. Some explanation is therefore necessary. Revival may properly enough express the *awakening or rekindling of religious feeling* in a community; and such revivals have occurred in various countries, and under various forms of religion, heathen as well as Christian. Speaking only of the Christian religion, Revival will denote the quickened influence of Christian truth and Christian motives on the minds and hearts of a community, as manifested in their devotions and their conduct. More particularly, however, and as used now in the evangelical churches, the word expresses that state of things in which the divine life appears to be deepened and made more energetic in believers, and in which the Church gains over to repentance a notable number of those who have been careless or hostile. As everything spiritually good in man is ascribed, in evangelical churches, to the Holy Spirit, the word Revival, as used in them, carries a reference to His agency.

Let it be observed that, as thus explained, the word applies with full propriety to every really advancing condition of the Christian Church, as properly when that spiritual advance is spread over a generation, as when it is or seems to be concentrated into the space of a month. Usually, no doubt, the term is applied distinctively to religious movements of a concentrated kind, in which a strong influence seems to operate at once on a whole community, and to produce definitive results within a short time. But great injustice is done to the views of those who think well of revivals, by this popular restriction of the term. It is never to be forgotten that *they* maintain that every revival, regarded by them as genuine, is in all substantial qualities similar to the more gradual advances (if *these* are genuine) which are also so important to the wellbeing of the Church. The differences, it is maintained, are merely circumstantial,—dependent on the greater concentration of feeling, and more rapid development of results. Every substantial quality for which they value the one, they find also in the other. And intermediate instances of religious revival, of every order, from the most gradual to the most instantaneous and concentrated, can be cited to complete the proof that there is no difference of kind or of principle, but merely of accessories and circumstantials.

It is therefore an unreasonable disadvantage under which those who take a favourable view of revivals are laid, when the discussion is confined to the more stirring movements of this kind, on the assumption that they are generically peculiar. In the present article we are compelled to lay ourselves not only under this, but under a still greater disadvantage. In order to confine our remarks to a manageable topic, revivals will be considered mainly as they are alleged to be characterized by the conversion of men heretofore living in formalism or in sin. This is only half of what ought to be adverted to in speaking of revivals; indeed it is conceivable, though not likely, that there might be a real revival without any conversions at all. The alleged fact of remarkable and rapid conversions has, however, naturally been the leading idea associated with the name, and has been the topic usually discussed in connection with it. And our remarks shall be mainly confined to revivals in this reference.

It will be obvious that, when the term is narrowed by the various restrictions now adverted to, the range of facts to which it is applicable must be correspondingly abridged. There have been many and various important revivals in the Church; but *such* revivals as are now commonly referred to under that generic name, may be expected to occur, for the most part, in some particular circumstances which more naturally give occasion to them. Such revivals will occur only in some churches, not in all. They may occur in any church in which, according to the prevailing teaching, the inherent sinfulness of men is strongly proclaimed; in which the salvation of men is represented as turning on their personal faith and repentance — on their coming, adhering, trusting to the Saviour; and in which this union to Christ is represented as initiating all holiness of life, as well as securing actual forgiveness. Let a general impression be produced in negligent minds with reference to these truths, and their own concern in them, and the materials of a revival may be said to be provided. On the other hand, in churches where the sacramental theory prevails, revivals are not to be expected. In them, the elements of divine life are represented as sacramentally communicated, antecedently to consciousness; and the improvement of them is regarded as taking place by slow endeavours, and the continual ministration

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of fresh sacramental grace. The people in such churches must reject the creed they have been taught, and receive another, before revivals such as we are now dicussing can have place among them. Other kinds of revival, however, there may be in such churches, as may be seen from the effects of missions conducted by the Romish predicant orders. The nature and worth of these, it does not belong to our present subject to consider.

In accordance with these views, we find that revivals, more or less frequent, and more or less satisfactory, have occurred in all churches in which they were to be expected; that is, in all the churches in which men have been plainly taught their lost condition, and have had faith in Christ and repentance towards God pressed upon them.

Unfortunately, the record of these religious awakenings is often very defective—too much so to be of much service to an inquirer who wishes to discriminate. Still, there does exist a very interesting body of materials, quite capable of supplying to the Church the results of a long and various experience. Many of the narratives which compose it (often the composition of humble men, otherwise unknown to ecclesiastical literature) are in the highest degree creditable to the modesty, piety, and good sense of the writers. Signally distinguished among them are the "Narratives," the "Marks of a Work of the True Spirit," and the "Thoughts" of Jonathan Edwards; a divine distinguished in this department, alike by the remarkable influence he exercised in carrying on the work, and the rigour of the examination to which he subjected it. Some acquaintance with this literature may reasonably be looked for at the hands of intelligent religious people, and especially of the clerical body. Such an acquaintance would prevent many mistakes, into which zealous but rash persons are apt to fall. It would also be extremely desirable, though it is quite hopeless to expect, that those who oppose all revivals would read a little of what has been said about them by accredited evangelical writers.

We had prepared from these materials a sketch of the revival movements which have taken place during the last three centuries, chiefly with a view to point out the extent and variety of the experience which the Church has acquired in this department. Such a sketch, besides noticing various important movements which have occurred sporadically since the Reformation, ought to embrace in particular the whole early history of the awakening in England under Wesley and Whitefield, the fruits of which are to be found far beyond the borders of Methodism and of England; and also the great series of American revivals, with their singularly interesting and impressive lessons. Want of space makes it necessary to withhold these notices. This is the less to be regretted, inasmuch as some acquaintance with these events, in outline at least, is now pretty general in the community.

At all events, most persons are aware that in America, ever since the year 1791 (when they recommenced after a long interval), revivals have been frequent. They have often been marred by mistakes and abuses, but much oftener they have been guided by the best and soundest heads in the Transatlantic churches, and attended with the happiest effects. It was, therefore, not the existence of a revival, but the character and extent of it, which were felt to be so impressive in 1857–58. The extraordinary commercial excitement of the preceding years, with an attendant increase of luxury and folly, had alarmed many Christians, and led them to endeavour to counteract social influences which threatened to be ruinous. They were thus ready for their work—that is, were impressed with the necessity for prayer and effort—when the commercial crash, unprecedented for its severity, disposed even the most thoughtless to reflection. The revival seems first to have taken palpable form in the extraordinary attendance at midday meetings for business men, which became numerous, crowded, full of life and interest, and were held daily. Without adverting further to the details, which were made known at the time through many channels, it may be enough to say that the special characteristics of this revival seem to have been these: its *extent*, spreading nearly over the whole Union;—its *non-denominational* character, no one body having the lead;—further, its *non-congregational* character; for, while former revivals generally went out, so to speak, from the congregations, this was propagated mainly by prayer-meetings, in which members of different congregations joined;—the manifestation it afforded of the *doctrinal unity* of Protestant Churches in the United States;—the *respect* accorded to the movement by the whole nation, especially as represented by the secular press;—and, perhaps most characteristic of all, the *reliance placed upon the power of prayer*, and the extent to which that reliance was justified. So much ignorance is still sometimes shown, that it may be necessary to say that there were no "physical phenomena."*

* An unreasonable exception is taken to the gen-

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The recent Irish Revival may be said to have followed, although its earliest movements somewhat preceded, that in America. The history of this remarkable set of events has been written by Professor Gibson with great judgment and ability. He has happily combined a very cordial and reverent recognition of the Divine agency in the awakening and conversion of sinners, with much candour and fairness in reference to debateable points. It is no blemish to such a work, but, on the contrary, a great enhancement to its value, that he allows so many of his brethren to tell their own story in their own way, and so exhibits the impression which the movement made on a variety of eye-witnesses. Occasionally one may be disposed to differ, on subordinate points, from one or two of those who speak through his pages; so, it may be gathered, he would himself. Generally, however, the impression which this work gives, both of the devotedness and of the judgment of Irish ministers, is very favourable. Naturally, the information is chiefly drawn from Presbyterian sources, although the movement was by no means confined to Presbyterians. The spirit of the book, however, is thoroughly unsectarian. We may instance in proof the remarks on Archdeacon Stopford's pamphlet, in which we thoroughly concur, both as regards the praiseworthy design of that production, and the defects of execution, which, in a great measure, neutralized its good effects.

About the same time with the Irish Revival, a similar movement began in Wales, originated, apparently, so far as causes can be traced, by the tidings of the American Revival. Wales has frequently been the seat of extensive religious movements; and that to which we now refer will probably bear comparison with the most extensive. It appeared more or less in almost every county in the Principality; and is notable for the amount of co-operation on the part of various denominations, Established and non-Established, which it has brought about. Union prayer-meetings of all the evangelical bodies became frequent and frequented.* Less seems to be popularly known of this movement than of the others; the prevalence of the Welsh language interposing an obstacle to communication. The work of Mr. Phillips gives an interesting sketch of it. The excitement at some of the meetings seems to have been occasionally extreme. In Wales, as in Ireland, the moral improvement following on the revival has been most marked.

A number of similar movements have taken place in Scotland, but are more locally circumscribed than those in Ireland and Wales. They have occurred in several districts inhabited by a fishing population, in mining districts, and in sections both of town and rural populations. The interesting little work of Mr. Nixon will supply a specimen of one of the most remarkable. In some cases, as at Ferryden, mental emotion produced physical effects more or less analogous to those which occurred in Ireland. In other places, in which the appearance of a revolution in the feelings and character was equally great, effects of this kind scarcely occurred.

We proceed now to examine the principles on which we think these remarkable appearances ought to be criticised and appreciated. Without being sanguine enough to suppose that a universal agreement of opinion about them will soon be reached, we still think it far from difficult to point out the principles which ought to govern any discussions which take place.

A preliminary position may first be laid down. It is freely conceded that some movements, called revivals, have been little else than outbursts of fanaticism: it is further conceded that many revivals, favourably judged of by the evangelical churches, have borne marks of human error and infirmity, sometimes in a serious degree. But it will not do, at this time of day, to rail at revivals from a preconceived opinion, and to ascribe them wholly, *ex cathedra*, to superstition, excitability, nervous contagion, and hysteria. We have got a good way past this. Whether they are to be opposed or to be criticised, the grounds alleged on their behalf must be sifted and discussed. It cannot now be denied, that among those who are the defenders, and indeed among those whose Christian experience is the product, of revivals, are men whose intellectual and moral stature excels that of any of their opponents. It cannot be denied, without effrontery, that nothing has been written with a view to distinguish between true and fanatical religious feeling, so soberly, discriminatingly, and usefully by any, as by those who have taken part in revivals. It cannot be denied that grounds are advanced in behalf of revivals, suitably conducted, which at least deserve to be weighed. In consequence of this, a much greater disposi-

uineness of this revival, on the ground that no revolution is apparent in American life, manners, and policy. But supposing half a million of persons to have become earnest Christians, which is a very liberal allowance, earnest Christians would still be in a great minority.

* At one of these the expression was used—"We thank Thee that the straw walls, which have long divided us, are now on fire."

tion is now generally shown than was usual in former times, to look fairly at the facts, and to let them weigh for what they are worth. A recent article in the *Quarterly Review*, very fair and candid in its tone, is an illustration. The line which has been taken in some quarters is a mistake. On the other hand, it is equally imperative that whatever can be made out on grounds of fact, reason, or Scripture, fitted to throw doubt or discredit on any revival proceedings, should be candidly considered. Wholesale defending of revivals, and all their circumstantials, is a great disservice to the Church. All things in which imperfect men take part, need, at least, a great amount of sifting; and revivals among the rest.

The fundamental position bearing on all questions about revivals, is *the possibility and necessity of conversion*, and the obligation lying upon the Church to labour for conversions. By conversion is understood, in the evangelical churches, an intelligent and willing change, under the influence of the truth and Spirit of God, in which a man, heretofore not saved from sin, passes into peace with God, and into godly living, by trust and love towards Christ, who is the embodiment of all grace, and all goodness. Sin is here taken in its scriptural latitude, as including all alienation of heart from God and indifference to His claims. It is admitted, that men may be truly converted, although the precise character of their moral history has not been all along so clear as to enable them to fix the time. But it is maintained that this change is necessary; and that it is a decisive change, which really places the subject of it in a new relation to sin upon the one hand, and to God and Christ upon the other. The change thus effected is attributed to the agency of the Holy Spirit, in connection with the revealed truth of God. It is also maintained that unconverted persons may usually know that they are unconverted, or at least may usually be made to see it by a due use of their Bibles. We regret to have to introduce so much of formal theological statement, but it is really unavoidable; for this is the foundation of the whole matter. It is not implied by this, that all who admit the possibility and necessity of conversion, in the evangelical sense, and the Church's obligation to labour for it, must admit revivals as an inference. It is conceivable that the first may be admitted, and the second denied. But it is meant that it is quite useless to discuss revivals with those who deny conversion in the sense explained. Why discuss the reality of a harvest with him who denies the reality of even one single ear of corn? The quarrel of many with revivals is founded on their quarrel with the whole teaching of the Reformation, and is to be appreciated accordingly. Holding either sacramental salvation with the Church of Rome, or a salvation of good behaviour with the Socinians and Pelagians, they must declare war against revivals as a matter of course. We have no intention, then, of wasting space in endeavouring to recommend revivals to those who deny the fundamental position referred to.

But we must still further tax the patience of our readers in reference to this matter, by reminding them that men are not left to their own fancies to decide what is and what is not conversion. There is a great body of scriptural principles bearing on the subject; in reference to which the evangelical churches, however they disagree on other subjects, are singularly unanimous. These principles do not enable men to decide who are and who are not converted. But, properly applied, they do enable men to distinguish for themselves between the great change from sin to God through Christ, and those delusive feelings which simulate it. They do enable intelligent Christians so far to understand the case of those who apply to them for advice as to warn them usefully. They do enable such Christians to form a fair judgment as to those instances of spiritual concern which may be regarded as hopeful, inasmuch as the concern is grounded on the very reasons which Scripture assigns as just and proper. They do enable such Christians, further, intelligently to form a probable judgment as to the cases in which they are called upon to exercise a charitable and sympathising hope for persons who profess seriously their faith in Christ. It is usual in evangelical churches to inculcate earnestly the importance of a stringent application of these principles by each one to his own case, and a reasonable and charitable regard to them in reference to others. There is, of course, the usual human shortcoming in making use of them. They are now referred to, however, because there is in some quarters a disposition to represent it, as though no tests of conversion were recognised in revivals but excitement, emotion, expressions of joy and fervour, and so forth. Professing our willingness to admit this charge wherever it is made out, we must take leave to stigmatize it, as a general representation, by the uncivil name of *cant.* Ignorant people do, of course, think and talk nonsense during revivals, because they do so at all times. But the body of principles we speak of is so various, copious, and touches human nature at so many points,—

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bearing as it does on the views that ought to influence men, their experience under them, and the fruits afterwards,—that it constitutes a thoroughly effective guide in a region confessedly difficult and dark. And probably no men of their respective periods ever made a severer application of those principles to human professions, than those two, so great in revival work, Jonathan Edwards in the last century, and Asahel Nettleton in the present.

Only one other step remains to be taken in order to set forth, positively, the theory of revivals. It is asserted that, occasionally, the impressions which issue in conversion are made on many minds about the same time, or in connection with one movement of the general mind and feeling of a community: especially in communities where it has become known that some of their number have been impressed, or seem to be converted. This is asserted as matter of experience; and it is further maintained that there is nothing unreasonable or unscriptural in it, but the contrary.

In so far as this is asserted to be matter of experience, the proof cannot be adduced here. Whether or not there have been awakenings and apparent conversions which stand those scriptural tests that ought to direct charitable judgments, must be determined by the recorded evidence. So also must the question, whether the awakenings and apparent conversions which stand that test, have really formed the main characteristic and work of any revivals. We have no doubt about the answer which the evidence supplies. We shall, however, only make one remark upon it; viz., that though the evidence is not of a kind which enables us to judge absolutely in the case of every individual man apparently awakened, it is still evidence of that kind which does not deceive *on the great scale, and in its application to a great number of cases.* It justifies a general conclusion.

In regard to the assertion that there is nothing unreasonable or unscriptural in the idea just presented, one or two remarks may be made. As to the evidence of Scripture, we shall only say that it seems singular, under a dispensation which began at Pentecost, to dispute the possibility or propriety of common movements of mind issuing, under the Divine blessing, in a number of conversions. Probably, however, the more usual prejudice is against the reasonableness of such events. Why should a great number of persons, of various circumstances and ages, be all converted together in the course of a few weeks, instead of separately and successively? Does it not look like one of those transient waves of feeling which pass over communities, rather than a collection of really decisive changes, of which each holds its appropriate place in a separate moral history?

In alleviation of this difficulty it may be observed, that undoubtedly communities, under religious instruction, like other communities, have a certain unity. They have a common moral history; they frequently have a common moral and spiritual condition, which operates on the character of every member of the community. They are, besides, united in many providential circumstances which affect them all. While, therefore, there are great individual diversities, there is also a great deal in which all share. They are accordingly liable to common impulses; and it is impossible to assert that those common impulses may not fall in fitly in the scheme of Providence for affecting decisively the spiritual condition of many of them at once. It is impossible to maintain that the individual diversities which subsist must always preclude the propriety of the simultaneous conversion of a number of persons. Such an assertion, which would be presumptuous in any case, is palpably presumptuous when due regard is had to the common influences which are simultaneously moulding all the minds in question. Moreover, it will be admitted, probably, that as in the case of individuals, so in the case of communities, critical periods arrive; a time comes when a decision must be taken, and some new form of life assumed: there are growths of knowledge, training, experience, which necessitate a recrystallization, so to say, for good or evil. May not such a crisis arrive in the experience of a community? If it does, will it not necessarily raise individual questions for individual minds? And may it not be sometimes entirely fit, reasonable in the highest sense, that then many marked individual decisions should be had?

Independently, however, of these considerations, and in addition to them, much is due to the legitimate influence of sympathy. When some persons in a congregation, for instance, are known to be awakened, and especially if they cannot help making their feelings manifest by the natural signs, such as weeping, it is quite natural that others should be impressed. It is quite natural, especially, that those should be visited with similar feelings whose consciences tell them that there is ample ground for such feelings in their own case: who have long known that their want of such feeling is highly unreasonable. There is nothing fanatical in this. We do not disclaim sympathy, as a fanatical influence, when men are to be roused to efforts of patriotism or benevolence. We hold it quite reasonable then,

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that the fire should leap from heart to heart. And why shall it be judged unfit that the grace of God should sometimes make use of this thoroughly reasonable influence to call up at once, in many bystanders, the slumbering convictions of years?

We have indicated the class of considerations and the kind of evidence by which the scriptural and reasonable character of revivals may be defended. The outline which has been traced, requires of course to be filled up by specific evidence, which cannot be adduced here. On such grounds as have been indicated, we hold it fully made out, that revivals have been, and may yet be expected to be, productive of great good to the Church and to mankind. There is nothing, however, in these considerations which would dispose any intelligent Christian to shut his eyes to the evils that may be connected with ill-conducted revivals. We have kept prominently in view, in our remarks, as a leading condition of our advocacy of revivals, that they should be carried on by the full declaration of revealed truth, and with a full application of scriptural tests to human experience and professions. We are perfectly aware, that there may be a great failure here, and if so, the consequences will always be unfortunate. There have been revivals, so called, in which scarcely a trace of scriptural influence was to be seen. There have been revivals (a much more common and more perplexing case), in which, with a good deal that was sound and wholesome, so much of the foolish and misleading mingled, as to raise a question whether the loss did not exceed the gain. The more that any one is convinced that real and beneficial revivals may be expected, the more ready he ought to be to apply Scripture and common sense with a view to eliminate abuses. We have no doubt, therefore, that the Church will gain a great deal from the unsparing criticism of those opponents of revivals, who are also opponents of everything evangelical. Indeed, our only regret in reference to them is, that their criticism is usually characterized by so much ignorance, and avoids so cautiously a real grapple with the strength of the revival case, that much less benefit is to be got from it than any one could wish to receive. On the same grounds, if any of those who are not unfavourable to evangelical truth, see or think they see anything to object to in revival proceedings or principles, it is their privilege and their duty to state it frankly: only let it be remembered, that there is a great deal in the nature of the case, and in the lessons of past experience, to show the importance of their doing so with gentleness and forbearance. There is undoubtedly a great deal in this field, in regard to which the Church may profit by experience. We believe she has already done so, more largely perhaps in America than in this country: and there is still room for progress. We shall therefore proceed to say something in regard to those points which may be regarded as more or less difficult, on which the opponents of revivals have usually founded their attacks, and in regard to which the promoters of them have not been always wise — sometimes extremely foolish.

A difficulty is by some persons felt to arise from the rapidity with which, in revivals, conversions seem to be accomplished. People are suddenly awakened, and in a very little while seem to find peace, and to emerge into Christian life. This suddenness raises a doubt as to the depth of the feelings that change so quickly. It has the aspect of something inconsiderate. There is nothing here, it is said, like counting the cost, or weighing well what is renounced and what is embraced.

Probably an exaggerated idea is often entertained of the proportion of very rapid conversions under revivals. Those which take place with obvious rapidity, are the striking incidents of a revival, which are most likely to be reported. Those, usually much the greater number, in which days and weeks of serious reflection precede the consciousness of Christian rest and hopeful Christian activity, are less capable of being picturesquely conceived; and very many of them only become known by the gradual evidence of succeeding months and years. Still, undoubtedly, a rapid decisiveness in the professed conversions is a feature which appears more largely in revivals than at ordinary times: as indeed may be expected if it is reasonable at any time to look for such conversions.

That it is reasonable, as well as scriptural, must be maintained. It is indeed most true that a change, which, if real, is the greatest event in a man's life, and involves the weightiest decision he can ever make, ought to be eminently rational, considerate, and deliberate. If really defective in these respects, it cannot be genuine. Still, now as in New Testament times, conversions rapidly accomplished, as to the time spent under serious impressions, are to be looked for; and looked for not only as preternatural exceptions, but as a substantial element of the Church's experience. It is to be remembered, that in Christian countries, men, however careless, have usually a large amount of preparative acquaintance with revealed truth, and have arrived, mentally, at a num-

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ber of practical admissions or concessions about sin, righteousness, and salvation, which slumber in their minds, but may be awakened. Now, whatever may be said about conversion, it is past all question, that the awakening of conscience may take place with singular suddenness. It does not always take place so, indeed, but it often does. Almost at once, the facts and the admitted truths of a lifetime have started into luminous significance, and men have come to the assured conviction and very deep impression of their own ungodliness, as the most important fact about them—a conviction, be it observed, most rational and well grounded, the previous absence of it being the only marvellous and irrational element in the case. If, then, this may be so, may not the counterpart process sometimes be effected with a rapidity equally decisive? Under the agency of the Holy Spirit, may not that which is central and essential in the Gospel (long known in its form) come out to the oppressed mind of the sinner with luminous power—a power corresponding to the certainty and depth of the felt evil? May not the goodness and purity of Christ come out in felt contrast to his own felt debasement—the helpfulness of Christ in connection with his urgent spiritual need? And, *if there be such a thing as conversion at all*, may not the instant effect be a decisive movement of the inner man, in which the bondage of evil is broken, and the man enters, with a conscious certainty which does not deceive him, into a new mind, a quite new moral atmosphere, and a new life, because into the faith and love of Christ? There is nothing in this at all fanatical or enthusiastic. There is always a decisive moral crisis in conversion, though its character is not always instantly apparent to the subject of it. But it may arrive with instant conscious clearness. The immensity of the contrast between evil and good, ungodliness and reconciliation, is such as to justify this position against all exception. And there is every reason to think that a certain appreciable proportion of such rapid conversions is a healthful element in the Church's experience, requisite to the equipoise of her convictions and her activities.

On the other hand, it is equally true, that, especially in times of religious excitement, people are in danger of being deceived about conversions. Without conscious hypocrisy, people may be floated over into what they think conversion, without even the least intelligent apprehension of what conversion is. The danger in this direction is generally under-estimated by active evangelistic persons of one-sided views. It was not under-estimated by such men as Edwards or Nettleton. The Church is therefore under obligations to those who remind the community, even if sometimes a little roughly, of the danger which attends the confident talk about conversions into which good people are apt to slide. It is under still greater obligations to all who endeavour to supply to awakened persons a full ministration of the truth. The various aspects of truth, striking on the various aspects of human nature and human experience, is the proper instrumental precaution against spurious conversions. One-sided preaching, or the mere iteration of one set of truths, may be instrumental in really converting a number of people. But, usually, such conversions will be accompanied with a lamentable number that are spurious; and of those that are really converted many will acquire an unhappy one-sidedness in the cast of their experience, not easily remedied afterwards. No consideration surely can evince more clearly the responsibilities of those who undertake to deal with awakened consciences.

Another topic which usually creates a good deal of doubt in connection with revivals, is that of the kind and degree of emotion felt and manifested. Sometimes revivals are carried through with a singular combination of deep feeling on the one hand, and solemn self-control on the other. At other times there is an amount of passionate sorrow and joy, which to some seems extravagant, and which justifies in the eyes of others the condemnation of the whole affair as a mere whirlwind of fanaticism. It is not easy to speak wisely on this subject, because the matter itself is so little capable of precise determination. It is to be remembered, also, that a good deal depends on the habits and practice of different denominations. In some denominations it is not unusual, in ordinary worship, for the worshippers to express their feelings by spontaneous ejaculations and responses. This, of course, leads naturally, in times of greater movement, to manifestations of feeling that seem very strange to Episcopalian and Presbyterian eyes and ears. This has to be borne in mind in reading some revival narratives.

Nothing can be more true, than that emotion, when manifested, becomes contagious. It is not wonderful, therefore, that it should be suspected sometimes that emotion is carrying people where their intellect and conscience do not keep them company. There is no doubt at all that this has largely characterized some revivals; and in some the melancholy mistake has been made of trusting to this blind process, as the means of leading sinners to God. It is a danger

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always to be guarded against with a vigilant sense of the weakness of human nature, and the folly of exposing it to dangers which have proved, ere now, so real and fatal. But here, as in other practical matters, there are two sides to the question. All is not settled, by any means, by pointing out a danger on one side.

In the first place, it is impossible to assign any limit of feeling in reference to Divine truth and the interests of the soul, which ought never to be passed. Any degree of emotion, the deepest of which man is capable, is no more than may be justified by the nature and amount of the interests at stake, and the influences at work, under the Gospel. In the second place, it is natural and reasonable that in a revival—*i.e.*, when many are awakened at the same time—both the consciousness of feeling and the expression of it should be much livelier than we ordinarily see. Ordinarily, the individual who may be awakened is under the controlling influence of finding perhaps every person he knows or meets with, in a state of feeling diverse from his own. The repressive power of this influence is too obvious to need to be stated. At a revival, on the other hand, each individual who is awakened is under the stimulating influence of feeling that the conscious concern of a whole community justifies his own. Thirdly, the contagious influence of emotion may produce effects that are entirely reasonable and justifiable. This is so, when the contagious agitation of the feelings calls up and brings vividly to consciousness facts and truths which justify those feelings—facts and truths which ought to have excited those feelings before, and which were intentionally and guiltily neglected.

Still the expression of feeling in public assemblies must be subjected to some restraint. It must be so, in order that the proper work of such assemblies may go on. It must be so also in order to guard against dangers. And experience shows, that by duly helping those who are under the influence of deep feeling, they may be enabled to exercise a reasonable self-control. When expressions of feeling interrupt the services, and take the lead in a congregation, obvious dangers are at hand. In the first place, an element of agitation is created of a peculiarly uncontrollable kind, the surges of which may not prove amenable to reason. In the next place, the influence upon individuals (a very strong and peculiar kind of influence) exerted by the contagion of a commotion of this kind, is not at all regulated by truth or reason, but is proportioned to the susceptibility of their nervous system. Intelligent and reflecting persons are aware of this, and instinctively strive to retain their self-control. But many of those who compose every public assembly are not reflecting persons, and are exposed in this way to deceive themselves to a most dangerous degree. Further, frequent exposure to such influences creates in some persons a chronic liability to tumultuous agitation, which, if they are not converted, is fitted to mislead them; and if they are, exposes them to the danger which Edwards has described with so much penetration, under the name of "Degenerating of Experiences." These considerations seem fitted to guide to a general conclusion,—viz., that such expression of emotion in public assemblies as threatens to interrupt the progress of properly spiritual exercises, common to the whole assembly, is usually to be discouraged.

It will be expected that an article on revivals should include a reference to the "physical phenomena," or "prostrations." We yield to the necessity with some regret, believing that our own and our readers' attention might be more usefully occupied.

It is important to observe that a variety of cases, really different, are included under the term prostration. In the first place, there are cases which ought not to be classed under this head at all. Such are those in which persons under extreme distress and concern on account of sin, finding themselves no longer able to suppress their feelings, throw themselves on their knees and cry to God for mercy. It is certainly unusual to see this in any public place; but it may be nothing more than the natural expression of every unusual distress, more or less intelligent, with reference to the soul and eternity. In such cases, there may be something spasmodic in the gestures and expressions; this, however, does not justify the search after any recondite cause. All the tokens of emotion tend to be somewhat spasmodic, as we see in the common case of sobbing; and when very deep emotion, after a long effort to master it, bursts forth into expression, it is nothing more than may be expected, if this characteristic becomes more than ordinarily developed.

Another class of cases, more properly ranked as prostrations, is composed of those which may be best conceived as cases of swooning. It is well known that the presentation of intelligence which intensely interests the mind and moves the feelings, has often caused swooning. It is as if the news presented laid hold of the man so vigorously through his mind and feelings, as to appropriate and enchain all his powers. The sudden and exorbitant demand on the nervous energy, through the intellect and

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affections, leaves too little to carry on the other functions in their usual vigour; and hence fainting, or perhaps some still more serious nervous crisis. An analogous experience in the case of a man under unusually deep religious concern is perfectly intelligible. Such a man is labouring under the weight of important truths, which have laid hold of a mind previously inattentive to them; he is conscious of a mental conflict of awful interest, in the course of which the extent of his own ungodliness becomes oppressively clear to him. By and by, perhaps, he can scarcely eat or sleep: his whole soul is filled with intense longing for deliverance; and as the moral or spiritual crisis draws nearer, the demand upon his energies becomes excessive, and he swoons away. We know that some of those who have been prostrated in one of the recent Scottish revivals, intelligent and thoughtful persons, though in humble life, considered their own case to be simply one of swooning under some such experience as we have indicated above. A similar explanation will apply to some cases in which there is no previous exhausting process. Some persons, for instance, have been prostrated who were previously sincerely pious, though not very lively in religion; and they have proved afterwards to be remarkably quickened, manifesting a new interest in religion, and a great readiness to every good work. This is probably to be explained by supposing that, under revival influences, such persons had their minds somewhat suddenly occupied with views of Divine things of an order transcending all their former experience. This, combined with a consciousness of something blameworthy in their previous comparative blindness and insensibility, might quite possibly go so far as to lead to swooning. We could cite cases of persons, young, healthy, of intelligent and investigative minds, removed from all revival scenes and influences not by space merely, but many years of time, who, in course of solitary reflection, have had views of the Divine character and majesty impressed on them with a force that nearly bore down the physical energies; and this when there was no special activity of conscience, and when no element of terror mingled with their impressions.

The cases, however, which attracted the greatest attention in Ireland, are not to be referred to either of these classes. They are the cases, tolerably similar in their general character, in which persons seemed to come suddenly under a complex influence, partly mental and partly physical. They fell down in a state of violent and convulsive agitation, accompanied with a most oppressive feeling of distress, which manifested itself in an uncontrollable disposition to pray, often in the very loudest tones. Meanwhile their minds, little conscious of anything going on around them, seemed to be filled with the liveliest apprehensions of sin, of the need of a Saviour, of His presence and power to help, and very often also of the presence and influence of the Enemy of souls. These impressions sometimes assumed the form of a most animated spiritual struggle with the Evil One, in whose power they apprehended themselves to be. Two or three well-marked stages could usually be traced in these attacks. They ended with a sense of extraordinary liberation and relief, the mind being usually impressed with a sense of the Saviour's love and helpfulness. In some places these occurrences were very numerous; in others few or none occurred. Phenomena of this kind had been previously quite unknown in the district, and naturally caused a great commotion. In a community thus taken by surprise, it was natural enough that many should at first regard these affections as having a quasi-supernatural character, particularly when they saw them concurring, as they sometimes did, with the most remarkable moral changes in men's lives and characters. Fortunately the ministers and intelligent Christians generally took safe ground, and, without attempting to explain these affections, kept before the mind of the people objective truth, and the essentials in which conversion consists. In consequence, the affections, instead of becoming chronic, for the most part disappeared, and left the proper spiritual work of a revival disencumbered of this element. There were, however, instances of less intelligent and prudent guidance; and an unhappy stimulus was given to everything eccentric by crowds of visitors from England and Scotland, many of them more pious than enlightened, who beset the more noted cases. Accordingly, a tendency to recurrent prostration became chronic in some, while in others trances, visions, prophesyings, and the like, were developed. These peculiar appearances have been represented as constituting the substance of the whole revival. Nothing can be more false. The cases of prostration undoubtedly exercised a great influence in awakening and sustaining attention throughout the country; but they constituted only a small per centage of those who were awakened, and only some of those who were prostrated were ever regarded as converted. There was a disposition on the part of many to lay too much stress on the extraordinary feeling of peace and happiness

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which usually arose at a certain stage of these affections; and this very likely gave rise to mistakes. But the ground always maintained by the great body of ministers and intelligent Christians was, that conversion has its own proper evidences, which can neither be dispensed with, nor supplanted by physical symptoms, however remarkable. On the other hand, it is quite clear that a number of persons who experienced a remarkable change in their convictions, dispositions, and character, and who still live entirely changed lives, experienced this change in connection with prostrations. A great deal has been written about these affections. In the few remarks we have to make, we shall endeavour to avoid the snare of knowing more than is really known, into which some of our predecessors, we fear, have fallen.

The question simply is, whether the non-spiritual element in these cases — *i.e.*, so much as does *not* consist in intelligent views of truth, and corresponding impressions, affections, and resolutions—can be referred to known natural causes, and classified with known phenomena. Further, if it can, can the connection in certain cases between the physical and the spiritual be accounted for? It is to be observed that to the non-spiritual element, which is thus made matter of consideration, some of the mental as well as of the bodily manifestations are to be reckoned. The abnormal mental state common to all these cases, and the peculiar and uncontrollable form which the mental exercises and manifestations took, are to be included in the inquiry.

Now, there is a class of disorders, not very thoroughly understood, and exceedingly mutable and protean in their forms, which are called nervous disorders for want of a better name. They seem, at least, to be connected with a disturbed condition of the nervous system. Of these disturbances, some manifest themselves by fits of agitation of mind and body,—the agitation being more gentle or more severe, more regular or more convulsive in its character. Under such disturbances, long trains of bodily and mental manifestations, homogeneous or heterogeneous in their character, are sometimes produced, — the memory and the imagination being laid largely under contribution to make out the train. And, what is specially pertinent here, sometimes these affections become contagious, and spread to predisposed persons over large districts of country. In this case, the very odd phenomenon is presented, of mental and bodily manifestations, sometimes of a complex kind, including many mental experiences, and processes, and voluntary movements of the body, gone through, as by a kind of destiny, by a great many diverse people, who can have no common *reason* for doing or feeling any such things. The manner of the contagion is very obscure. It is probably not purely through the mind; yet it depends in a peculiar manner upon seeing or hearing of the symptoms of others, — the knowledge thus acquired seeming to excite a tendency to an elaborately imitative train of similar performances. The circumstances, also, in which such disorders tend to become contagious are very uncertain. Various conditions of race, of climate, possibly of subtle elemental influence, may, for anything that is known, create the tendency. But it appears, from various instances, that one of the conditions which favours it, is the occupation of the mind of a whole community by some one deeply-exciting subject. Hecker's "Epidemics of the Middle Ages"—a work translated for a medical society—has been frequently referred to as containing illustrations. It is, in fact, a highly instructive and useful book for those whom it does not cause to be wiser than Hecker himself. It requires, like every book on such a subject, to be used with caution and discretion. It is clear, however, that such disorders as we have imperfectly described have arisen and prevailed at various periods, sometimes taking a long time to work themselves out.

There is, we think, no reason to doubt that the prostrations, with their train of peculiar symptoms, are to be reckoned to this class of disorders. It is no fair objection to this mode of accounting for them, that the symptoms are not precisely the same as those of ordinary hysteria, or *precisely* parallel to those of any established class of nervous disorders. The truth is, these disorders are too mutable in character to be very satisfactorily classified: no one is surprised to find their symptoms varying unexpectedly, in the ordinary experience of medical practice; and when they have spread widely in contagious forms, the form has always been largely determined by the prevalent feelings, opinions, and tendencies of the age. Still there are general characteristics which justify the reference of them all to one category. Medical men seem generally to think that the affinities of the prostration cases are best indicated by some such name as irregular or extraordinary hysteria; and there seems to be no fair reason, on ordinary scientific grounds, for objecting to the nomenclature, or to the classification which it implies. The question, however, which concerns the religious world more nearly is, whether on this hypothesis the apparent

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connection of the physical with the spiritual, in many of the cases, can be accounted for. We think enough can be done *towards* accounting for it to relieve the mind of any practical perplexity.

It is clear that, in all the earlier cases, deep impressions of the evil of sin, sometimes for a considerable period, preceded the prostrations. We have already pointed out how this might lead to swooning. But it is obviously quite conceivable, that the same pressure on the system might in certain cases bring on a nervous crisis, and so a fit of nervous disorder; in which case the two elements—the intelligent and reflective convictions, and the nervous disturbance—might mingle their manifestations, and react upon one another. How precisely this should come about we do not know; for, in spite of all the speculation that is so confidently vented, we very seldom do know *how* such disorders come about. This being assumed, it may be further supposed that the community was in a condition in which the nervous disorder, once generated, would spread to susceptible persons. Accordingly, it did spread to many, who neither before nor after gave any satisfactory evidence of being hopefully impressed; and in them it ran a course tolerably similar to that which it held in the more promising cases. How, then, are we to conceive of the cases of those in whom, we hope, a higher and holier influence was also at work? How shall we account for the apparent connection between the two? As to this, we answer that, as far as we are aware, there is no evidence that, in the case of those who appeared to be really converted, intelligent reflection and well-grounded impressions did not precede the nervous disturbance. If views and impressions, such as may reasonably prepare the way for a change of heart and life, did take precedence, by however short an interval, no real difficulty remains. It was to be expected, that of those who were operated upon by the truth, a certain number should be affected by the contagious influence, at the moment when mental agitation and depression laid them especially open to it; particularly as those conscious emotions would suggest to their minds in the strongest manner the possible approach of the nervous disorder, which was looked upon in the community as mysteriously connected with conviction of sin. We have already said that one peculiarity of the spread of such disorders is, that they often gain entrance by laying their fascination on the mind.

While not aware that it can be proved that, in the cases we have now referred to, the spiritual impressions did not precede, we yet admit that it may not have been so in all cases,—that conversions may in some cases have been brought about by prostrations. In those days in Ireland, almost every member of the community had present to his mind the facts of sin and salvation. Persons who had got no further than this, and had no wish to go further, were undoubtedly prostrated in considerable numbers. In some of these cases, the fact of being laid hold of personally in so agitating a manner, might awake the conviction of a personal interest in long neglected truths: these might be fastened on the mind and heart during the progress of the symptoms; and thus the prostration might be the means of conversion, in the same way as any other striking providential event.

Considered as providential events, the prostrations had the effect of making many more persons in Ireland attend to the Divine message, and think of its bearing upon themselves, than would have done so otherwise. This was one of their features that most speedily arrested attention; and under the influence of this impression, an unwillingness has been felt to admit, that they are to be classed with a set of phenomena which have been often the associates of fanaticism and delusion. On the other hand, the ill repute of hysterical disorders, in this respect, has seemed to many persons who looked at the matter chiefly in this relation, to establish a strong and fair presumption against the whole Irish movement. In their eyes, it is found in bad company, and is therefore justly suspected. Both impressions may be said to be natural, from the respective points of view: both, however, are unfounded. True religion, and true spiritual influence, may be associated with a great many of the manifestations of human infirmity; how much more with an innocent, and, in the circumstances, irresistible infirmity. There are certain disturbances, it appears, which occasionally befall the human system, especially when the human mind is at work about religion. They have often befallen it under erroneous teaching, and have therefore been associated with fanaticism. They will also occasionally befall it under scriptural teaching, and even simultaneously with the most important Divine influences. True, neither true religion nor Divine influences tend properly to produce them; but a concurrence of causes may produce them in this connection. So it was here. It was not from Christian religion, but from a startling consciousness of the want of it in the minds of men, that these prostrations generally arose. When Christian truth had been consciously

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embraced, they generally disappeared, and did not return. But it was not always so: because even the influence of Christian truth will not always guard men against nervous affections, incidental to communities who are strongly moved by religious or other influences. Now, when such occurrences take place in this connection, they may serve important providential purposes, like any other events which fall out in Providence. But this is no reason for taking those events out of the category to which they properly belong. Neither is it a reason for regarding nervous disorders of this kind as desirable. The general rule for our guidance is plain, that we should desire and endeavour to preserve all sorts of people in the fullest and healthiest use of their faculties; particularly when they are dealing with the weightiest interests of their being. On this principle, we are to take reasonable means to guard against hysterical affections; while, if they occur notwithstanding, and are overruled to be the occasion of any kind of good, we may thankfully admire the Divine providence in this arrangement. The whole difficulty felt in this matter, both by those who felt bound to advocate prostrations, because they believed a real work of the Spirit to be going on, and by those who could not admit a real work of the Spirit, because they knew prostration to be hysterical, strikingly illustrates the confusion in many minds about the doctrine of spiritual influences. This confusion is carried into other departments of the subject of revivals. We are so strongly impressed with this conviction, that we must endeavour to find space for a few remarks upon the real view entertained by the Church in regard to this matter.

That the Spirit's agency is the cause of every spiritually good thing in man, from conversion onwards, is a part of the Church's faith in the Holy Ghost. That the agency of the Spirit may be discerned in its effects by the subject of it, sometimes with an assurance which never will deceive him,—and that it may be manifest to others, so as to impress upon their minds a very strong conviction that it is indeed present and powerful,—these are positions subordinate to that first stated, and they may be amply justified from Scripture. But yet there may be an erroneous way of ascribing the experience of Christians, at and after their conversion, to the Holy Spirit, which will lead to practical mistakes.

What the believer is *conscious of*, is not, directly and properly, the presence and working of the Spirit, but the effects and results of His working, in experiences and operations of the believer's own mind. In consequence, that which is due to the agency of the Spirit, comes into consciousness, not pure but mixed,—mixed with what is due to the human being's own idiosyncracies. Nay, it comes into consciousness mixed with more or less of infirmity and sin, which every one confesses to attach to all his thoughts. We have no reason to think (setting aside the case of inspiration, with which we have here nothing to do) that there is, or ever was, such a thing since the fall, as an experience of the working of the Spirit of God in the minds of believers, free of this mixture. Hence all experience is subject to the rule of the written word, by which it is to be tested, and its imperfections brought to light. If this is true of the experience of men under the influence of the regenerating Spirit, it is true, of course, *a fortiori*, of every manifestation of that experience which they make by word or deed. To decline to have inward experience, or outward manifestation of it, tried by the rule of Scripture, and to have its defects exposed in this certain light, is the testing characteristic of fanaticism.

It results from this principle, that along with the influence of the Spirit, however genuine and powerful, other influences of various kinds may concur to give a peculiar character to the striking incidents of a revival. If we can mark the proper evidence, or what in charity should be judged so, of the agency of the Spirit, in such effects of it as Scripture warrants us to expect, a thankful confidence that He is graciously working ought to be entertained upon that evidence. If other influences are also asserted to be present, the question, whether they are or not, is open to decision also, upon appropriate evidence. The fruits of the Spirit stand alone, and cannot be produced by any agency but His own. We may fail to discern them aright, but where they exist they determine the fact of His saving power. But other influences may concur to determine the circumstantials of the experience. They may modify the aspect of it to a very remarkable degree. They may be, some of them, indifferent, some of them undesirable, some of them positively blameworthy, and to be instantly counteracted. Yet they may all concur to determine the aspects of the decisive experience of the moment of conversion. For were the Holy Spirit to withhold His grace until the experience of it should not be marred by human infirmity and sin, He would never grant it at all in this world. If, therefore, some things about the experience of converts be ascribed to imagination, or peculiarities of temperament, or to disease, as hysteria, or even to defect-

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ive dispositions, such as undue self-esteem,—it is a question for evidence, which is not at all barred by the ascription of a work of grace, in that instance, to the Holy Spirit.

Still further, it is possible, nay, in some circumstances even a likely thing, that dispositions which are the genuine fruits of the Spirit, may accidentally become the occasion of mistake, or even sin, in the subject of them. The Spirit of God does not make men impeccable or infallible, not even in the direct use of His own gifts. Consequently, a truly spiritual disposition, when in its highest fervour, may be ill directed in its particular determinations. The illustration of this by Edwards, in his Thoughts, leaves nothing to be added. It was a true and eminent influence of the Spirit which wrought in the prophets of the Corinthian Church; but it was a mistaken following out of that Divine impulse which led them to prophesy tumultuously. It was or might be a true zeal for the Lord's will which actuated those on both sides of the ancient question about meats: to the Lord they ate, or ate not; but it was a mistake and sin that they judged one another in their zeal. Nay, genuine and remarkable spiritual attainments may become the occasion of sin,—as, for instance, of pride; for though the grace of the Spirit tends always to humility, it would be a sadly sweeping position to say, that where human corruption awakens some workings of spiritual pride, the spiritual attainments *must* be condemned, as delusive and apparent only. All this being so, then it follows that there may be a real and remarkable presence of the grace of God in proceedings which are yet unwise and censurable. Thus, for instance, it has happened in a time of excitement, that a female shall begin to exhort or lead in prayer in the public congregation. Usually, when this takes place, the performance is due to hysterical excitement. But possibly it may be otherwise; and in spite of the unusual position she occupies, there may be every token of humility, fear of God, love to men, in the matter and manner of what she utters. Every one who hears her may be irresistibly carried to the conclusion, that it is the utterance of her heart under the influence of uncommon spiritual enlightenment and impression: and the conclusion may be a true one. Yet she ought to be admonished, then or afterwards, to refrain. This is not the way in which she is to make use of what she knows and feels. So, also, a boy under religious impressions may be strongly drawn to go about and preach, or address large companies of people about their souls. Usually this will be due to excitement, combined with the imitativeness of boyhood. But it *may* take place under the influence of real love to God and man, kindled in his heart by the Holy Spirit. In the latter case, what he says may bear remarkable evidence of Divine teaching. Yet the best thing that can be done for himself and for the Church is, that he should be stopped. It is of the Spirit's grace that he loves God and man: but it is not right, nor of the Spirit, that he should go about and preach. In both of these cases, and in others less singular, it may be a new and powerful sense of Divine things which prompts to the irregularity. But the opponents of revivals mistake the matter when they suppose that the defence of the reality and even singular power of Divine influences, is embarrassed with a logical obligation to defend all that appears in close connection with them. On the other hand, those are equally mistaken who allow their calmer judgment to be overborne: and because they cannot resist the impression that a powerful influence of the Spirit of God appears in certain proceedings, infer that these have at least a temporary Divine sanction. Such a conclusion is unsafe and ungrounded. If, however, there is any reason to hope that the parties are under spiritual teaching or impression, that may make it proper to use much brotherly gentleness in restraining their irregularities.

There are various other topics which we should have liked to indicate as deserving of attention. Among these, the mode of dealing with persons under concern holds an important place. But our space is exhausted.

There are, we believe, not a few persons sincerely desirous of seeing religion promoted and sinners converted, who regard revivals with apprehension and dislike. They associate them with scenes of excitement in large assemblies, often uncontrolled, and they apprehend self-deception and fanaticism as the result. They associate them with the opening of a door to all sorts of persons to lead in prayer and exhortation, and they are sure that often the most forward are the least fit. They associate them with public exhibitions of a coarse and silly kind, and they know that from these the recoil will be certain, and that the Church will suffer deeply by it. They shrink from movements that seem to threaten the Church with disorder; and the statements often recklessly made as to Divine agency in the emotions displayed and the proceedings carried on, shock alike their sense of reverence and of truth. We have not hesitated to admit that there have been scenes and proceedings which counte-

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nance such apprehensions. We admit, further, that in all cases a time of revival has its dangers, just as a time of religious immobility is exposed to dangers of a different kind. In ordinary circumstances, whatever defects there may be otherwise, regularity and decorum are easily preserved. Observances, duties, feelings, and so forth, are put quietly, each into what is held to be its proper place. But the altered feelings and the sudden exigencies of a revival call for new adaptations. A sudden strain is thus thrown on the discretion of the guides of the congregation, who must act in circumstances in which precedents fail them. As always happens when general principles have to be applied in a discretionary way, mistakes are made. Moreover, the pressure of custom, which ordinarily lays so useful a restraint on crotchety persons, is to some extent removed. All this being so, it is no wonder that great evils have sometimes arisen. The extent to which they have arisen has been greatly, even ludicrously exaggerated. But, whether more or less extensive, they are not suitably met by frowning down revivals. By all means let foolish and unscriptural proceedings be rebuked; but when, under scriptural teaching, an awakening of consciences and minds takes place, it must not be checked—it must be promoted. If the harvest ripens suddenly, it must be gathered in. A lively sense of the risks and dangers attendant on revivals, such as animates some Christians, is of high importance as an element in the Church's convictions, and may prove inexpressibly useful. But in order that it may be of any use, it must not exist in a merely one-sided and negative form; it must be accompanied with a cordial and co-operative appreciation of all that is real and valuable in revival work.

To one who thoughtfully considers the spiritual condition of great masses of our population, it will probably appear, that little hope can be entertained of their being gathered into any Christian fold, except in connection with movements of common conviction and feeling, substantially of a revival character. Should such movements take place, as we pray they may, they will be attended with obvious dangers; and it will strain hard the energies of all the churches to supply the enlightenment and instruction without which awakened consciences will probably be led astray into one form or other of fanatical extravagance. But it would chill sadly all one's hopes, were we compelled to believe that these dangers are unavoidable, and that the emotions awakened in revivals, instead of disposing men to entertain the light of truth and goodness, must necessarily have the contrary effect. Those who entertain apprehensions on this head, which we do not share, will perhaps be reassured by the testimony of a witness so generally respected as Bishop M'Ilvaine, one of a "cloud of witnesses" who might be cited to the same effect. In his interesting letter to Dr. Sprague, after adverting to the best modes of dealing with revivals, and pointing out some dangers which had not been sufficiently guarded against, he concludes by saying:—

"I owe to it [the spirit of genuine revivals] too much of what I hope for as a Christian, and what I have been blessed with as a minister of the Gospel, not to think most highly of the eminent importance of promoting this spirit, and, consequently, of guarding it against all abuses. Whatever I possess of religion began in a revival. The most precious, stedfast, and vigorous fruits of my ministry, have been the fruits of revivals. I believe that the spirit of revivals, in the true sense, was the simple spirit of the religion of apostolic times, and will be more and more the characteristic of these times as the Lord draws near. May the Lord bless us with it more abundantly and purely."

Art. IX.—1. *Une Conversation au Vatican.* Par J. B. Biot, Lu á L'Académie Française dans sa séance particuliére du 3 Février 1858. *Journal des Savants*, Mars 1858, pp. 137–142.

2. *La Vérité sur le Procés de Galilée.* Par J. B. Biot. *Journal des Savants*, Juillet 1858, pp. 397–406; Aug. 1858, pp. 461–471; Septembre 1858, pp. 543–551; Octobre 1858, pp. 607–615.
3. *Galileo e Inquisizione*, da M. Marino Marini. Roma, 1850.
4. *Opere Complete di Galileo Galilei.* M. Eugenio Alberi, 16 vol., 8vo Firenze 1842–1856.
5. *Vie de Galilée.* Par J. B. Biot. Biog. Universelle.
6. *Life of Galileo.* By the late Mr. Drinkwater Bethune. In the Library of Useful Knowledge.
7. *Martyrs of Science*, containing the Lives of Galileo, Kepler, and Tycho Brahe. By Sir David Brewster, F.R.S. 4th Edition. London, 1859.
8. *Note sur le Proces de Galilée.* Par Jean Plana. Lu dans la Seance de L'Academie de Sciences de Turin du 9 Novembre 1858. Pp. 12. Turin, 1858.

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9. *Reflexions sur les Objections soulevées par Arago contre la Priorité de Galilée pour la double decouverte des taches Solaires noire, et de la Rotation uniforme du Globe du Soleil.* Par JEAN PLANA. Turin, 1860.

THE romance of "the Starry Galileo and his Woes" has been so often written by the philosopher, and by the historian of science, that nothing but the discovery of new incidents in his life, or the circulation of fresh calumnies against his name, could justify us in now calling to it the attention of the public. The imprisonment and moral torture of the greatest philosopher of his age, for publishing truths which the Almighty had revealed to human reason, might have excited little notice if inflicted by the civil magistrate, or even by an ecclesiastical tribunal, in the exercise of their ordinary powers; but when the successor of St. Peter—the Infallible Pontiff—God's Vicar upon earth, who held in his hand the reason and the conscience of the Catholic world,—when he pronounced the motion of the earth and the stability of the sun to be a lie and a heresy, and threatened with the torture the sage who taught it, the attention of the civilized world was riveted on the daring and hazardous decree. Philosophers were struck dumb by the presumptuous verdict, and humanity wept over the Martyr of Science. Even Catholics of high intellect and generous hearts shuddered at the deed, and contemplated with fear an act of inquisitorial law which threatened with subversion the moral as well as the ecclesiastical power of the Church which they loved.

In spite of the pontifical decree, the earth continued to perform its annual round, and year after year contributed new proofs of the great truths for which Galileo had been condemned. The Jesuits themselves were at length compelled to illustrate them in their writings, and even instil them into their youth; and the story of Galileo, and the controversy of the earth and sun, were topics of painful recollection among the educated supporters of the Catholic faith. The successors of Urban VIII. ceased to defend, and doubtless to believe, the dogmas which he promulgated. The very cardinals, whose predecessors sat in judgment on the philosopher, have renounced the infallible decree, and, as a dogma less amenable to science, and more germane to the Catholic mind, the Immaculate Conception has replaced, in the pontifical creed, the Ptolemaic System of the Universe.

This change of feeling has been nowhere more strongly exhibited than in the city of Florence, when subject to the most Catholic of sovereigns.* In a former age Galileo was an exile from its walls—chained to his own roof-tree, and, as a convict, chanting the penitential psalms in his solitary home. He was prohibited from seeking medical advice, and associating with his friends in the city which he honoured. He durst not inhale the salutary breeze on the banks of the lovely Arno, nor bathe his aching limbs in its crystal stream. When those eyes which had descried new worlds in the bosom of space were closed in darkness, he was not allowed to grope his way among the scenes which he had hallowed and immortalized. When his powerful intellect could no longer cope with error, the hatred of the priest pursued him beyond the tomb. His mortal remains were denied Christian burial, and for a century they lay in a dishonoured grave. Even his right to make a will, the last and the holiest privilege of our frail humanity, was denied to him as a prisoner of the Inquisition; and when the friends whom he loved had provided a monument to his memory, the Pope would not allow it to be reared.

Time, however, which changes everything, has changed even the faith which professes never to change. The fame of the martyr had achieved a lofty place in the Temple of Science, and the cities of his birth and his labours have striven to do him honour. In Florence, the scene of his deepest sorrow, his memory has been most affectionately cherished. In the very church of Sta. Croce, where his sentence and abjuration were ignominiously and insultingly published, and in which his bones were denied a place, a magnificent monument now rises over his exhumed remains. The youth of Padua venerate his solitary vertebra, and those of Florence his purloined finger, with a more affectionate admiration than the scented relics of their saints and their sovereigns; while, what would be to him a nobler triumph,—the great truth for which he suffered—the daily revolution of the earth—has been exhibited to the eye by a Catholic philosopher as an indisputable fact which even Cardinals and Pontiffs could hardly venture to gainsay.†

* The Tribune of Galileo, in the Museum of Natural History at Florence, is one of the noblest monuments that a sovereign ever raised to a subject. It was erected at great expense by the liberality of the ex-Grand Duke of Tuscany. It is a richly decorated apartment, in which are preserved all the telescopes and other instruments of Galileo, together with the astrolabes of Alphonso, and the instruments which belonged to the celebrated Academy del Cimento.

† We refer to the beautiful experiment of M. Foucault of Paris with a pendulum suspended from a fixed point, which follows the earth in its daily motion.

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It would have been well for the Catholic faith, and well also for the interests of truth, had the trial of Galileo ceased to be the subject of controversy, and been permitted to take its destined place in the page of history. But error never dies; and the infallible Church has reappeared in the person of a functionary of the Inquisition, with an eminent philosopher as his interpreter, to give a new aspect to the story of Galileo, and to fix a calumny on his name. As the history of this attempt is little known in this country, and possesses the highest interest in its relation to scientific history, as well as to the character and claims of the Catholic Church, we shall present it to our readers in its fullest details.

When engaged in an astronomical mission in 1824, M. Biot, one of the most distinguished members of the Imperial Institute of France, and known throughout the civilised world by his writings and his discoveries in physical optics, had occasion to visit Rome with his son on their way to Naples. The morning after his arrival, which was in the month of March 1825, M. Biot waited upon the Duke de Laval, the French ambassador, by whom he was received with the distinction due to his character and talents. Modern Rome thronged into the saloons of the ambassador, and through his means ancient Rome became more accessible to M. Biot than it could otherwise have been. After having enjoyed for some days the courtesies of the Embassy, our traveller naturally desired to be presented to the Pope; and the Duke de Laval kindly promised to take the earliest opportunity of introducing him to Leo XII. An ambassador, however, as M. Biot observes, restrained by certain precautions, must follow certain rules in his official relations. The expected opportuuity of being presented to his Holiness never arrived; and the most respectful attempts on M. Biot's part to bring it about seemed to place new difficulties in the way. The young attachés of the Embassy gave our philosopher the solution of this "enigma." When he arrived at Rome he was anxious to write to Colonel Fallon, Director of the Topographical Bureau at Vienna, in order to give him an account of the operations which he proposed to make at Fiume, the eastern terminus of the portion of the 45th parallel of latitude which was measured by the Austrian engineers. In order to do this, he required certain numbers, which could only be obtained from the Observatory of the *Collegio Romano*, kept by the Jesuits, and under the direction of Father Dumouchel, who had been his friend and fellow-student in the Ecole Polytechnique. He had therefore to go frequently to the College of the Jesuits; and, his movements having been observed by the authorities, his visits were believed to conceal some mystery which it was necessary to clear up before any further communication was held with him. "In short," he says, "I had become a political character without knowing it. I conceived that it was not necessary for me, a simple savant, to remain any longer enveloped in the toils of diplomacy, and that the sincerity of my humble homage did not require so much arrangement. I resolved, therefore, to open some less embarrassing way out of the official world, of which I could sooner avail myself. But in order to exercise the sagacity of the watchmen of the Embassy, I purposely paid more frequent visits to Father Dumouchel."

M. Biot was acquainted with M. Testa, a prelate of literary tastes, who had published a learned dissertation on the zodiacal representations discovered in Egypt a few years before. Having been himself occupied with the same subject, he had paid a visit to the prelate a few days after his arrival in Rome. As he had been well received, he repeated his visit,—related to him his misadventure, and expressed the regret he should feel were he not admitted to an interview with his Holiness, along with his son, to whom, as well as to himself, such an event would be a source of pleasure during the rest of their lives. He had not known that the good Abbé Testa was, more than any other person, in a position to obtain for him this favour, to which he had attached so great a value. The Abbé held an office of trust in the pontifical court, and his excellent qualities had secured to him the esteem of Pope Leo XII. The favour of a presentation was asked and granted; and the Abbé and his friends repaired to the Vatican a little before the appointed hour. This was after the dinner of the Holy Father, who had just retired into an inner apartment; so that they remained in the waiting-room till they were summoned into the presence-chamber. At this time there entered into the salon a priest, who had come for an audience like themselves. He was clothed in a white robe, and was a tall man with much dignity of manner. The Abbé presented to him M. Biot by his name, which was not unknown to him; and he immediately entered into conversation on the zodiacs of Egypt, a subject which he knew to be interesting both to the Abbé and his friend, who reviewed with much learning and critical acumen the numerous conjectures by which they had been explained. He then said to M. Biot, without any other transition, "We have read here your article 'Galilée' in the *Biographie Universelle*. You therecon-

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demn the judgment pronounced against him by the Holy Office. But, in fact, the tribunal had condemned only his errors, for he had committed very serious ones."

Embarrassed by this opinion, the philosopher could not decide whether he should, in such a locality, disown his scientific faith or oppose so severe a judgment. He determined, therefore, to veer between these two extremes. "It is possible," he said, "that Galileo has committed errors. Every man is fallible. But it required judges in advance of the age to perceive them; and, after all, they could not charge him with a great crime. The trial which he underwent does not seem to rest on the essence of his discoveries, but on their philosophical consequences. The teachers of the day, who were ecclesiastics, arrayed themselves with a furious unanimity against the reformer, who spared neither their refutations nor their sarcasms. They attacked him from their professorial chairs, and even in their religious services; being thus made his implacable enemies, they accused him of heresy at Rome, as the Protestants of Holland accused Descartes of atheism — religion becoming everywhere an arm, and a most terrible one when directed by the passions. Moreover, in deploring this trial, and exposing the interested motives which were the pretext for it, you may have noticed that I have not exaggerated the facts. I believe I have made it clear that the physical rigours (the application of torture) indicated by the terms of the sentence were only formal expressions, without any reality of application. Everything concurs to prove this. Galileo had from the first, for his prison, the house of the chief officer of the tribunal, with permission to walk in the palace. He was attended by his own domestic servant; and afterwards, when he was transferred to the palace of the Archbishop of Sienna, whose superb garden served him for a promenade, he was allowed to write freely every day to his friends; and he wrote to them very pleasant letters in the report of those who interrogated him. It is not in this way that an old man of seventy would jest who had been put to the torture. The moral sufferings which his trial had brought upon him, and the privation of his liberty in the latter years of his life, were sufficiently painful to require any aggravation."

"Assuredly not," replied his interlocutor. "In everything your article is written with honesty and sincerity; but, believe me, M. Galileo was very wrong in giving personal offence to the Pope, who had shown him much kindness. He had ridiculed him in his 'Dialogues,' under the character of Simplicio; and in alluding to the passion which had been attributed to him, of composing verses, he did not scruple to say and to write that he had a taste for composing 'an amorous sonnet.' Be assured that these personal injuries contributed powerfully to his fall."

From the moment that it appeared to M. Biot that the enmities inspired by the man had been the decisive motive for the condemnation pronounced against the astronomer, scientific truth seemed to him no longer the cause; and therefore it was not necessary to defend it, which was the only right which he could assume, as it was the only duty which he could not honourably abandon.

Finding his interlocutor so well informed, and agreeing to the only amicable arrangement which he could admit, M. Biot asked permission to see the original documents of the trial. "They are not in our possession," he replied. "They were carried to Paris with the whole of the pontifical archives. Louis XVIII. wishing to see them, they were taken to the Tuileries; but when he fled from Paris, on the 20th of March, they were not restored to the royal archives, and they disappeared in the succeeding disturbances. Had we possessed them, there would have been no difficulty in communicating them to you."

At this stage of the conversation, M. Biot and his party were summoned to the holy presence; and we believe it will interest our readers if we succeed in translating the lofty and eloquent expressions in which a French philosopher has embalmed his conversation with the Holy Father. "I will not attempt," he says, "to report the words which were addressed to us, nor to convey the impressions which they produced, by the august character, with so many titles, of him who pronounced them. It was like a chain of thoughts marked with an indulgent kindness, with a suavity and a charm which seemed to descend from heaven to earth, and to rise from earth to heaven, where we could not but feel the calm serenity of the soul of an old man, allied to the dignity of a pontiff and a prince, still adorned and heightened by a superior culture of mind, which the princes of this world have seldom an opportunity of acquiring. The marks of interest which his Holiness showed to myself, my young son, and my absent family, reached to the very depths of my heart."

After quitting the Vatican, M. Biot expressed to the Abbé how grateful he felt for the "adorable goodness" with which the Pope had received him, and proceeded to question him respecting the stranger whom he had introduced to him, and with whose

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manners, erudition, and profound knowledge he had been so much charmed. "Though you did not know his name," replied the Abbé, "did you not recognize the white habit of St. Dominique? He is the Commissary-General of the Holy Office, the person whom you in France call 'the Grand Inquisitor.'" "Ah!" cried M. Biot to himself, "I hardly expected to appear here in his presence, and to find myself in such close conversation with him. I am no longer astonished that he insisted so much on the affair of Galileo. He had the advantage of me. I could not refuse to converse with him on the subject; but I did not go out of my way to choose it."

M. Biot returned to his lodgings quite pensive, as he says, and meditating on the results of this remarkable rencontre. "Thus," said he to himself, "after two centuries had elapsed, in the same Vatican where Galileo was condemned, we have made a pacific revision of his trial; and with what marvellous changes both in the men and in their ideas! On the one hand, one of the inheritors of his genius, charged with teaching and professing publicly his doctrines, is admitted by a special favour into the presence of the Holy Father, who loads him with kindness. On the other hand, the Commissary of the Tribunal, resuming the consideration of the case with as much equity as intelligence, concurs with his disciples in separating from the scientific question all the accessories with which human passions had surrounded it; so that *truth, separated from these fleeting clouds, will henceforth shine with a pure lustre which offends neither science nor religion.*"*

The extraordinary opinion, that the trial of Galileo, and the sentence by which he was condemned and imprisoned for life, offended neither science nor religion, might have passed unnoticed had it been maintained by some frantic Jesuit, or some underling of the Inquisition, who, in defending the infallibility of their Church, would sacrifice the highest interests of truth and justice; but when we view it as the ripe judgment of one of the most distinguished writers and philosophers of the age,—the father too of the French Academy of Sciences, who had published the opposite opinion,—we are equally confounded by the boldness of its assertion and the imbecility of its argument. The air of the Vatican, and the adorable goodness of the Holy Father, had doubtless some influence in effecting this conversion. A Dominican monk, clad in white raiment, and with imposing mien, encounters the biographer of Galileo in the Vatican, compliments him on the rectitude and sincerity of his article, assures him that Galileo had personally affronted Pope Urban VIII. by ridiculing him under the name of Simplicio, and dogmatically asserts that these personal wrongs *contributed powerfully* to his fall! The philosopher of the Institute becomes the Simplicio of the Vatican; and without even asking for any proof of these assertions, he adopts them implicitly, retracts the judgment he had pronounced against the Inquisition, rejoices over the reconciliation of religion and science; and in this desirable result, finds "a striking application of the fine maxim of Cicero, '*Opinionum commenta delet Dies; Naturæ judicia confirmat.*'"

This remarkable conversion of M. Biot took place in March 1825. A new light had burst upon him on one of the most interesting points of scientific history, in which the characters of Galileo and of Pope Urban and his cardinals were seriously compromised, and in which the Catholic Church itself was on its trial. M. Biot had taken the wrong side in the controversy; but, though the "pure light of truth had dispelled the clouds which human passions had raised," he quietly placed the light under a bushel. He neither retracted his errors, nor enabled others whom he had misled to retract them. He concealed for *thirty three long years* that blessed light which reconciled science and religion; and in place of shedding it upon his colleagues in the Academy of Sciences, who had doubtless taken the part of Galileo, he dazzles with it the French Academy,—the branch of the Institute which is charged with the language and literature of France, and which is honoured with the names of Guizot, Thiers, Villemain, Cousin, Remusat, and others, who had never taken a deep interest either in the fate of Galileo or the infallibility of the Church.

Having thus given publicity to his "Conversation in the Vatican," and rested his conversion on *the simple and unsupported opinion of the Grand Inquisitor*, a partisan whom no court of justice in Europe would receive as a witness in such a cause, he found it necessary to study the proceedings in the trial of Galileo, and to obtain some colourable pretext for the views he had promulgated. The results of this inquiry he has published in four articles in the *Journal des Savants*, which no Catholic can read with satisfaction, and no Protestant with patience.

* The priest with whom M. Biot carried on this remarkable conversation was Father Benedetto Maurizio Olivieri, Commissary-General of the Inquisition, who passed for a very learned man, and who became General of the Dominican Order in 1834.

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Were we to admit all his facts, and adopt all his reasonings, we should strike a blow against the Catholic Church which the most daring of Galileo's friends never ventured to aim. To assert that one of the high priests of science had been imprisoned for life—we will not say put to the torture—from the personal vindictiveness of Pope Urban VIII., a kind and benevolent Pontiff;—that his College of Cardinals, men of high character and position, placed their reason and conscience in the hands of the Holy Father; and that they did not regard the Copernican doctrines as contrary and injurious to Scripture, is a calumny against the Church of Rome which no Protestant would dare to circulate, and no Catholic could believe. The best and the only apology for the condemnation of Galileo is, that in the 16th century astronomical truth was equally unknown to the clergy and the laity;—that the motion of the earth and the stability of the sun were doctrines apparently inconsistent with Scripture; and that in those days the truths of religion were guarded by a sternness of discipline and a severity of punishment which have disappeared in more enlightened times. Even we Protestants cannot look back to that period of the Church's history without shedding burning tears over the unholy zeal of our ancestors.

A correct account, therefore, of the trial and condemnation of Galileo has now become as necessary to the character of Pope Urban VIII. as it is to that of Galileo; and we are fortunately able, from the new documents recently given to the public, to make it one of the most interesting portions of scientific and ecclesiastical history. Truth alone is the object at which we aim; and though we cannot reconcile Science and Religion by the strange process adopted by M. Biot, we hope to satisfy the most zealous Catholic that, though apparent antagonists in the trial of Galileo, they may embrace each other in the arms of Christian charity without sacrificing the good names of a virtuous Pope and an honest philosopher.

It is a remarkable circumstance in the history of this case, that the original documents of the trial have never been given to the world. They were carried to Paris in 1812 and 1813, along with the treasure conquered from the Roman archives, after a list of them had been taken by M. Daunou, who went to Paris in 1811 for that purpose. When the treasure was restored in 1814, the documents were not to be found; but the pontifical court never ceased to reclaim them. When M. Rossi went on a diplomatic mission to Rome in 1845, they were again demanded; and when he promised to search for them in the depôt of the Foreign office, and return them if found, he made it an express condition that they should be given to the public, as the Imperial Government had even begun to translate them for publication. The papers having been found, the originals of the text of the trial were taken to Rome in 1846 by Rossi, and were immediately returned to Pope Pius IX., who, during the Revolution of 1848, entrusted them to M. Marino Marini, the Keeper of the Secret Archives of the Holy See. When tranquillity was restored they were again delivered to the Pope, who made them a present to the Library of the Vatican; but, strange to relate—and M. Biot has related it without any expression of surprise, or any conjecture respecting its motive—*they were afterwards restored to the Secret Archives.* Had the promise to print them been honestly fulfilled, it was of no consequence where the orginals were deposited; but as that promise has been broken, and garbled extracts only given to the world, their retention in the Library of the Vatican was of high importance. The biographer and the historian could have there tested the completeness and fidelity of the extracts; but, buried in the tomb of the Secret Archives, we can attach to them no other value than what is due to the opinions and honesty of M. Marino Marini. What confidence is to be placed in this functionary of the Pontificate, M. Biot shall himself tell us. "The promise made to Rossi has been fulfilled very incompletely indeed, by M. Marini in 1850, in a printed dissertation addressed to the Archæological Academy of Rome, with the title of *Galileo e Inquisizione.* A friend procured me this work. It is a pleading in favour of the tribunal of the Inquisition, rather than a book of history. We do not find in it the entire text of the trial, but only *a small number of extracts*, which by themselves have always a great value." The importance of the "textual publication of the Process," as M. Biot calls it, is admitted by himself. Such a publication, he says, "would promote the well-understood interests of the pontifical authority, being the most sure, *if not the only means, of refuting the supposition that corporeal torture had been inflicted upon Galileo,*—a supposition which we might be induced to believe from certain formal expressions contained in the sentence passed upon him, and promulgated by the Holy Office." The extracts, he afterwards adds, "*are far* from sufficient to throw a complete light on the important question of the tortures." Notwithstanding this *suppressio veri*, M. Biot thinks he can sup-

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ply the defect from the series of official letters addressed by the Tuscan ambassador to his court, from the commencement of Galileo's trial to the day when he returned from it after his condemnation. By combining the details in this correspondence with those furnished by the work of M. Marini, M. Biot believes that we "can now reproduce, in all their truth, and review in our presence, the acts, and the scenes, and the personages in this philosophical drama, in which a man of genius, who created other eyes than those which Nature has given us, was the first to direct his views into the depths of space, and having thus seen revealed the mysteries which are there accomplished, is punished for his audacity like another Prometheus." "Such," he adds, "is the subject of the moral and scientific studies with which we are about to entertain our readers."

In order to form a correct judgment respecting the causes which led to the trial and condemnation of Galileo, we must turn to that period of his life when he first submitted his opinions to the public. The philosophy of Aristotle was then prevalent throughout Europe. It was taught in its universities by professors lay and clerical; and every attempt to refute their doctrines exposed its author to every variety of persecution. Even in his eighteenth year Galileo had displayed a great antipathy to the Aristotelians; and, in the discharge of his duty as Professor of Mathematics at Pisa, he had attacked their mechanical doctrines with unnecessary asperity. He had refuted their theory of falling bodies by experiments made from the falling tower of Pisa; and so strong were the feelings which they had roused against him, that he found it convenient to quit that city in 1592, and accept of the mathematical chair in the University of Padua. Having acquired a high reputation by his writings, the Grand Duke of Tuscany invited him to return to his former situation in Pisa. Galileo accepted the offer; but, before quitting Padua, he paid a visit to Venice, where he heard of the discovery of the telescope. On his return to Padua he constructed one of these instruments, which magnified *three* times; and soon afterwards two larger ones, with magnifying powers, the one of *eight* and the other of *thirty* times. During the years 1610, 1611, and 1612, he applied these instruments to the heavens, and made those great discoveries which exposed him to the hostility of the Peripatetic philosophers, and subsequently to the persecution of the Catholic Church. His discovery of the four satellites of Jupiter, of the oblong figure of Saturn, of the mountains and cavities of the moon, of the round disc of the planets, of the crescent of Venus, of the spots and rotation of the Sun, and the speculations to which they led, excited the admiration of his friends, and the jealousy of his enemies. In 1611 he had exhibited his principal discoveries, in the Quirinal gardens at Rome, to princes, cardinals, and prelates. The solar spots, and the changes which they underwent, gave ocular demonstration of the rotation of the Sun, and overturned the Aristotelian dogma of the immutability of the heavens. In a letter to Prince Cesi at Rome, written in May 1612, he describes the phenomena of the changes in the solar spots as a death-blow to the pseudo-philosophy of the Peripatetics, and wonders how they will evade it, seeing that the changes are manifest to their own eyes. The supporters of the ancient philosophy had no difficulty in finding a reply. They denied the accuracy of his observations; and when they found this of no avail, they were driven to the last refuge of error, by denouncing the motion of the earth and the immobility of the sun as contrary to Scripture, and a heresy against the Catholic faith.

Thus challenged to the discussion, Galileo wrote letters to several of his friends at Rome in 1613, 1614, and 1615, in order to prove that the Scriptures were not intended to teach us natural science; and he addressed an elaborate dissertation to Christina of Lorraine, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, and the mother of the reigning Duke, in which he endeavoured to show that texts in the Bible ought not to be quoted in questions which observation and experience alone can decide. Upwards of a year before this, in 1613, he had written a letter to Father Castelli, one of his liberal friends, in which he supported the Copernican system with a force of argument which alarmed the priesthood.* The first of these productions seems to have been addressed to the mother of Cosmo, in order to give the impress of royal authority to the Copernican system; and in this imposing form it seems to have excited a warmer interest, as if it had expressed the opinion of the Grand Ducal family. This apparently high recommendation was sustained by facts and arguments which were felt to be irresistible. Galileo states boldly to the Grand Duchess that the Scriptures were given to instruct us respecting our salvation, and our reasoning faculties for investigating the phenomena of Nature. He regards Scripture and Nature as pro

* In his first article, p. 400, M. Biot says this letter was printed; but in a subsequent one, p. 620, he substitutes for the word *imprimée*, the phrase, "of which he took copies."

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ceeding from the same Divine Author, and incapable of speaking a different language; and he ridicules the idea that astronomers will shut their eyes to the celestial phenomena which they discover, or reject those deductions of reason which appeal to their faith with all the force of demonstration. These views, so just in themselves, he supports with passages from the writings of the Fathers; and he quotes the dedication of Copernicus's work to Pope Paul III. to prove that the Holy Father himself did not regard the new astronomy as hostile to the sacred writings.

It was in vain to meet such arguments by any other weapon than the sword; and the priesthood had now to determine either to yield to the reckless heresy, or crush it by the arm of power. Father Lorini, a Dominican monk, had already denounced to the Inquisition Galileo's letter to Father Castelli. Caccini, another priest of the same Order, attacked the philosopher in a sermon preached at Florence, from a text in the Acts, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven?"* He attacked Galileo personally; denounced mathematics "as a diabolical art; and declared that mathematicians, as the authors of every heresy, should be banished from every Christian land." Luigi Maraffi, the General of the Order to which these monks belonged, and to whom Galileo had sent a formal complaint against Caccini, had the candour to make an apology to the astronomer, and expressed the regret with which he found himself implicated in "the brutal conduct of thirty or forty thousand monks."

Thus countenanced on one hand by sovereign authority, and even by some of the dignitaries of the Church, and assailed on the other by the great body of the priesthood, Galileo found himself in a position from which he must either advance or recede.

"The current of his life," as Sir David Brewster remarks,† "had hitherto flowed in a smooth and unobstructed channel. He had attained the highest objects of earthly ambition. His discoveries had placed him at the head of the great men of the age; he possessed a professional income far beyond his wants; and, what is still dearer to a philosopher, he enjoyed the most ample leisure for carrying on and completing his discoveries. The opposition which these discoveries had encountered was to him more a subject for triumph than for sorrow. Ignorance and prejudices were his only enemies; and if they succeeded for a while in harassing him on his march, it was only to conduct him to fresh achievements. He who contends for truths which he has himself been permitted to discover, may well sustain the conflict in which presumption and error are destined to fall. The public tribunal may neither be sufficiently pure nor enlightened to decide upon the issue; but he can appeal to posterity, and reckon upon its 'sure decree.'

"The ardour of Galileo's mind, the keenness of his temper, his clear perception of truth, and his inextinguishable love of it, combined to exasperate and prolong the hostility of his enemies. When argument failed to enlighten their judgment, and reason to dispel their prejudices, he wielded against them the powerful weapons of ridicule and sarcasm; and, in this unrelenting warfare, he seems to have forgotten that Providence had withheld from his enemies the intellectual gifts which he had so liberally received. He who is allowed to take the start of his species, and to penetrate the veil which conceals from common minds the mysteries of Nature, must not expect that the world will be patiently dragged at the chariot wheels of his philosophy. Mind has its inertia as well as matter; and its progress to truth can only be ensured by the gradual and patient removal of the difficulties which embarrass it.

"The boldness — may we not say the recklessness?—with which Galileo insisted upon making proselytes of his enemies, served but to alienate them from the truth. Errors thus assailed speedily entrench themselves in general feeling, and become embalmed in the virulence of the passions. The various classes of his opponents marshalled themselves for their mutual defence. The Aristotelian professors, the temporizing Jesuits, the political churchmen, and that timid but respectable body who at all times dread innovation, whether it be in legislation or in science, entered into an alliance against the philosophical tyrant, who threatened them with the penalties of knowledge.

"The party of Galileo, though weak in number, was not without power and influence. He had trained around him a devoted band who cherished his doctrines and idolized his genius. His pupils had been appointed to several of the principal professorships in Italy. The enemies of religion were, on this occasion, united with the Christian philosopher; and there were, even in those days, many princes and nobles who had felt the inconvenience of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and who secretly abetted Galileo in his crusade against established errors.

"Although these two parties had been long dreading each other's power, and reconnoitring each other's position, yet we cannot exactly determine which of them first hoisted the signal for war. The Christian party, particularly its highest dignitaries, were certainly disposed to rest on the defensive. Flanked on one side by the logic of the schools, and on the other by the popular interpretation of Scripture, and backed by the strong arm of the civil power, they were not disposed to interfere with the prosecution of science, however much they may have dreaded its influence. The philosophers, on the contrary, united the zeal of innovators with that firmness of purpose which truth alone can inspire. Victorious in every contest, they were flushed with success, and they panted for a struggle in which they knew they must triumph."

* Acts i. 11. † *Martyrs of Science*, p. 45.

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Such was the state of parties after the two Dominician monks had entered the field, the one with the weapon of personal scurrility, and the other by a direct appeal to the Inquisition. The army of monks, however, described by Maraffi, were not satisfied with these measures of defence and attack. Caccini, bribed by the Mastership of the Convent of St. Mary of Minerva, leagued himself with a multitude of monks of all orders, and went to Rome to embody the evidence against Galileo, and to denounce to the Inquisition the great work of Copernicus, "On the Revolution of the Heavenly Bodies." Although these machinations had been carried on in secret, Galileo's suspicions were roused, and he obtained leave from the Grand Duke Cosmo to go to Rome in December 1615, in order to frustrate the designs of his enemies. All his attempts, however, proved fruitless. The monks had obtained the ear of the Pope and the cardinals; and the Inquisition assembled on the 25th February 1616, to consider the grave questions which had been formally submitted to their judgment. The congregation of Prohibited Books issued their decree on the 4th March. They declared that "the false Pythagoric doctrine of the motion of the earth and the immobility of the sun was contrary to the text of Scripture." They ordered the correction in Copernicus's work of certain expressions and passages where this doctrine is maintained, not as a mathematical hypothesis, but as a physical truth; and, among these, a passage in which the earth is called a *star*. They prohibited the pamphlet published by Paul Anthony Foscarini, a learned Carmelite monk, in which he illustrates and defends the doctrine of the mobility of the earth, and reconciles it with the texts in Scripture which had been adduced to overturn it; and the same prohibition was extended to every work in which the new doctrine was taught. Although Galileo was never named in this decree, his enemies circulated the report that he had been cited before the Inquisition; that he had abjured his opinions; and that the Congregation of the Index had condemned him. In refutation of these calumnies, Cardinal Bellarmine gave him a certificate, dated the 16th March 1616, that these imputations were false, and that he had merely intimated to him the opinions of the Pope, published by the Congregation of the Index, "that the doctrine attributed to Copernicus, that the earth moved round the sun, and that the sun remained immovable in the centre of the world without moving from east to west, is contrary to Scripture, and cannot be professed or defended."

Disappointed and chagrined at the result of this appeal to the Inquisition, Galileo did not accommodate himself to the circumstances in which he was placed. Although he had visited Pope Paul V. soon after the issuing of the congregational decree, and was assured by his Holiness that while he occupied the papal chair he would not listen to the calumnies of his enemies, yet he continued to maintain his opinion in every house which he visited, and thus to annoy his ecclesiastical friends, and afford new grounds of persecution to his enemies.*

This pertinacious obtrusion of his opinions, after they had been denounced as heretical and unscriptural by authorities which he was bound to respect and obey, was no doubt encouraged by the mild proceedings of the court itself, and by the continued friendship of persons high in authority. In the decree which so much offended him, neither his name nor his writings were mentioned. He was simply informed of the decision of the Congregation, and that in the most respectful manner, by his friend Cardinal Bellarmine.† The Grand Duke of Tuscany and his minister still remained attached to their great astronomer; and among the cardinals themselves he had a staunch friend in the person of Cardinal Orsino, to whom he had been introduced by the Grand Duke, and who took such a warm part in his favour as to ruffle the temper of the Pope himself.‡

* The conduct and temper of Galileo at this crisis are well described in a letter from Querenghi to Cardinal D'Este, and in another, given fully by Biot, from Pietro Guicciardini to Ferdinand II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, whose ambassador he was at the Court of Rome. Galileo's own vexations and disappointments will be found in a series of letters addressed to his intimate friend Curzio Picchena, secretary to the Grand Duke, and published in the last edition of Galileo's Works.

† This is the account given by Biot:—"Galilée ne fut pas nommé . . . on lui a seulement annonce la Declaration faite par le Pape, et publiée par la Congregation de l'Index."

‡ "Par suite de quoi (the Grand Duke's letter) mercredi dernier dans le consistoire, ce Cardinal ayant parlé au Pape en faveur de Galilée, je ne sai si avec assez d'a propos et de prudence, le Pape lui a dit que Galilée ferait bien d'abandonner cette opinion. Sur quoi Orsino ayant repondu quelque chose trop pressant, le Pape coupa court a ses representations, en lui declarant avoir renvoyé cette affaire aux cardinaux du Sainte Office. Orsino partit, le Pape fit apeller le Cardinal Bellarmine, et apres avoir discouru avec lui, tous deux s'accorderent a conclure que cette opinion de Galilée est fausse et heretique. J'apprends qu' avant hier ils ont assemblés a ce sujet une congregation des Cardinaux pour la declarer telle."—*Letter of Guicciardini to the Grand Duke*, quoted by Biot, p. 402.

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In this account of the proceedings of the Congregation, and of the decree which they issued, we have followed M. Biot, because it is possible that the decree itself may have been given by M. Marini, or in some other work which we cannot procure. If it has been published, we have no doubt that M. Biot has given a correct account of its contents; but it is remarkable that a totally different account of the proceedings and of the decree has been given by Sir David Brewster in his Life of Galileo.*

"Galileo was lodged," he says, "in the palace of the Grand Duke's ambassador, and kept up a constant correspondence with the family of his patron at Florence; but in the midst of this external splendour he was summoned before the Inquisition to answer for the heretical doctrine which he had published. He was charged with maintaining the motion of the earth and the stability of the sun,—with teaching this doctrine to his pupils,—with corresponding on the subject with several German mathematicians,—and with having published it, and attempted to reconcile it to Scripture, in his letters to Mark Velser in 1612. The Inquisition assembled to consider these charges on the 25th of February 1615; and it was decreed that Galileo should be enjoined by Cardinal Bellarmine to renounce the obnoxious doctrines, and to pledge himself that he would neither teach, defend, nor publish them in future. In the event of his refusing to acquiesce in this sentence, it was decreed that he should be thrown into prison. Galileo did not hesitate to yield to this injunction. On the following day, the 26th of February, he appeared before Cardinal Bellarmine, to renounce his heretical opinions; and having declared that he abandoned the doctrine of the earth's motion, and would neither defend nor teach it, in his conversation or in his writings, he was dismissed from the court."

Sir David Brewster does not mention the authority upon which he has made this statement, so opposite to that given by M. Biot, but we find that it is almost a translation of the introductory portion of the sentence of condemnation and imprisonment passed upon Galileo in 1633; and therefore, unless we suppose, which we cannot do, that the Pope and the Cardinals have knowingly given a false account of their own decree of 1615, for the purpose of aggravating the conduct of Galileo, and justifying the severity of his sentence, we must hold the statement of M. Biot to be wholly erroneous. And this is the more remarkable, as he has himself published, in his fourth article† on the subject, the original text of the Trial of 1633, in which the following correct account is given of the proceedings and decree of 1615:—

"Since you, Galileo, the son of Vincent Galileo, a Florentine, and 70 years of age, was denounced in this Holy Office, because you hold as true the false doctrine maintained by many, namely, that the sun was in the centre of the world and immoveable, and that the earth moved even with a diurnal motion;—that you had certain disciples to whom you taught the same doctrine;—that you kept up a correspondence with several German mathematicians;—that you published certain letters entitled, On the Solar Spots (his letters to Mark Velser in May and December 1612*), in which you explained the same doctrine as true;—that you replied to certain objections against you, taken from Sacred Scripture, by glossing the same Scripture according to your own interpretation of it," etc.

After announcing in the most formal manner the two great Catholic dogmas to be adopted by all qualified theologians, the document thus proceeds:—

"But when it pleased us, in the meantime to proceed kindly against you, it was decreed in the Holy Congregation, held in the presence of D. N. (Domino Nostro), on the 25th February 1616, that Cardinal Bellarmine should enjoin you to retract altogether the aforesaid false doctrine, and that, in the event of your refusing, the Commissary of the Holy Office should order you to abandon the said doctrine, and that you should neither teach it to others, nor defend it, nor treat of it; and that if you did not acquiesce in this command, you should be thrown into prison; and in execution of this decree, on the following day, in the above-mentioned place, in the presence of Cardinal Bellarmine, you were kindly admonished by him, and commanded by the Commissary of the Holy Office, before a notary and witnesses, that you would wholly abandon the said false opinion, and that in future you would not be allowed to defend it, or in any way teach it, either orally or in your writings;—and when you promised obedience you were discharged."

Here, then, we have what we must regard as the true account of the proceedings and decree of 1615, as signed by the seven Cardinals in 1633, and to a certain extent confirmed by Galileo himself in the abjuration which accompanies the decree of that year. The decree of 1615 exhibits the admitted policy of the Court of Rome—the denunciation as false and heretical of great astronomical truths, and the punishment by imprisonment of the philosopher who should dare to teach or in any way maintain them. The policy of 1615, enjoined by Pope Paul III., was carried out in 1633 in all its integrity and sternness by Pope Urban VIII., as it would have been by any other Pope; and to maintain, as M. Biot has done, that the condemnation of astronomical truth, and the punishment of Galileo in 1633, was owing solely to the personal insults which the astronomer had offered to the Holy Father, is one of the most extraordinary paralogisms

* *Martyrs of Science*, p. 51, 52.
† *Journ. des Savants*, p. 616.

* See Martyrs of Science, p. 39, 40.

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that is to be found in the history of science. Admitting for the present, which is not true, and what we shall presently show is not true, that Galileo did insult the Pope, and that the Pope was actuated by a spirit of revenge, it is as clear as noonday that Pope Urban VIII. could not be impelled by any personal affront to sanction the decree of 1633. He was bound to follow the policy of his predecessors. The Inquisition had laid down the law, and, unjust as it was, he was bound to follow it. Galileo was warned before all Christendom, that if he in any way maintained his opinions, he would be thrown into prison; and seeing that he did maintain his opinions, he could expect no other result than the fulfilment of a threat sanctioned by the highest authorities both in Church and State. The law was promulgated with all the solemnity of a Christian court, and Pope Urban VIII. would have exposed himself to the contempt of his Church, and the ridicule of the friends of Galileo—the band of sceptics that hounded him on to his ruin.

But we go much further. The decree of 1633 inflicted no greater punishment than was threatened in the decree of 1615, and we do not scruple to ascribe this lenity to the affection which Urban is known to have entertained for Galileo. The threat of imprisonment was directed against the simple teaching of the heretical truths; but Galileo did much more. He broke a solemn promise, made before witnesses, that he would not in any way teach them; and he taught them in every possible way, and under circumstances which, as we shall presently see, greatly exaggerated the offence, and involved his friends in the same condemnation. We must exonerate, therefore, Pope Urban VIII. from the heavy crime with which M. Biot has accused him, of having been influenced by the most unchristian of all motives in procuring the condemnation and imprisonment of his friend. At this stage of our history, consequently, we may assert that M. Biot has signally failed in giving even a show of probability to the strange thesis which he learned in the Vatican. There is not one fact to support it, excepting his incorrect account of the proceedings and decree of 1615, which, had it been given by any other person than M. Biot, we should have regarded as a weak invention of the enemies both of Urban and Galileo.

During the rest of the Pontificate of Paul V., and that of his successor Gregory XV., a period of eight years, Galileo continued to carry on his studies, unmolested by the Church, because restrained by its decision from obtruding his opinions on the public. His health had given way in 1618, that interesting year in which three comets visited our system; and though he was not able to observe them with his telescope, he yet contrived to involve himself in the controversies to which they gave rise. In 1623 he published his celebrated work, entitled *Il Saggiatore*, or *The Assayer*, in reply to *The Astronomical and Philosophical Balance*, a book in which a learned Jesuit, Oratio Grassi, under the name of Lotario Sarsi, attacked Guiducci's Discourse on Comets, which was supposed to be written by Galileo, in which the author maintained the erroneous doctrine, that comets are nothing more than meteoric bodies, like halos and rainbows.

In the same year, 1623, Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, the particular friend of Galileo, succeeded to the Pontificate under the name of Urban VIII. This event was hailed by Galileo and his friends as favourable to the advancement of science, and Galileo himself regarded it with joy, and even exultation. Maffeo was one of the few Cardinals who had opposed the inquisitorial decree of 1615. He had shown to Galileo the warmest affection. He had received him at his table, and, on the 28th August 1620, had even addressed to him a flattering letter, accompanied with a set of verses in honour of his astronomical discoveries.* The friends of Galileo, too, as well as himself, shared in the esteem and affection of the Cardinal. He was on intimate terms with Prince Cesi, the founder of the Lyncæan Academy, and had been connected with that celebrated and liberal body. It was, therefore, of vast importance to secure to Galileo the patronage of the new Pope; and seeing that Paul III. had a century before patronised Copernicus, and accepted of the dedication of his great work, it was not unreasonable to expect, in a more enlightened age, that another Pontiff might display the same love of science.

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* Two stanzas of this poem have been given by Biot from Venturi's *Memorie e Lettere credite de Galileo Galilei*, Vol. ii., pp. 81 and 89:—

> Non semper extra quod radiat Jabar
> Splendescit intra; respicimus nigras
> In sole (quis credat?) detectas
> Arte tua Galilæei labes.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Seu Scorpii cor, sive canis facem
> Miratur alter, vel Jovis asseclas,
> Patrisve Saturni repertos
> Docte tuo Galilæe vitro.

Nuper autem dilectus filius Galileus, æthereas plagas ingressus, ignota sidera illuminavit, et planetarum penetralia reclusit. Quare dum beneficum Jovis astrum micabat in cœlo quatuor novis asseclis comitatum, comitem ævi sui laudem Galilæi trahet. *Nos tamen tantum virum, cujus fama in cœlo lucet, et terras peragrat, jamdiu paterna charitate complectimur.*

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Although Galileo had not been able for some years to travel, excepting in a litter, yet he was urged by Prince Cesi and his other friends to repair to Rome to congratulate the Pope on his elevation to the throne. Galileo accordingly set out upon his journey, and, after visiting Prince Cesi at Acqua Sparta, he arrived in Rome in the spring of 1624. The reception he experienced from the Pope was of the most flattering description. In a letter, dated June 8, 1624, he tells his friends that Urban received him with every mark of kindness. "I have had six audiences," he says, "with the Pope, in each of which I have had long discussions with him. He has presented me with a fine painting, two medals, one of silver, and the other of gold, with a large quantity of *Agnus Dei.*" These discussions, no doubt, related to the denunciation of the Copernican system, and Galileo's prohibition to teach it; but he soon perceived that the Court of Rome was not disposed to reconsider its decision, and that men of moderate views were of opinion that the facts of astronomy ought not to be placed even in apparent opposition to the expressions of Scripture. "With regard to deciding," he adds, "on what side the truth lies, Father *Mostro* (le Pere *Prodige*, Father Riccardi, so called, from his prodigious eloquence, about whom we shall hear farther) adheres neither to the Copernican nor the Ptolemaic system, but satisfies himself with a system of his own, which is a very convenient one. It is, that angels, who trouble nobody, move the stars as they like, and that we have nothing further to see in them."

In addition to this generous reception, the Pope promised Galileo a pension for his son Vincenzo; and in order to promote his interests in Tuscany, he wrote a letter to Ferdinand, the new Grand Duke, recommending him to his special patronage. "For we find in him," he says, "not only literary distinction, but the love of piety; and he is strong in those qualities by which Pontifical good-will is easily obtained. . . . . We have lovingly embraced him, nor can we suffer him to return to the country whither your liberality recalls him, without an ample provision of Pontifical love. And that you may know how dear he is to us, we have willed to give him this honourable testimonial of piety and virtue. And we further signify, that every benefit which you shall confer upon him, imitating or even surpassing your father's liberality, will conduce to our gratification."

To these acts of kindness the Pope added others no less gratifying to Galileo. A few years after his visit to Rome, he received from his Holiness a pension of an hundred crowns; and, what was peculiarly acceptable to Galileo and his friends, the Abbé Castelli, to whom he had addressed the letter that was pronounced heretical by the Inquisition, was appointed mathematician to the Pope.

Thus generously treated by Urban, Galileo might have spent the rest of his days in the calm pursuit of science, in the enjoyment of his high reputation, and in the free communication of his discoveries to the world. He was prohibited only from teaching a doctrine which he had already amply taught. His views were committed to imperishable records, and there was no risk that the true system of the universe would be superseded by an astronomy that was false. He might have allowed the priest to denounce what was true, as long as he could not establish what was erroneous. Galileo, however, did not thus reason.

"Although," as Sir David Brewster remarks,* "he made a narrow escape from the grasp of the Inquisition, he was never sufficiently sensible of the lenity which he experienced. When he left Rome in 1616, under the solemn pledge of never teaching the obnoxious doctrine, it was with an hostility against the Church, suppressed but deeply cherished; and his resolution to propagate the heresy seems to have been coeval with the vow by which he renounced it. In the year 1618, when he communicated his theory of the tides to the Archduke Leopold, he alludes in the most sarcastic manner to the conduct of the Church. The same hostile tone more or less pervaded all his writings, and, while he laboured to sharpen the edge of his satire, he endeavoured to guard himself against its effects by an affectation of the humblest deference to the decisions of theology. Had Galileo stood alone, his devotion to science might have withdrawn him from so hopeless a contest; but he was spurred on by the violence of a party. The Lyncean Academy never scrupled to summon him from his researches. They placed him in the forlorn hope of their combat, and he at last fell a victim to the rashness of his adventure.

"But, whatever allowance we may make for the ardour of Galileo's temper, and the peculiarity of his position, and however we may justify and even applaud his past conduct, his visit to Urban VIII. in 1620 placed him in a new relation to the Church, which demanded, on his part, a new and corresponding demeanour. The noble and generous reception which he met with from Urban, and the liberal declaration of Cardinal Hohinzollern on the subject of the Copernican system, should have been regarded as expressions of regret for the past, and offers of conciliation for the future. Thus honoured by the head of the Church, and befriended by its dignitaries, Galileo must have felt himself secure against the indignities of its lesser functionaries, and in the possession of the fullest license to prosecute his re-

* Martyrs of Science, p. 62.

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searches and publish his discoveries, provided he avoided that dogma of the Church, which even in the present day it has not ventured to revoke.* But Galileo was bound to the Roman hierarchy by even stronger ties. His son and himself were pensioners of the Church, and, having accepted of its alms, they owed to it at least a decent and respectful allegiance. The pension thus given by Urban was not a remuneration which sovereigns sometimes award to the services of their subjects. Galileo was a foreigner at Rome. The Sovereign of the Papal States owed him no obligation, and hence we must regard the pension of Galileo as a donation from the Roman Pontiff to science itself, and as a declaration of the Christian world, that religion was not jealous of philosophy, and that the Church of Rome was willing to respect and foster even the genius of its enemies."

Notwithstanding these acts of kindness on the one hand, and on the other the obvious danger of exposing himself to the terrible power of the Inquisition, he resolved to publish a work in order to demonstrate the truths of the Copernican system; but in place of doing this openly and boldly, he discussed the subject in a dialogue between three speakers, in the hope of thus eluding the vigilance of the Church. The work was completed in 1630, with the title of "*The System of the World of Galileo Galilei*, etc., etc., in which, in four dialogues concerning the two principal systems of the world—the Ptolemaic and the Copernican—he discusses indeterminately and firmly the argument on both sides." It is dedicated to his patron, Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and is prefaced by an "Address to the Prudent Reader," which is itself anything but prudent. He refers to the decree of the Inquisition in the most insulting and ironical language. By insinuations ascribed to others, he attributes the decree to ignorance and to passion; and he pretends to demonstrate the Copernican system purely as a mathematical hypothesis, and not as an opinion absolutely more sound than that of Ptolemy. Of the three persons by whom the dialogue is carried on, Salviati is the true philosopher, and principal speaker in the dialogue. Sagredo, the name of another friend of the author, proposes doubts, suggests difficulties, and enlivens with his wit the gravity of the dialogue. Simplicio, a staunch Peripatetic, and follower of Ptolemy, modestly pleads the cause of the Ptolemaic system, but is baffled on every point by the philosophy and wit of his friends.

When this remarkable work was finished, Galileo experienced much difficulty in obtaining a license to print it. Fortunately, however, for its author, the Master of the Sacred Palace, Father Nicolo Riccardi, a Dominican, and censor of new publications, had been his pupil. Galileo, therefore, applied to him for the requisite license; but learning that attempts had been made to frustrate his wishes, he set off for Rome, and submitted his manuscript to the scrutiny of the censor, who was, from many causes, anxious to oblige him. Riccardi suggested several alterations, and returned the manuscript with a written approbation to print it, provided the alterations were made. The imprimatur thus obtained being good only for Rome, Galileo intended to have had it printed there, under the care of Prince Cesi. The death, however, of this eminent individual in August 1630, prevented this from being done, and compelled Galileo to have it printed at Florence. On applying to Riccardi for permission, he demanded another sight of the manuscript, and after inspecting the beginning and end of it, he authorized it to be printed wherever Galileo chose, on the condition that it bore the license of the Inquisitor-General of Florence, and some others. With these licenses, the work was published at Florence in the first week of January 1633. Copies of it were immediately presented to the Grand Duke, and various persons at Florence, and to the author's distinguished friends both in Italy and elsewhere. From mathematicians and astronomers it received the highest praise; but at Rome, to which thirty copies had been sent, it raised an ecclesiastical hurricane which nothing could assuage. The Inquisition prohibited the circulation of the copies; and it was generally believed that the sale of the work would be prohibited, and its author punished. Alarmed at this unexpected storm, Galileo implored the protection of Ferdinand, who, through his secretary, Cioli, and Niccolini, the Tuscan ambassador at Rome, exerted himself in favour of his mathematician. The letters which passed on this occasion from Rome to Florence, thirty-four in number,* contain the private history of this remarkable negotiation, and it is from them chiefly that M. Biot finds arguments in favour of his speculation.

On the 27th August 1632, Niccolini applied to Cardinal Barberino, the Pope's nephew, for permission to publish the Dialogues, as they had been already printed with the approbation of the authorities; but the only answer was, that he would commu-

* Though this dogma was never really revoked, yet, about a century later, Benedict XIV. erased it from the Registers of the Congregation of the Index.

* These letters occupy the appendix to the ninth volume of the works of Galileo, already referred to.

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nicate the request to the Holy Father. On the 5th September the Pope entered during the conference. "He was," says Niccolini, "in a great rage, and said to me in an off-hand manner, 'Your Galileo has again entered where he ought not, into questions the most grave and perilous that can be raised in these days.'" After complaining that he had been deceived by Galileo and Ciampoli, in obtaining the imprimatur of the authorities, Niccolini asked for permission to Galileo to justify himself before the Holy Office. The Pope replied that the Holy Office in these matters only censured, and demanded a retraction. Niccolini answered that it would be proper to acquaint Galileo with the difficulties in the way, and to mention the points that displeased the Holy Office. "The Holy Office," replied the Pope violently, "I have already told you, never proceeds in this manner, and never gives advice. It is not its practice, and, besides, *Galileo knows very well in what these difficulties consist, if he wishes to know them; because we have often discussed them with him, and he has learned them from our own mouth.*" In continuing the discussion, the Pope is led to say, "that he had treated Galileo better than Galileo treated him;" and after another interview, Niccolini says that the Pope "obstinately declares that the affair is without remedy, especially when he is contradicted or threatened, in which case he is carried away to say hard things, without respect for anybody."

That the Pope showed much violence during the interview cannot be denied; but it is sufficiently accounted for by the cruel necessity which Galileo had now laid upon him, to punish one who had been his friend, and thus to appear to the world as the enemy of astronomical truth. There is no proof whatever, that the resolution to bring the matter before the Inquisition was prompted by any vindictive feeling, and that Galileo had given him any other grounds of offence than one not easily forgotten, and another not easily forgiven,—that he had become insensible of his obligation to him, and had broken the solemn pledge which he had made to the Commissary of the Holy Office.

In order to convict the Pope of being influenced by personal feelings, M. Biot proceeds to investigate the charge against Gallileo, and one which no friend of the philosopher could have rashly made,—that in the person of Simplicio he had ridiculed and refuted the very arguments in favour of the Ptolemaic system, which Urban had used in their private discussion of the subject. "Strictly speaking," says Biot, "the reproduction of these might have been interrupted and excused as necessary to the subject; but Galileo had the misfortune, or the malice, to attach to it a trait which too clearly revealed its origin. We find at the end of the fourth day of the Dialogues, in the last argument used against the speakers, to dispense with accepting their conclusions as true, though they might seem to him probable, the following remarks:—'This argument, after which we may take matters quietly, *I learned, said Simplicio, from a person very learned and very eminent.* It is, that God, in His omnipotence and infinite wisdom, may confer on the element of water the motion of the tides which you see, in an infinite number of ways incomprehensible to our intelligence, as you will no doubt grant. And, this being the case, I immediately conclude from it, that it would be the height of audacity in any one to limit and restrict the Divine power and wisdom to any particular fantasy of his own invention.' *The person very learned and very eminent,*" continues Biot, "from whom the good Simplicio says that he learned this decisive argument, could not be much flattered by the citation. Though Galileo was naturally averse to connect the Pope with the personage of Simplicio, yet the striking evidence of its application is confirmed by his contemporaries, who were in a position to know the events of their day; and we shall presently find *the manifest proof* of this too direct allusion."

After Niccolini had attempted in vain to soothe the Pope and the Cardinals, the Inquisitor of Florence, on the 30th September 1633, cited Galileo, in the presence of witnesses, to repair immediately to Rome, and present himself to the Commissary of the Holy Office. Terrified by this summary command, Galileo used every means he could devise to have the journey delayed. He pleaded his threescore and ten years, and his ill health. He produced, too, a medical certificate; but all his efforts were in vain, and it was only through the affectionate importunities of Niccolini that some delay was conceded to him.

"I have represented," says Niccolini, "his age of seventy years, his ill health, the danger to his life of quitting his small chamber, and the painful quarantine he must perform (on account of the plague at Florence); but as these personages (the Cardinals) listen and give no answer (having their tongue tied by the Holy Office), I have discussed the matter this morning with the Pope, and after having assured him that Galileo was ready to obey, and do everything that he was commanded, I explained to him, at great length, all the circumstances of the case, in order to excite

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his compassion for this poor old man, for whom I entertain so much affection and respect. I asked his Holiness if he had seen the suppliant letter which he had addressed to his nephew, the Cardinal Barberino. He told me he had read it, but that he could not dispense with his coming to Rome. I replied that, considering his age, his Holiness would run the risk of not trying him either at Rome or Florence; because that, after suffering so much fatigue and anguish of mind, I believe I might assure him that he would die on the road. 'Very well,' said he, 'let him come slowly, *pian piano*, in a litter, and quite at his ease. But it is absolutely necessary that he be examined in person, and may God forgive him for having got into such difficulties, after I, when Cardinal, had on a former occasion extricated him.' "

After new attempts to mollify the Papal authorities, Niccolini, on the 4th December, informs the Tuscan Court that Galileo must decide upon coming to Rome, and remain in quarantine in some part of the territory of Sienna at least twenty days; because this ready obedience will be of great use to him. As the Congregation of the Holy Office were proceeding with much secrecy, and threatening with the severest censures every person that opened his mouth, Niccolini could not say where Galileo was to reside, but he must in the first instance come to him. Galileo having still remained at Arcetri, Niccolini wrote again on the 26th December and again on the 15th January 1633, to hasten his departure, lest the Inquisition should take some step against him of extreme violence. With this summary invitation Galileo instantly complied, and on the 13th February 1633 he arrived at the house of the ambassador. On the following day he was presented to the Assessor, and to the Father Commissary of the Holy Office; and Cardinal Barberino granted the request of Niccolini, that Galileo should remain in his house, without quitting it or seeing any of his friends. Monsignore Serristori, one of the counsel of the Inquisition, visited him twice, in order, probably, to ascertain what would be the line of his defence, and in what way they ought to proceed against him. Under these circumstances, Niccolini recommended entire obedience and submission, as the only way of *subduing the irritation of the person who was so violently excited, and who treated the offence as if it were his own concern.*

In replying to Niccolini's letter of the 27th February, announcing the arrival of Galileo, and his entire submission to the ecclesiastical authorities, the Pope remarks, "that (out of respect to the Grand Duke) he has treated Galileo with unusual gentleness and clemency, in permitting him to remain at the embassy instead of transferring him to the Inquisition, as an exemption was not granted even to princes, one of whom, of the house of Gonzaga, was brought to Rome by a guard of the Inquisition, and taken to the Chateau, where he was long detained, till his trial was over."

On the 13th March, Niccolini visited the Pope, under the pretence of thanking him for his kindness, but in reality to hasten the trial of Galileo. The Pope repeated his former declaration, that he could not do less than examine him at the Inquisition, and begged "that God would forgive him (Galileo) for entering upon a subject where new doctrine and Holy Scripture were concerned, as it was always better to follow the common doctrine. May God also aid Ciampoli for those new opinions; because he has a taste for them, and shows an inclination for the new philosophy. Signor Galileo has been my friend. We have several times conversed familiarly together, and ate at the same table. I am sorry to give him pain; but it is a matter of faith and religion." Niccolini protested that Galileo would give every satisfaction, with the respect which was due to the Holy Office. "To what!" replied Urban. "He will be examined at his time. But there is an argument which he and his adherents have never been able to answer. *It is, that God is omnipotent; and if He is omnipotent, why should we impose upon Him necessities?*"

"Now," says M. Biot, "this is precisely the peremptory and irrefutable argument which the Simpliçio of the Dialogues pretends to have learnt from *a very learned and very eminent person*, which could be no other than Urban VIII." Niccolini, without identifying these two personages, tried to excuse Galileo; upon which the Pope getting warm, replied, "*We must not impose necessities upon God.*" Seeing that he was irritated, Niccolini solicited his permission that Galileo should not leave the embassy. To which the Pope made answer, *that he would make them assign him certain special apartments, which were the best and the most commodious in the Holy Office.*

When the Grand Duke had learnt the names of ten of the Cardinals who were to try Galileo, he wrote to each of them and recommended Galileo to their indulgence; but the answers which he received were, as might have been expected, vague and unsatisfactory. The day of the trial at last approached, and in spite of Niccolini's intercession, it was resolved that Galileo should remain in the apartments assigned to him till the conclusion of his trial, but that he should have a servant to attend him, and every necessary convenience.

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On the morning of the 12th April, Galileo was taken to the Commissary of the Holy Office, by whom he was received in the kindest manner. It had always been the practice to place the accused, whether bishops, prelates, or titled persons, in the Chateau, or in the Palace of the Inquisition, and to keep them locked up with the greatest rigour; but Galileo was permitted to have three apartments in the house of the Fiscal. His servant was allowed to sleep in the palace; he had full liberty to walk within its precincts, and his food was carried to him from the house of the ambassador. At this time Galileo enjoyed good health, but on the 23d of April he was attacked with severe pains in his thigh, and was confined to bed, when he was visited both by the Fiscal and Commissary of the Holy Office, who encouraged him to be of good cheer, and promised to liberate him as soon as he was able to quit his bed. He was accordingly sent back to the embassy on the 30th April, in better health than before. From these details M. Biot justly concludes, that during his first detention, which lasted nineteen days, from the 12th to the 30th April 1633, he could not have been put to the torture.*

In consequence of these delays, Andrea Cioli, the administrator of the Grand Duke's finances, reminds Niccolini that when he authorized him to receive Galileo at the embassy, he had mentioned a month as the limit of the term, as also that his expenses should be paid by himself. To this Niccolini replied, that he could not speak on such a subject to Galileo while he was his guest, and that he would rather keep him at his own charge. "His expenses, and that of his servant," he adds, "do not exceed fourteen or fifteen crowns a month; and even if he should remain six months, the whole sum would not exceed ninety or a hundred crowns."

During the second period of Galileo's residence in the palace of the ambassador, where he remained in a state of exile seven weeks, from the 1st May to the 20th June 1633, Niccolini treated him with his usual kindness. On the 21st of May, at an interview with Urban and his nephew, it was intimated to Niccolini that Galileo's Dialogues would be prohibited, and himself condemned to some *salutary penitence* for having disobeyed the prohibition to teach the mobility of the earth.* At another interview with the Pope, his Holiness assured Niccolini that, out of love for the accused, he had granted all possible facilities to Galileo—that he could not do less than prohibit his doctrine, as it was erroneous and contrary to Scripture, which was dictated *ore Dei;* that, according to the usual practice, he must remain in prison for some time, on account of having contravened the orders given him in 1616. But he added, When the sentence is published, I will revisit you, and we will examine together what will be the least afflicting to him, because he cannot be discharged without some demonstration relative to his person. Upon Niccolini continuing to intercede for his friend, the Pope said that he could not do less than banish him for a while to some convent, because the Congregation was unanimous in imposing upon him a *penitence.*

On the 20th June, two days after this interview, Galileo was cited to the Holy Office; and he went there on the 21st, where he was kept till the following day, when he was taken to the Church of Minerva in a penitential dress, and in presence of the cardinals and prelates of the Congregation, his sentence was read to him, and he was compelled to make a solemn abjuration of those great truths which he had demonstrated and believed.†

The sentence and the abjuration of Galileo were immediately published, and have been the subject of severe comment in almost all the Lives of the Philosophers. They were ordered to be read publicly at several universities. At Florence they were read in the Churches of Sta. Croce, to which the friends of Galileo were summoned to witness the degradation of their master. The Inquisitor of Florence, who had licensed the

* The idea that Galileo was put to the torture in his examination by the Inquisitors, was founded on the expression *Esame rigorosa*, or *Rigorous examination*, which is employed in the sentence published by Riccioli. In his History of the Council of Trent, Pallavicini, who was a cardinal, and considered a great writer, uses the phrase *Esame rigorosa* to express examination under torture. Libri, and other Italians, have adopted this meaning; but Lord Brougham considers the supposition as completely disproved by Galileo's own account of the lenity with which he was treated. See Lord Brougham's *Analytical View of the Principia*, Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.*, Tom VIII. Lib. 2, p. 1107; and Brewster's *Martyrs of Science*, 4th Edit., pp. 75, 76.

* As Galileo suffered from want of exercise, Niccolini was permitted to send him in a close carriage into the gardens of the Villa Medici to enjoy a solitary promenade.

† It has been said, but not upon any authority, that after Galileo had abjured on his knees the doctrine of the earth's motion, he said in a whisper to one of his friends, *E pur si muove*, "It does move though." We are glad to find that M. Biot discredits this story, as Lord Brougham and Sir David Brewster had previously done. What friend could he have among his judges, who were unanimous in their verdict, to whom he could address such a sentiment?

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printing of the Dialogues, was reprimanded for his conduct; and Riccardi, the Master of the Sacred Palace, and Ciampoli, the secretary to the Pope, were both dismissed from their situations.

The sentence upon Galileo was no sooner passed, than the Pope commuted the imprisonment into a detention in the Villa Medici, the garden of the Trinita del Monte. Niccolini took him there on the evening of the 24th June, and, after a few days' residence in that charming spot, the Pope gave him leave to reside in the palace of Ascanio Piccolomini, Archbishop of Sienna, whose friendship he had long enjoyed. He accordingly quitted Rome on the 6th July 1633, in excellent health; and he wrote to Niccolini from Viterbo, that he had been able to walk four miles on foot without any inconvenience. After remaining five months with the archbishop, he obtained leave to go to his own house at Arcetri, near Florence, where he arrived about the middle of December 1633, and where he remained, in limited confinement, till his death, which took place on the 8th January 1642, in the 78th year of his age.

Before we return to the discussion of Biot's theory of Galileo's trial, to which we have already adverted, we must give our readers some account of the examination itself—one of the most interesting though painful portions of history. It forms the subject of Biot's fourth article, and we regret that no other account of it is to be found but in the garbled extracts from the originals which have been published by Marini.

The examination of Galileo took place at four different times. It was conducted in the usual form, so that the prisoner should be self-convicted. The questions were put in Latin, and the answers given in Italian. M. Marini, most improperly, as M. Biot says, translates the questions into Italian, so that we are not able to form the same judgment of their import as if they had been given in the original.

At the first examination, which took place on the 12th April 1633, Galileo was asked if he knew why he was cited to Rome. To this he replied, "I suppose it is to give an account of the book which I lately published. I think so, because a few days before I was ordered to come to Rome, both the bookseller and myself were enjoined not to sell the book; and, besides, he was ordered to send the original to Rome, to the Holy Office."

Being asked what the book was, he replied, "That it was a book in dialogues, which treated of the constitution of the world, of the two great systems, the arrangements of the heavens and the elements." Having been shown a book entitled *Dialogo di Galilei Linceo*, and printed at Florence in 1632, he recognised it as his own, which he had commenced ten or twelve years before, and which took him seven or eight years to write. He speaks next of the intimation he received from Cardinal Bellarmine in 1616, which he did not think it necessary to mention to the Master of the Sacred Palace when he asked his authority to print the book, "not having," he says, "in this book either maintained or refuted the mobility of the earth and the stability of the sun, and having even demonstrated the opposite opinion, and that the opinions of Copernicus are without force and inconclusive."

This *first* interrogatory, copied word for word, says M. Biot, is thus signed by Galileo:

"*I, Galileo Galilei, have deponed as above.*"

As this is only an extract from the text of the interrogatory, Biot justly blames Marini for suppressing what may be of high importance, and thus raising prejudices against the truth which it was the interest of the Court of Rome to make public. "The whole of the book," he continues, "is marked with a feeling of malevolence so constant and severe against the unfortunate Galileo, that it seems as if it had been written not to give a sincere exposition of the facts of his trial, as to exaggerate his conduct; so that the ardour of Marini's passion makes him a suspicious witness, and we might even believe that he had concealed the fact of the torture if it had been applied."

The *second* examination took place on the 30th April, and it would appear from Marini's statement that it led to a long discourse by Galileo, in which he confessed that he had not been strictly consistent in describing the manner in which he had taught the condemned doctrines. He refers to the natural tendency which a writer of dialogues has to make each speaker argue for his opinion with all the ingenuity in his power. "For instance," says he, "in now reviewing my book, I find that I have sometimes allowed myself to be carried away by a sentiment of vainglory, to put into the mouth of the adversary (the partisan of Copernicus), whom I wished to refute, arguments so powerful that an ordinary reader might not consider them so weak and easily refuted as I believed and still believe them to be; and if I had again to write the same arguments, I am confident that I would weaken them in such a manner that, I am

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sure, they would not appear to have the force of which they are essentially destitute." At the close of the examination, he made the humiliating statement, "that if he were allowed an opportunity and time to show that he had never held, and does not now hold as true, the mobility of the earth, etc., he could easily add to his Dialogues two more, in which *he promises that he would revise the argument in favour of that false and damnable opinion, in order to refute it with all the force which God might give him!*"

The *third* examination took place on the 10th May, when he was asked to prepare his defence in eight days, if he wished or intended to make any. To this Galileo answered, "I have heard what your reverence has said, and in reply, for my defence—that is, to show the sincerity and purity of my intentions—I submit this writing, accompanied with a certificate signed by Cardinal Bellarmine; and I throw myself wholly upon the kindness and clemency of this tribunal."

The *fourth* and last interrogation of Galileo took place on the 21st June 1633. By a special degree, dated 16th June, the Pope ordered that Galileo should be examined on his intention—*Sanctissimus mandavit ipsum interrogandum esse super intentione.* Marini is very silent upon this important interrogatory, and does not tell us what took place between the Congregation of Cardinals and the qualified theologians, or *commissaires instructeurs.* In another part of his work, however, he gives us more particulars of this examination, in which when *threatened with the torture,** Galileo replies, "I do not hold, and I never held, the opinion of Copernicus since I was ordered to abandon it. Besides, I am in your hands, do with me what you please. I am here to make my submission. I have not held this opinion since it was condemned." "Here," says Marini, "ended the fourth and last act of the trial, after which the commissaries add that he was carried *to his residence* (place), *et cum nihil aliud posset haberi remissus fuit ad locum suum,*—that is to say," says Marini, "*to the palace of the Tuscan ambassador,*" an interpretation which, as Biot has shown, is altogether false, as he was detained in his apartments in the Inquisition, and which he accounts for on the supposition "that Marini had given this slight turn to the truth with the *good intention* of obtaining a decisive argument that Galileo had not been put to the torture!

This striking proof of the falsehood of Marini's narrative throws a doubt upon all his statements, and would justify us in questioning the correctness even of his garbled extracts. As the special and professional advocate of the Inquisition, and the virulent enemy of Galileo, no confidence can be placed in his work; and we would indulge the hope that the pledge made by the Pope to the Government of France to publish all the documents of Galileo's trial may yet be fulfilled. The present Emperor owes it to France and to Christendom, to demand this act of justice from the Pontiff whom he sustains; and were M. Biot, the father of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, to urge that body to make the request, we have no doubt that the secret archives would yet surrender the precious deposit.

"In our day," says M. Biot, "in the nineteenth century, the Pontifical Court ought deeply to regret that it confided the publication of the trial of Galileo to Mgr. Marini. His book is a compilation without order or method, written in an ardent polemical spirit, which, in place of persuading and convincing us, by a faithful exposition of facts and their causes, engages us imprudently in hazardous recriminations, in which the ignorant partiality of the writer throws a suspicion over the fidelity of his narrative. His caution in giving only extracts of the interrogatories is an imprudence; for if we had not otherwise the certainty that Galileo was not put to physical torture, we might reasonably have believed that proofs of this atrocious act existed in facts which he has concealed from us; and the more so as the argument which he adduces as decisive proof that no torture was applied, rests on the allegation of a fact which we know to be substantially false."

Having thus submitted to our readers as full an account of the proceedings at Galileo's trial as our limits will permit, and given due prominence to the facts upon which M. Biot has rested his case against Galileo, the Pope, and the Inquisition, we must now inquire into the correctness of the inferences which he has drawn from them. We have already shown, that if all the allegations of M. Biot were true—that Galileo willingly insulted the Pope by ridiculing him in the character of Simplicio, and that the Pope knew of the insult and was deeply offended by it, there is not a shadow of

* This threat of torture is expressed in two different ways by Marini, and given in Latin, as from the original text. Galileo was told that, if he did not confess the truth, *devenietur contra ipsum ad remedia juris et facti opportuna;* and according to another version, *alias devenietur ad torturam.* M. Biot considers these two different statements, when given as transcribed from the original text, as compromising the veracity of Marini.

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proof that he was influenced by it in insisting upon the trial of Galileo, and still less that his nephew, Cardinal Barberino, and others of the cardinals who were favourably inclined to him, could have been induced either to pass a sentence prompted by personal revenge, or deliberately to denounce as false the great truths of astronomy.

The letters of Niccolini show that the Pope was irritated with Galileo; and no wonder, when we recollect the affection and liberality which he showed him. But Niccolini, we think, may have exaggerated the feelings of his Holiness. His object was to show the Archduke how well he succeeded in calming the Pope, and what great privileges he obtained from him for the prisoner of the Inquisition. But whatever truth there may be in his account of the Pope's expressions, the same letters prove that his Holiness treated Galileo with unexpected and even excessive lenity, except that of declining to try him,—yielded to every application in his favour and converted his imprisonment into a delightful residence in the palace of his friend the Archbishop of Sienna,* and a peaceful detention under his own roof and in the bosom of his family.

If it is necessary to seek for any other cause of the Pope's displeasure, we shall certainly not find it, as M. Biot has tried to do, by identifying the Pope with the Simplicio in the Dialogues. The allegation, that *the very learned and very eminent person* was Urban VIII., is not supported by a single fact. Biot asserts that he has found a *clear proof* of their identity in the circumstance that both of them used the same argument in the same words in opposing the Copernican system. Simplicio says *that if God is all-powerful, why should we impose necessities upon Him*, and the Pope observed to Nicolini *that we must not impose necessities upon God.* That the two Peripatetics should use the same expression is not surprising, and is no proof whatever that the Pope was the *very eminent and learned person* from whom Simplicio got the argument. If the Pope was really meant, and had used the very argument which Galileo put into the mouth of Simplicio, there was nothing in the least offensive in refuting it; and if the Pope really did believe that Galileo had him in his eye, we think that he must have been pleased rather than offended. After the publication of the dialogues in 1632, the Pope had read Simplicio's speech, and the answer to it by Salviati and Sagredi; but, in place of being ashamed of it, or taking offence at the replies to it, he actually tells Niccolini, on the 13th March 1633, *that Galileo and his adherents had never been able, and never would be able, to answer his argument!*

In defending his countryman against the charge, that "he had *the misfortune or the malice* of doing a great wrong to the Pope, who had been his friend," Baron Plana, the Newton of Italy, and recently elected one of the eight Foreign Associates of the French Academy of Sciences, has entered fully into the subject, and adduced strong arguments in refutation of the calumny against Galileo. "The argumentation," he says, "of M. Biot only proves that Pope Urban VIII. acted towards Galileo *as if* he had personally insulted him; but it cannot prove that, in writing his Dialogues, Galileo availed himself of the fictitious name, Simplicio, to make offensive allusions to the arguments which the Pope used when conversing with him in 1624." The Baron has supported this view of the case by referring to the publication, in 1638, of Galileo's *New Dialogues on Local Motion*, in which the three interlocutors are Salviati, Sagredi, and Simplicio, as in his former work. These dialogues were written during his seclusion at Arcetri, which the Pope granted to him as a signal favour at the intercession of the Grand Duke; and he certainly would not have used the name of Simplicio had it recalled to the Pope and the Church the personal offence with which it is supposed to have been associated. Baron Plano regards "the reproduction of Simplicio in 1638 as a protestation of his innocence on the part of Galileo."

It is very probable that the Jesuits and Galileo's other enemies may have tried to persuade the Pope that he was ridiculed in the person of Simplicio; but it is evident, as Baron Plano has shown, from the letter of Father Castelli to Galileo, dated 12th July 1636, and from a letter from Galileo himself to his friend, Fulgenzio Micanzio, that after the condemnation of Galileo the Pope did not believe that he was the *very eminent and learned person* referred to by Simplicio, and that Galileo himself disavowed the imputation as a wicked device of his enemies. Venturi, the editor of the unpublished letters of Galileo, believes that the name Simplicio was applied to the body of the Peripatetics, and not to any individual;

* The following is a letter, dated 12th June, with which the good Archbishop welcomed his friend:—"The experience I have of the habitual slowness of the court consoles me for the delay in having the honour of receiving you in my house. But as the last arrangements of his Holiness procured you a prompt and favourable journey, if by a litter or any other conveyance, you know so well my good disposition to serve you, that you may freely avail yourself of it, for I am not ambitious of any other title than that of a true and sincere friend without any ceremony whatever."

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and Baron Plana has adopted his opinion. When the French ambassador, in 1636, represented to the Pope that Galileo had been in this matter traduced by his enemies, his Holiness exclaimed, *Lo crediamo, lo crediamo!* "I believe it, I believe it." On the same occasion, as Castelli tells Galileo, the Pope spoke of him with much benignity, and said, "I have always loved him, and had even given him a pension."

The celebrated conversation in the Vatican, to which M. Biot has attached so much importance, and which revealed to him such new and important information, turns out to be a mere repetition of an old story which Olivieri had read in Venturi's work, where it is even more fully detailed. "I am surprised," says Baron Plana, "that M. Biot should have been ignorant of the particulars which he heard from Father Olivieri, for Venturi had published them more fully at Modena in 1821." Even in the 18th century, Nelli in his life of Galileo, mentions the same story, and, long before Biot published it, Mr. Drinkwater Bethune* referred to it in his life of Galileo, and Sir David Brewster† treats it as an incredible imputation.‡

If we have succeeded in conveying to our readers the impression made upon ourselves by "The Conversation in the Vatican," and the elaborate commentaries upon it by the French Academician, himself a Catholic, we shall have done some service to truth and to science. We shall have absolved Galileo from the odious charge of having ridiculed and insulted Pope Urban VIII., who had treated him with the most affectionate kindness, and the most unbounded generosity, and who had in 1616, rescued him from the grasp of the Inquisition. We shall have defended the Holy Father from the still heavier charge of having, under the influence of personal revenge, compassed the ruin of his friend. And we shall have defended the congregation of the Index, who tried Galileo and unanimously condemned him, from having been influenced in the discharge of so solemn a duty by the ignoble motive of gratifying, in the person of their chief, the basest of the passions.

In thus repudiating the speculations of M. Biot, we have not defended the great astronomer in his ingratitude to Maffeo Barberini, his friend and benefactor, nor the Holy Father and his Inquisitors in their condemnation of demonstrated truth, and their imprisonment of him who taught it; and still less have we found that, in the new aspect so painfully given to the trial of Galileo, "scientific truth has been separated from the accessories of human passions which had envenomed it," and that science and religion have rushed into each other's arms. Religion is never less divine than when virulent passion has been the impulse, and human ends the achievement; and science can never be honoured when its representative abjures the truths with which God has inspired him, and casts away the crown of martyrdom in his grasp.

It is a grievous fact in the history of the Catholic Church, that two of its functionaries—the Grand Inquisitor of Rome and the Keeper of its Secret Archives—should have appeared in the middle of the 19th century to defend the Inquisition of the 17th by at once slandering the high priest of science and the High Priest of Rome; and strange to relate, that this defence should consist in the plea that it condemned truth and threatened torture to its apostle in order to gratify private revenge! The Commissary-General Olivieri must have been amused at the success with which he served up as new to "a simple savant," as M. Biot calls himself, the old slander from the pages of Venturi; and Monsignore Marino-Marini, the keeper and garbler of the sacred archives — may yet have to answer to united Italy for the falsification of the documents of his Church, and his venomous slander of Galileo. From the metropolis of Italian Sardinia, Baron Plana has anticipated the feelings of his countrymen; and the child of Pisa, the stripling of Padua, the ornament of Florence, and the prisoner of Rome, will doubtless stand before his liberated country as the dauntless assertor of physical truth, the morning star of Italian science, and the type of Italy stretching her dungeoned limbs and girding herself for victory.

We would willingly leave M. Biot to the judgment of others—his "Conversation in the Vatican," etc., to be appreciated by his colleagues in the Institute—and his heartless commentaries to the dissection of Baron Plana and the philosophers of Italy. Great men are not the worshippers of the greatest. He who is highest in the lists of fame may be lowered to our own level, and the slanderer may rejoice in his work; but posterity, ever just to genius, will continue to assert its rights and avenge the victim. He who has not spared the sacred memory of New-

* *Library of Useful Knowledge*—Life of Galileo, chap. viii.

† Martyrs of Science, pp. 67, 68.

‡ In the passage in Venturi, which contains the whole story told by Olivieri, he refers to a particular page (146) which is expressly quoted by Biot. Baron Plana, therefore, cannot understand, and we cannot help him to explain, the silence of Biot respecting the passage in Venturi, vol. ii., p. 193, in which Olivieri's story is fully given.

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ton, with his "white soul" and lofty intellect, might have been silent over the errors of Galileo, and wept over his many woes.

Art. X.—*The Sicilian Game.*

The Sicilian method of opening the game of chess is extremely irregular, and very little practised. But the chess authorities tell us that, in the hands of a good player, it is the most brilliant and successful of all the openings. On the political chess-board of Europe, a great game has now been commenced with the Sicilian move. As nothing can be more irregular than the method of attack, so we hope that the final checkmate will be rapid and brilliant, that those who deserve to win will win gloriously, and that those who deserve to lose will lose unmistakeably. To understand this great game, however, we must remember that it is not confined to the Sicilies alone, nor even to Italy. Sicily is but a distant square upon the board. The game is European. France is one of the prime movers in it; Austria has large interests at stake; and what sincere Catholic does not feel concerned in whatever may happen to the chair of St. Peter? Moreover, as Lord John Russell pointed out in a late despatch to our ambassador at Turin, Great Britain is to some extent implicated in the struggle, for we hold in the Adriatic the rebellious Ionian Islands by a tenure precisely the same as that which Austria can show for Venetia. Nor can Germany be indifferent, when she sees that the same rule of thumb which has annexed Savoy to France, and has all but succeeded in subjecting the whole of Italy to the sceptre of Sardinia, may, with scarcely less reason, be applied to the rectification of the Rhenish frontier, and made to prove the advantages of uniting the petty German states under a single ruler. What is more, the events now occurring in Syria are an unpleasant diversion which, having thus far established the principle of a French intervention, may lead to we know not what results Our hands may be tied in the East, or they may be tied in the West, so as to give to France or to Russia the power of accomplishing, without check, the worst designs. The forces engaged are tremendous. The issues at stake are of incalculable importance. It is for Italy, for Naples, for Garibaldi, and for Victor Emmanuel, that we feel the more immediate interest. But no one who examines the situation thoroughly will permit himself to be blinded by the actual position of the game to the larger possibilities which it involves. It may be that the fires now running along the Italian valleys will burn out; but fires are not easily extinguished, and especially if the firemen feed the flames with oil. Last year we had a mighty conflagration in Northern Italy, which filled the coolest heads in Europe with alarm. This year we have a smaller blaze in Southern Italy, which is scarcely less dangerous. On the Continent they are far more alarmed about it than we are in England; and there is some reason to hope that the precautions dictated by this alarm will be the means of insuring peace for Europe and safety for Italy. A few months will show; a few weeks may decide. Meanwhile we invite our readers to a rapid survey of the Italian struggle as far as it has gone, and to a calm analysis of the results to which that struggle is tending.

It would be very pleasant if we could enter upon this investigation with a firm grasp of principles. Unhappily, at the present moment, the British Government, herein representing the British nation, has no definite principles of foreign policy. Broadly it may be stated, that we are so well satisfied with the actual results, as to be willing to shut our eyes to the means by which the results have been attained. We sympathize with the aspirations of Italians, rejoice in their freedom, and fondly trust that the creation of a strong Italian kingdom is something more tangible than a dream. England is eager to accept what has been achieved in Italy as accomplished facts. And yet, at every step of the process by which these facts have been accomplished, she is obliged to turn her head away in shame, to hide her blushes in a pocket-handkerchief, and to pronounce the timid, feminine No, when she loves nothing better than Yes. The position is not a dignified one, and is the result of a compromise between our theories and our practical instincts. The foreign policy of this country, in so far as it is capable of definition, resolves itself into one word—Non-intervention. But we have really never been able to determine what the word means. "Non-intervention!" said Talleyrand—"non-intervention! I do not know what it means. It is a political word—a diplomatic word, which is very nearly equivalent to intervention." Recognising the great principle of non-interference as the corner-stone of international law, the question arises, whether the law is of any value unless it be enforced. What is the nature of that man's virtue which prevents him from robbing his neighbour's cash-box, but

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permits him to see the robbery effected by somebody else without raising an alarm? What are the professions of that man worth, who, incapable of committing murder himself, allows his friend to be murdered before his eyes? What is the meaning of non-intervention, if it is a principle binding upon ourselves, so that while we religiously refuse to interfere, we allow anybody else to do so? We saw France interfering in Italy. We murmured at what we were powerless to prevent; and when victory crowned the French arms, we presented our congratulations to the Emperor, and the right hand of fellowship to King Victor Emmanuel. So with regard to various other acts, such as the absorption of Tuscany and the Æmilia,—we shook our heads and smiled. It was but the other day that our Foreign Secretary wrote to Turin, expressing an earnest hope that Sardinia did not mean to attack Naples, and menacing Count Cavour with the displeasure of England if he did not give up all idea of assailing Austria in her Venetian province. Yet, if Lord John Russell studies the popular feeling, he must know that nothing gives greater pleasure to the people of this country than to hear of Victor Emmanuel's advance upon Naples—that nothing would be more applauded than a successful assault on Venetia. So we, who three years ago found it hard enough to defend ourselves for permitting Italian refugees to conspire in our island against the life of Napoleon, although neither the Government nor the people of Great Britain had the slightest cognizance of their plots, should find it difficult to characterize the conduct of Victor Emmanuel in not only permitting an expedition to be organized in his dominions against a neighbouring state, with which he was on friendly terms, but in himself invading that state at the head of his army. However difficult it may be to characterize such a breach of international usage, the position of our people with reference to it is so illogical, that they are all in favour of Garibaldi's filibustering and Victor Emmanuel's invasion. Britain, on great occasions, has often been illogical, and in the present emergency we are reminded of the manner in which the British Parliament treated Clive. The readers of Macaulay's brilliant memoir will remember how the House of Commons first of all laid down the major proposition, that it is illegal for the servants of the State to appropriate to themselves what the arms of the State have acquired, and what belongs therefore alone to the governing power. It next laid down the minor proposition, that the English functionaries in Bengal had systematically appropriated the monies of the State, and that Clive had, as commander of the British forces, obtained large sums which of right belonged to the Government he served. In the next resolution it appeared to be inevitable that the House of Commons would pronounce the logical conclusion of these two propositions. On the contrary, the third decision at which it arrived was, that Clive had at the same time rendered great and meritorious services to his country. Spite of all delinquencies, and much that is ambiguous, we could not condemn the hero for whom, in our heart of hearts, we nursed admiration and gratitude. And it is with similar inconsistency, that, in the face of doubts and difficulties which rudely jostle with our sense of moral right and international propriety, we refuse to condemn him who, by anticipation, may be styled the King of Italy, and we heartily wish him good speed. We cannot pretend to give our approval to all the doublings and windings of the Cavour policy, to the interference of France, and to the settlement of Sardinian claims at the point of the sword. But, on the other hand, how is it possible to have any sympathy with Austria, with the Papal Government, with Bomba or Bombino? There is the same wild justice in the Italian campaigns which the philosopher tells us is the characteristic of revenge. It is well to recognise that Judge Lynch, with all his faults, may be a public benefactor; and our jealousy of French activity need not urge us to a denial of the good which it has effected in Italy.

At last we have the prospect of seeing the entire Peninsula, with the exception of Rome and of Venetia, united under one head. If the Italian kingdom can be consolidated without Rome and Venetia, then we may rest assured that the Eternal City and the famous Quadrilateral will soon follow. But that is precisely the question which has to be solved; and as yet we can only count upon an Italian kingdom deprived of its metropolitan city, and with its most formidable fastnesses in the hands of the enemy. Quicker than we can write, the telegraph brings us the news of success after success attending the patriot arms; and in all probability before these pages come before the reader, some of the events to which they refer will be stale and unprofitable. We shall, therefore, leaving mere narrative to the correspondents of the daily papers, confine ourselves here to general remarks.

That which must first of all strike any one who candidly examines the state of affairs in Italy, is the unanimity of sentiment and the moderation of conduct which the

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Italian people have displayed. Talk of the great leaders as we may, admire Garibaldi, criticise Cavour, and toast Victor Emmanuel—still the great fact to which we must revert is the ripeness of the Italians for the present movement. We might have seen the pear plucked without being ripe, and might have applauded the dash of the filibuster, the astuteness of the statesman, and the courage of the ardent king, as we applaud ability and courage wherever it is to be found. It is the maturity of the Italian mind that chiefly excites our astonishment, awakens our interest, and satisfies our moral sense. Here lies the vindication of all that has taken place. From the people comes Victor Emmanuel's indemnity. We have nothing to say in favour of the farce of universal suffrage, such as we have seen it in Savoy and Nice; nor could we, in full recollection of the Ionian Islands, of India, and of Ireland some years ago, easily maintain that the government of a country ought always to depend upon the popular voice. But with regard to Italy the doubt has never been expressed that the sentiment in favour of unity and Victor Emmanuel is real, spontaneous, and all but unanimous; and wherever such a sentiment is real, we suspect that the rule of right is the very rough one of success. Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow. If they can acquire their freedom, they deserve it, and we will not look too curiously into the process by which they dispose of their tyrants. Without approving of regicide, we may venerate Cromwell and Milton. Without admiring filial impiety, we may be permitted to rejoice in the rebellion which led William and Mary to occupy the throne of James the Second. Without loving diplomatic deceit, or any breach of faith between allied governments and monarchs that, like those of Sardinia and Naples, were not only friends, but relatives, we recognise in the wishes of the Italian people, and in the wisdom of their conduct, a voice that raises rebellion into virtue, and a public necessity that effectually supersedes the influence of private ties and family affection. The unanimity which we have witnessed is almost startling. The most prominent illustration of it is the acquiescence of Mazzini. He who has all his life dreamed of a republic, consents to abandon his dream in order to see Italy united under a king of her own choice. The apostle of revolution and conspiracy, who has gone through Europe preaching a republic as the grand political ultimatum, and assassination as a justifiable political process, solemnly announces his adhesion to the principle of monarchy as represented in the person of Victor Emmanuel. The differences that exist among Italians will appear by and bye, when they feel so sure of their ground that they can afford to discuss minor points. At the present moment every feeling is absorbed in the hope of Italian unity and strength, and in devotion to Victor Emmanuel as the personation of that hope. At the same time, we have seen the moderation of the people, their capacity of self-government, and the elasticity with which the Sardinian constitution adapts itself to the exigencies of sudden war and enlarged dominions. We cannot be wrong in the belief that, if a people thus fit have but fair play, we ought to see a sixth great power arise in Europe, to dominate as Italy did in the olden time on the shores of that Midland Sea which it has long been the ambition of our Gallic neighbours to regard as a little French lake.

But this great Italian nation would be nothing without leaders; and they have been magnificently led. Latterly Garibaldi has been the hero of the day, and he has indeed accomplished wonders. We must not overrate his achievements, however. People have been too apt to attribute the success which attended his movements to the extraordinary skill of the general. His skill we do not deny. In the battle of the Volturno he proved his military qualities to be—what no one ever seriously doubted—of the very highest quality. His genius is as noble as his character. He has a great faculty of organization, and his power over all who have anything to do with him is extraordinary. But, admitting all this, it must be observed, that those who attribute Garibaldi's success to his genius detract not a little from the justice of his cause. For years it has been known in this country, that the days of Neapolitan misrule were numbered. The atrocious tyranny of Bomba could not last for ever. "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed," cried Jonah, and he was astonished that his prophecy was unfulfilled. "Yet a few short months, and Naples must rise against her tyrant," was the prophecy of every enlightened Englishman, and we were astonished when the prediction was accomplished. We do not wrong Garibaldi in saying that it was the justice of the cause, even more than the genius of the man, that triumphed in the Sicilian insurrection. There ought to be nothing to excite our surprise in his success. The only extraordinary thing is, that the Neapolitans endured the Bourbons so long. Thanks to Garibaldi's brilliant defence of his position on the Volturno, there is some reason to believe that we

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have now seen the last of this infatuated race. Had the Bourbon troops been successful on that occasion, they would not indeed have averted the inevitable catastrophe which is the due of King Francis, but they might have postponed for some little time the triumph of Italian liberty, and given the agents of Victor Emmanuel a good deal of trouble. Garibaldi has made short work of them; but his chief glory is, that, being a ringleader of rebels, he is the servant of order. He has a simplicity of character which makes him the very man for the time and for the place. Many a general would have skill enough to do what he has done in organizing revolt, and leading on the rebels till they succeeded in the expulsion of their oppressors; but how many would combine with that ability, perfect unselfishness, devotion to a great idea, and loyalty to the prince whom nominally he was defying? Extreme moderation, gentle treatment, and love of order, are not usually considered the attributes of guerilla chiefs and filibustering captains; and Garibaldi's noble simplicity of character has lent a dignity to the Italian struggle which no other leader could have given. Future generations of his countrymen may be surprised to discover that, much as they are indebted to his genius, they owe still more to his good and honest heart. It has been said that the Italians are apt to deify intellect apart from conscience; and that, for example, in the tragedy of *Othello*, whereas an English audience abhors Iago and sympathizes entirely with the deluded Moor, an Italian audience would have no patience for the blindness of the latter, and would give all its admiration to the craft of the former. We dare say that this is an exaggeration; and when we can point to such men as Garibaldi, who stands in the front rank of national heroes, it must never be said that, in the Italian cast of mind, intellect is, of necessity, divorced from heart or conscience. The great hero is frank to a fault, as both Count Cavour and the Emperor Napoleon know. A Nizzard by birth, he has seen his native country appropriated by France, as the result of a discreditable intrigue with Count Cavour. What will he say, if, having thus seen his birth-place transferred to France, he should ere long see his little islet home in the Straits of Bonifacio made over by the same process, along with the islands of Sardinia and Elba, to the Emperor Napoleon? It is in this isle, with his sheep, and goats, and donkeys, that Garibaldi aspires to spend his days when his work is done—another Cincinnatus. He is described by those who know him as delighted beyond measure with his rock, glorying in his artichokes and cabbages, dallying fondly with his donkeys, and enjoying nothing so much as the simple cares of a farmer. How would such a man feel, if, as the reward of his efforts for Italian liberty, his home as well as his birth place were lost to the Italy which he has done so much to create?

Garibaldi has but reaped what others before him have sowed. Cavour is the sower. If Garibaldi is the strong hand, Cavour is the informing mind of Italy. He is at the head of this great movement. He conceived it; he prepared the way for it in long years of silent work; he rendered it possible, and then forced it into existence. To use a phrase of the leading journal which has almost passed into a proverb—he was the Peel before he became the Palmerston of Italy. From a very early age the Count Camillo di Cavour rendered himself obnoxious to the Austrian Government; and it was only the other day that, in the archives of the Austrian police at Milan, documents were discovered, which contained an order of the Government to prevent this doubtful Cavalier from entering the Lombardo-Venetian territory in 1836. Cavour spent some of his earlier years in England, and at the time when the mind is most open to permanent impressions became well-nigh an Englishman. Here he studied and learned to admire our constitutional government; he saw the sources of our greatness; he felt the pleasure of freedom; and he returned to Piedmont imbued with a new life, which he speedily imparted to the people around him. Rightly appreciating the force of public opinion and the value of discussion, he started the principal daily paper in Turin, which has exerted immense influence over the Italian middle classes. Keenly alive to the importance of other organisms, he set on foot the Royal Agricultural Society of Sardinia, and showed his countrymen the advantages of high farming. He introduced guano into Piedmont, which now annually imports about a million tons of that rich manure. He created the cork plantations of the island of Sardinia. He was the principal agent in procuring for the Piedmontese a constitution from Charles Albert in 1848. Gradually he rose to power, and worked with might and main for the material prosperity of his country, looking forward to the time when, with the credit engendered by free institutions and good administration, the Sardinian state might take rank as an European power, and aspire to dominion over entire Italy. By doubling the silk manufacture, and quadrupling the cotton traffic of Piedmont, as well as by

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concluding commercial treaties with the great trading communities of Europe, he gave elasticity to the finances of the little subalpine kingdom, and enabled it to assume an honourable position among the Great Powers in the first war of importance with which Europe was troubled after forty years of peace. The Italians, ever scheming for their liberty, soon saw that in the constitutional government of Victor Emmanuel, and in the statesmanship of Cavour, they had surer grounds of hope than in the republican dreams of Mazzini and in the secret plots of Carbonari. They rallied round the Sardinian Parliament. Turin speedily became the hotbed of sedition, and the great centre from which all free Italian thought emanated. What followed we need not minutely describe. The storm which was gathering burst. The seed which had been silently sown and sedulously irrigated became ripe. Count Cavour so raised the Piedmontese Government from insignificance, and so formed a public opinion in its favour, that every town and every village in Italy looked to Turin for deliverance. He is in a fair way to achieve a complete deliverance for Italy. He is not less bent than Garibaldi himself to secure even Rome and Venetia for his sovereign, though the process by which he thinks of attaining his end may somewhat differ from that contemplated by the victorious general when he talked of proclaiming the Italian kingdom from the summit of the Quirinal. "We desire that the Eternal City should become the capital of Italy," observed the shrewd tactician in the speech in which he announced to the Sardinian Parliament the chief lines of his future policy; "but as regards the means to that end, we shall be better able to say in what condition we shall be six months hence." As for Venetia, one cannot help admiring the boldness of the announcement, that although Europe does not wish Sardinia to provoke a war with Austria, and though for a time it may be necessary to respect this wish, still in the end Venetia must be liberated, Austria must be attacked; and the only question which the Great Powers ought seriously to entertain is, whether the new kingdom of Italy is able to acquire the Austrian province, and brave the celebrated Quadrilateral unaided. "Europe believes us incapable of delivering Venetia alone. We must bring about a change in this opinion. Let us show ourselves united, and that opinion will change." Such a bold speech is nearly equivalent to a declaration of war, and it is extremely difficult to calculate the consequences to which it may lead. It may be the igniting spark of a universal conflagration. We shall examine directly the real position of Cavour, and exhibit the cards that are in his hands, content here only to remark, that, whereas but a very short time ago there was supposed to be, and there really was, antagonism between his views and those of Garibaldi, the wily statesman has put an end to the difference, at least as far as words can do it, by knuckling down to the Dictator, by vowing to preserve the integrity of Italy, and by openly proclaiming his designs upon the Eternal City and the Bride of the Adriatic.

We now await without anxiety the news of Victor Emmanuel's success in the south. He is a remarkable illustration of the authority which can be exerted by a sovereign who, without any pretensions to great ability, is possessed of a generous nature, respects the wishes of his subjects, and frankly accepts the limitation of his power implied in the forms of a constitutional government. The Italians admire his free, impulsive nature. They are devoted to a sovereign who has kept faith with his subjects. If a doubt arises as to the generosity of a prince who could part as he did with the cradle of his race, it is remembered that he was driven into a corner, it is known that he can never think of that transaction without shame and indignation, and it is felt that Italy may forgive a loss which for her sake he endured. Casuists will rigidly canvass his present move in the direction of Naples, and the French official journals, with some reason, proclaim that it does not belong to any foreign state, any more to Sardinia than to Austria, to interfere in the internal affairs of a neighbouring people. Had Garibaldi suffered a reverse, indeed, on the Volturno—and having lost 4500 men, he was near enough to disaster—Victor Emmanuel would have found himself in a very awkward position, as the invader of a state which had not been abandoned by its king, and which had some prospect of seeing that king reassert his authority. In following the Sardinian army to the Neapolitan frontier, we refrain from comment on the defeat of Lamoricière and the fall of Ancona. In the dispersion of the Papal mercenaries, and in the success of the Sardinian arms, we indeed heartily rejoice; but we do not yet know the history of these affairs, and there is reason to believe that Lamoricière succumbed to treachery as much as to a real superiority. He ought to have made a better stand; and his defeat is accounted for by the fact of his receiving a despatch which informed him, "by command of the Emperor" that the Piedmontese would not enter the Roman states, that 20,000

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French troops would occupy the strong places in these states, and that he ought to hasten his preparations against Garibaldi. Lamoricière made his dispositions in conformity with these instructions; and before he had time to look about him he discovered that his information was false. The Sardinians were down upon him in force. If the report of this incident be correct, the only criticism which we need make upon it is, that the manœuvre thus fatal to the great African General is quite in keeping with other manœuvres with which, in the progress of Italian events, we have been made familiar. It is one of many indications of a real complicity, in spite of an assumed antagonism, between the Sardinian and French Governments. The Court of the Tuileries pretends that it can have nothing to say to such unprincipled, treaty-breaking, aggressive statesmen as those of Turin; but probably the pretence is kept up only so long as the statesmen of Turin solemnly swear that they will not part with another inch of Italian territory, since united Italy can afford to refuse such a sacrifice to whoever ventures to ask it, and so long as Victor Emmanuel, in his rough, irreverent fashion, declares—"The French have had my daughter and the cradle of my house: but if the Eternal Father were to demand Sardinia of me, he should not have it." This is all very fine. We have heard something like it before: and we have only to consult the inexorable logic of facts, in order to see the true bearing of France to the Government of Turin.

We may assume that in a very short time Naples will be rid of the Bourbon, and Victor Emmanuel, who has already received the almost unanimous suffrages of the people, will enter into peaceful possession of the abdicated sovereignty. He will then rule over the two Sicilies, the Pontifical states, with the exception of Rome, the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, the whole of Lombardy, together with the present kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia. Very good; and what next? The Count Cavour suggests that Rome will drop into his lap by a sort of moral influenee. It will be discovered that Liberty is favourable to religion, and in the interest of religion Victor Emmanuel will be invited to Rome to be embraced by the Pope. In slyly suggesting this very pretty programme, Count Cavour forgot to mention that there is a French army 40,000 strong in Rome, which is not likely to be induced by moral considerations to give up the Eternal City to anybody on earth. If the Piedmontese statesmen mean to wait for Rome till moral convictions, and, above all, the conviction that liberty is favourable to religion, have accomplished their triumph, they will wait long enough; and while they are waiting, we turn to look into that part of Cavour's programme which points to Venetia. What he says on this head is more to the purpose. He evidently does not anticipate that Austria will voluntarily cede Venetia for a sum of money. The fact is, that Austria hopes to retrieve her finances, rotten as they are, by developing her commerce; that the development of her commerce depends upon her seaboard; and that in consenting to sell Venetia, which people in this country recommend as the wisest thing for her to do, she would sell the best part of her seaboard, weaken to the last degree her connection with the great highway of trade, and become almost entirely an inland empire. Therefore she is not likely to forego her Italian possessions unless upon compulsion. Neither moral force nor hard cash will do here. Count Cavour distinctly sees that if ever he is to offer up a *Te Deum* in St Mark's, he must have a stand-up fight with Austria. Not only so, he must fight Austria single-handed. He cannot again invoke the French arms. The French have done quite enough; they have also cost him enough; and the very utmost which the Emperor Napoleon could undertake, would be to stand by and see that Victor Emmanuel had a fair field, none of the other powers venturing to interfere. Count Cavour, in that audacious speech from which we have already quoted, distinctly sees this before him, and accepts the responsibility of it. He will have to storm the Quadrilateral, before which the Emperor Napoleon, with his well-appointed army, quailed; and he expects to prevail upon the Great Powers to change their present opinions, and to permit him to measure swords with Austria, provided he goes into the arena single-handed. For this end he says the first object of the Italian Government must be to make itself, and show itself, strong enough. Consolidation is to be the order of the day. Italy must present a solid front, must make the most of her resources, must exhibit all the advantages of that unity which has just been attained. In one word the new Italian kingdom must be organized.

Now, here comes the rub. Any one who carefully examines the resources and the position of the various petty states which in the lump are supposed to form the strong Italian kingdom, will see that the keystone of the arch—the one condition upon which the organization of Italy depends—is the possession of a metropolis, and that no

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metropolitan city is possible except that which is now in the hands of the French army. The first Napoleon hazarded the opinion, that Italy is too long for its breadth, and that, on account of its peculiar shape, it would be extremely difficult to organize it into a single homogeneous state. That opinion, however, was hazarded before railways, steamboats, and the electric telegraph had overturned all our ideas of relative distance. It is not, therefore, from Napoleon's point of view that we speak of Rome as the natural and only possible centre of Italy; it is in view of the fact that Italy has never yet been united, has always been broken up into a number of separate states, each glorying in its traditions, jealous of its rights, developing its own institutions, and guarding anxiously its independence and its landmarks. The laws of Piedmont are quite distinct from the Neapolitan code, and are indeed on the whole inferior to it; for we must remember, that till within a very recent period Piedmont was perhaps the worst governed and most priestridden country in Europe (always excepting the States of the Church), and that, as we know in this country too well, legal reform is not the work of a day. Is Piedmont to absorb Naples, or is Naples to absorb Piedmont? We turn to Tuscany. Tuscany voted the sovereignty of Victor Emmanuel, but clearly not mere annexation to Sardinia; and up to this moment the independence of the duchy has been of necessity respected; so that its position is very much what that of Ireland was before the Union. It has a Lord-Lieutenant in the person of Baron Ricasoli, whose designation is that of Governor-General. It has a Senate of its own, which is as independent of the Piedmontese Parliament as the Irish Parliament used to be of the British. It has its independent ministers under Ricasoli, who, however, hold office in subordination to the superior authorities at Turin. It must be evident that this organization is only provisional. A cluster of petty states, each with its separate parliament and array of ministerial functionaries, would not present a very solid front to Europe, and could not be anything but a clumsy make-shift. But how, then, is Italy to be organized into unity, even if it be nothing more than federal unity? and where is to be the visible centre of that union? Is the government to remain at Turin? Milan, with all its venerable traditions, might complain of the choice of such an out of the way city, whose only claim to be the capital of the new kingdom is the fact of its having been hitherto the residence of the Sardinian Court. Florence might equally complain of Milan, if the capital of Lombardy were made the Italian metropolis, and Naples would soon evince its discontent if its pretensions were despised. The siren of Naples would scoff at the lilies of the Tuscan capital, as the lion of Venice would roar at the bull of Turin. Between the great cities of Italy there has always been extreme jealousy, and the moment one were selected as pre-eminent over the other, sedition and reaction would commence their work. There is but one city which would be regarded by all Italy as entitled to pre-eminence, and that is the city of the seven hills. Count Cavour knows quite well that Italian unity and strength depend on the possession of Rome, and that, if Victor Emmanuel is to set his eyes on Venice, he must take his stand on the summit of the Quirinal. Rome is the key of the position, and Rome is in the hands of the French Emperor. Even if it were possible to organize Italy without Rome, still, so long as the French army is there, the Eternal City may become the centre of reaction and disaffection.

What does Napoleon mean to do with the Eternal City is the question of questions in this crisis. Why this collection of troops fast rising to the appointed number of 60,000? Is Napoleon such a devoted son of the Church that he is willing to incur the prodigious expense of maintaining an army of 60,000 in Rome merely for the sake of doing honour to the Holy Father? The French Emperor values the sacred head of the Church not half so much as one of his cigarettes. His first appearance in life was in the character of a Carbonaro at Bologna, in deadly hostility to the Papal government; and in his personal feeling to the present Pope, it is probably not forgotten that Pio Nono, although he owed his preservation in Rome to the presence of French bayonets, refused to pay a visit to Paris in order to perform the little ceremony of crowning the Eldest Son of the Church. Louis Napoleon has repeatedly, although unofficially, expressed the opinion, that the Pope should be deprived of secular power, and his dominion confined to a garden. He is of the same opinion as his uncle, who observed, in a private letter to Eugene Beauharnais, that priests are not made to govern, and that the rights of the tiara consist only in humiliation and prayer. The first Napoleon, indeed, wished to remove the Pope from Rome, and give him a residence in Paris, the centre, as he esteemed it, of the civilised world; and recently there has come to light other designs, which were never promulgated, and which seem to be more in accordance with the views of the nephew. In the second

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edition of an exceedingly interesting and very able work on Italy, by an author who has taken a high place in our literature,* we find some documents that, now published for the first time in this country, prove to be singularly opportune. We refer to certain drafts of decrees from the archives of the first Napoleon, which have been lately given to the world by the Cavaliere Gennarelli, who was directed by Farini, the Dictator of Æmilia, to edit such documents as might illustrate the sort of government under which the Pontifical States have groaned for many years. As of some collateral value, Gennarelli published, in a kindred work, certain documents relating to the French designs upon the Papacy, which now see the light for the first time. They are drafts of decrees, in which Napoleon, by the grace of God and by the constitution, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Kingdom, ordained that the Pope should possess no territory but the Church and Square of St. Peter's, and the two palaces of the Vatican and the Inquisition; that the second Papal residence, the Quirinal, should become an Imperial palace; that the city, with a small strip of barren territory around it, and a few mountain towns, should be placed under a government independent of the Pope; and that the Pope's revenue should be a million of Italian lire, or about L.30,000 a-year. Circumstances arose which urged the French Emperor to still more stringent measures, insomuch that he removed the Pope altogether; and we need not doubt that the nephew, who takes a pride in following the footsteps of his uncle, would have the slightest scruple about confining the Holy Father to the precincts of the Vatican, or sending him either to Jerusalem or to Jericho.

Why, then, does the Emperor affect an anxiety, which cannot be real, that the Pope should remain supreme in the Eternal City? and why does he send brigade after brigade to strengthen the Roman garrison? We have given reason enough, in pointing out that Rome is the key of the position. He who commands Rome is master of the situation. Whether Napoleon can long retain such a mastery is another question. We are concerned here only with the fact that, for the moment, he "has his knee upon the throat of Italy," and that his game is pretty evident. That he is determined to hold the Eternal City until it suits his purpose to retire, is almost certain. Considering the magnitude of his preparations, it is probable also that he would find a pretext for remaining there, even should the Pope carry out the intention which is ascribed to him, of refusing to be made a prisoner in Rome, and of wiping from his feet the dust of a country which has not learned to appreciate him. The French Emperor will either keep the Holy Father in Rome, or pretend to keep Rome for the Holy Father. In either case, there he is, a tremendous force in the Italian territory,—we may say, an insuperable force; for, with all the resources of the French Empire to fall back upon, it is impossible that the Italians should have a chance of dislodging him, even if the ministers of Victor Emmanuel were willing to incur, by doing so, the imputation of ingratitude. But if the great French army stationed in Rome can neither be dislodged by physical force, nor be induced to retire by the force of those moral convictions upon which the simple-hearted Count Cavour professes to rely, what follows? Either Napoleon must be bought out of Rome, or, remaining there, he means to look after his own interests. Either with or without the consent of the Sardinian Government, he must have guarantees for the security of French power in the Mediterranean. If he can come to terms with Victor Emmanuel and Count Cavour, why, then, Victor Emmanuel shall be King of Italy from north to south, and, as a counterpoise, the Emperor Napoleon will take possession of the island of Sardinia, together with, it may be, the great maritime province of Liguria. If, on the other hand, he has not and cannot come to terms with the Piedmontese statesmen, then, holding his ground at Rome, he has the power of preventing the organization of a strong Italian kingdom: he has always in his hands the means of exciting reaction at Naples; and he can work either for the return of the Bourbons, or for the benefit of Prince Murat.

It is firmly believed by many close observers that Count Cavour and the Emperor Napoleon understand each other, and are bent on seeing accomplished the first of these alternatives. The French Emperor is, we have no doubt, perfectly sincere in fearing the Frankenstein which he has helped to create. A strong Italian Kingdom may be too much for him; and especially he perceives that, by the creation of this power, the relative superiority of France in the Mediterranean will be prodigiously affected. He knows that our English statesmen feel a great solicitude for the success of Victor Emmanuel, because of this, among other reasons, that, apart altogether from any

* Italy in Transition: Public Scenes and Private Opinions in 1860. By William Arthur, A.M., author of "A Mission to the Mysore," "The Successful Merchant," etc., etc.

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question of Liberty, which is the chief point of interest to the people of this country, it will sensibly affect the balance of power in the Mediterranean, where, what with massacres in Syria, a Canal at Suez, and the probable extension of Algeria, the Napoleonic policy is peculiarly active. It is not likely that he will calmly submit to such a diminution of French influence in the great Midland Sea. He cannot count upon the gratitude of Italy. Gratitude belongs to individuals; it is seldom exhibited by nations. We, in this country, know the gratitude of the Spanish people, and the Spaniards are in this respect not worse than others. The Emperor, therefore, is only reasonable in regarding with distrust the organization of a strong Italian kingdom upon the shores of the Mediterranean, and in providing as best he can for the preponderance of French power. Give him Genoa and the Island of Sardinia, and the balance will be restored. Here we are stopt in our inquiries by the denials and protestations of Count Cavour, who declares that no one can presume to ask a nation of 22,000,000 for a further cession of territory, especially as any such session would be opposed to the principle of nationality — a contradiction, therefore, of the whole Italian policy. He forgot to explain how the surrender of Sardinia to France is one whit more opposed to the principle of nationality than the retention of Corsica by the same power; and he admitted that the proposition of a surrender had actually been mooted. But whatever may be the worth of Count Ca vour's denial, and whatever be his understanding with the Emperor, it so happens that, in spite of himself, the transfer of Sardinia and Liguria to France may be an impossibility. Present appearances indicate that it is an impossibility. A strong party in Italy, headed by Garibaldi, would vehemently oppose such a cession, and might effectually prevent it; or, if they were unsuccessful, there can be little doubt that the Great Powers, and none more forcibly than Great Britain, would exercise, in a form which it would be hazardous to resist, the right of veto. It is, therefore, extremely improbable that any further extension of French territory will take place, to the detriment of Italy. But, in that case, the Emperor Napoleon knows perfectly well what he is about. He has two strings to his bow, and by the presence of his army at Rome, which he is continually strengthening, he intimates plainly enough that he means if he can to prevent the consolidation of Italy.

When he first set out upon his Italian campaign, and undertook to set Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic, we do not suppose that he contemplated the freedom and union of Italy from the Alps to the Maltese channel. On the contrary, it is well known that he was greatly disappointed in not obtaining Tuscany for his cousin, Prince Napoleon. The only unity for which he was anxious, was such a federal unity as might consist with much opposition and practical disunion between the separate states, leaving him free to play off one party against the other, so as, at the very worst, to produce a neutral power, and to make Italy still but a geographical expression. But the Italian movement has been too strong for him. He has not been able to secure the fulfilment of the stipulations of Villafranca, calmly ratified as they were at Zurich. He has not been able to secure the return of the Dukes. He has not been able to obtain Tuscany for his cousin. He has not been able to prevent the absorption of the States of the Church by the insatiable Government of Turin. As the revolution proceeded southwards, the Emperor affected to be so shocked that he removed his ambassador from Turin, and this removal is the expression partly of a real, partly of an affected disapprobation. Could he count upon obtaining Sardinia and Liguria, we should hear very little of his scruples. As that event is extremely doublful, his righteous feelings are offended by the invasion of Naples. The expedition of Garibaldi was bad enough, but for the King of Sardinia to head his regular army into the Abruzzi and march upon Naples, the king of which had not yet withdrawn from his territory, and still accredited an ambassador at the Court of Turin—the thing was detestable, it was a shameless violation of international law, it was an act of piracy which the public opinion of Europe must condemn, and against which France must protest in the strongest terms. Accordingly, the official journals of Paris received the cue, and wrote denunciatory articles in the most approved style. France would not be a party to such an act of spoliation. These protests were published in the nick of time, not only to assure the coalition of sovereigns, meeting at Warsaw on the 20th of October, of the extreme sensibility of Napoleon's moral nature, and his irrepressible abhorrence of unjust acquisitions, but also to inform Victor Emmanuel that he must not count upon the possession of Naples, for reasons that are quite irrespective of justice or morality. Victor Emmanuel, as he read the denunciations of his unprincipled conduct which appeared in the French official journals, would remember that but a few months back Prince Mu-

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rat made a bid for the sovereignty of Naples, and that, in spite of a disavowal from the French Government, his proposition obtained complete publicity, and was likely to work all the more favourably in consequence of the French Government, with ostentatious disinterestedness, refusing to enforce his claims. The Neapolitans are a fickle race. The enervating influence of Campania is an historic fact. Capua is famous as the scene of a terrible defeat which signalized a terrible reaction. If Victor Emmanuel pitches his tent in Naples, he, too, may have his Capua. The French, 60,000 strong, upon the Tiber, can exercise some little influence upon Naples. Many are the resources of a conspirator, and great is the power of intrigue. While the French are at Rome, they are, as we have said, masters of the situation. Victor Emmanuel cannot count upon retaining his Sicilian acquisitions. So far from being able to wrest Venetia from the Austrian, he may find himself compelled, after all that he has ventured, to forego Naples.

Napoleon has so thoroughly aroused the apprehensions of Europe, that he may find it impossible to carry out his policy in the Mediterranean. But the attitude which he has assumed towards Italy is a suggestive comment on the plausible letter addressed in July last to Count Persigny. "It was difficult for me to come to an understanding with England on the subject of Central Italy," said the Emperor, "because I was bound by the peace of Villafranca. As to Southern Italy, I am free from engagements, and I ask no better than a concert with England on this point, as on others; but in Heaven's name let the eminent men who are placed at the head of the English Government, lay aside petty jealousies and unjust mistrusts." Strange to say, mistrust was not allayed in England by all the assurances of either the Emperor or his ambassador at our Court. The Emperor at Marseilles renewed, in the most earnest manner, the statement which he made at Bordeaux in 1852, that the Empire meant peace, and his faithful friend, Persigny, ventured to assure all the world that this time Napoleon meant what he said—there was no reservation—there really was about to commence the golden age of peace. Some people in this country began to think that the Emperor had been very much calumniated, while by far the greater number were quite unmoved by it. The Volunteers recruited and drilled as vigorously as ever, and Lord Palmerston, to whom the Emperor had referred everybody for his character, could only say that the conduct of France was very suspicious, and that he recommended his countrymen to fortify their coasts as speedily as possible. The fact is, that Napoleon found himself checked in his designs, and he took the check as gracefully as he could, by giving up for a time the particular designs which he then cherished, and protesting that he never entertained them. He may also find that, in his designs upon Southern Italy, Europe is too much for him, and that it will be better for him to save his character by beating a retreat, than to insist upon carrying his point at all hazards. He has raised such a hornet's nest about his ears, that his doing so is quite within the bounds of probability. But even if he did give this proof of moderation to Europe, it does not follow that his power is less dangerous, and that he ought to be regarded with less suspicion. It is characteristic of the man, that all his enterprises are of the nature of a *coup*—short and quick. He has been described as a conspirator, but there is something offensive in the word, and we do not choose to adopt it. In so far as it signifies merely that he prepares his plans carefully in secret, that he obtains success by a surprise, and that he avoids a long contest, it does him no wrong. Other men are apt to announce their designs from the moment of conceiving them; make elaborate preparations which show them to be in earnest; buckle on their armour to fight a losing game through long years of doubt and peril; and finally conquer by the greatness of their resolution and a tenacity openly displayed. The Emperor of the French conceals his tenacity of purpose as much as possible, and seldom stirs except in the prospect of an immediate result. If aught occurs to prevent the fulfilment of his designs, he smiles benignly, as if nothing had happened, and everything is exactly to his wish. If he makes an attempt and the attempt fails, he retires into his shell with a good grace, baffled but not disheartened, certain that another opportunity will arise, and that success will attend his banner. Many years ago he made a little attempt upon the astonished inhabitants of Strasbourg with a live eagle, and failed. He retired to bide his time, and ere long repeated the attempt at Boulogne. Again he failed, but he was not discouraged. One morning he offered himself to France as President of its Republic, and he was elected triumphantly. He was successful at last. He works and attains success in precisely the same way, now that he is monarch of France. He has a number of designs on hand—an infinity of irons in the fire. If one is not hot enough, he tries another. If he cannot play his pawn, then he will play his rook or his bishop, and if it

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would be dangerous to move any of his pieces, he will quietly strengthen his position at home by castling. It is on account of a policy thus restless, thus full of resources, thus never at fault, that Europe has at last become thoroughly alarmed, and the Great Powers have seen the necessity of joining in what is essentially a new coalition against the sovereign of France. In this view the Sicilian affair is but a momentary diversion in a much more extensive game; and it may be worth while to run our eye over the map of Europe, in order to see the precise import of much that is now occurring in Southern Italy.

The first suspicious act committed by the Emperor Napoleon in his foreign policy, was his making a merit with Russia of having compelled England to close the Crimean war abruptly. Perhaps in thus courting the alliance of Russia at the expense of England, he had no very definite notions of what was to follow. He saw that Russia might be of use to him; and as France and Russia had before coalesced against England, they might coalesce again. It soon appeared that France was developing her military resources with great vigour, and the people of this country began to get alarmed. They imagined that as France had attacked the great military Colossus, and took her revenge in the fall of Sebastopol for the burning of Moscow, so now she meant to attack the great naval Colossus, and, by the occupation of London, atone for the doom of Trafalgar and Waterloo. They feared this all the more, when, early in 1858, the French Foreign Office demanded in too peremptory terms that we should alter our laws for the protection of the Emperor; and Lord Derby's Government instantly set about the improvement of our defences. We were wrong, however. It was not upon England, but upon Austria, that the Emperor had his eye; and whatever preparations he had made against this country, were less for the purpose of attack than to keep us in check. The Italian war followed, in which, at least after the Milan proclamation, that announced moral, not material, influence to be the ambition of Napoleon, we had the utmost desire to judge the Emperor fairly. The hasty Peace of Villafranca was patched up, and instead of that treaty being accepted as a proof of imperial moderation, it gave the alarm to Europe. What was it that thus alarmed every European Cabinet? If the enormous power displayed at Solferino might excite fear, surely the modesty displayed in the stipulations of Villafranca, for which the Emperor had indeed to apologise to his people, might allay any doubts as to the manner in which such power would be employed. The moderation of the Emperor was more alarming than the display of his power at Magenta and Solferino (battles, by the way, which were won by a hair's-breadth), because it indicated a further design. Why should he thus curtail his programme of rendering Italy free to the Adriatic, bitterly disappoint the hopes of Italians, and curry favour with his and their enemy, except he had ulterior designs, which time would speedily bring to light? It is stated that he actually proposed to Francis Joseph to cede Lombardy, provided the Austrian Emperor would favour his views upon the Rhine, and that the offer was indignantly declined. Be this as it may, Napoleon had his views upon the Rhine; and the Peace of Villafranca, instead of enabling Frenchmen to turn their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, was the signal for greater activity than ever in all the French dockyards and arsenals, an activity to which we in this country replied by multiplying our Volunteers, by building ship after ship, and by looking to our fortifications. Then came rumours of a proposed cession of Savoy and Nice to France. It was denied, asserted, denied again, reasserted, and at last accomplished. In the midst of these counter-assertions came the Commercial Treaty with France, which lulled a good many people in this country to sleep, led some to suppose that peace between England and France would be eternal, and induced the Government to postpone for several months the proposal of a loan to extend our fortifications. The ink was scarcely dry which ratified the Commercial Treaty, when the annexation of Savoy and Nice was announced to the world. The deed was ugly in itself, for it proved that, in spite of the Milan proclamation, and subsequent state papers equally explicit, the Emperor had interfered in the affairs of Italy for something better than an idea, and something more tangible than moral influence; but it was still worse, as establishing a precedent for a similar transfer of territory on the Rhine; and by the use of certain unhappy phrases in the official announcement of the annexation, it was indicated that France claimed as a right the old frontiers of which she was deprived in 1814. Minute observers even discovered in the Commercial Treaty, which had stilled England into passive acceptance of the annexation of Savoy, provisions which would materially help to produce further annexa-

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tion on the northern frontier of France. The Treaty showed great favour to English iron and coal. Hitherto the Belgian coal and iron had been greatly favoured in the French tariff. These were now to endure the competition of the English minerals, which had previously been all but excluded from the French market; and the consequence of this competition would be to depress the Belgian articles, and to produce not a little distress in the mining districts—a distress that might go far to create a public opinion in favour of annexation to France. Over and above this, the Parisian journals began to assert—in their usual way, now asserting, and now contradicting, but always keeping the statement before the public, and so attempting to develop that species of prophecy which works its own fulfilment—that the Rhenish provinces and Belgium were anxious for union to France. French emissaries in Belgian newspapers and Belgian workshops strove hard to familiarize the mind of the people with the same idea. And for the means of accomplishing the scheme? The means were not far to seek. Napoleon cultivated the intimacy of all the discontented spirits belonging to every European sovereignty, and of none more than of the Hungarians. He had sought the assistance of Kossuth in the late war, and a Hungarian insurrection was one of the most formidable weapons with which he menaced Austria. He had that weapon still in his hands, and he might easily strike with it, while at the same time giving his friend Cavour permission to slip the dogs of war upon Venice. Austria thus attacked in flank and rear, would be very helpless and would call aloud for aid from Prussia. If Prussia lent her aid, Napoleon would have an excuse for a campaign upon the Rhine, and out of that campaign would take care to obtain the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, the Palatinate, and Belgium,—England being kept out of the embroglio by fear of an invasion.

Thus, then, stood the game, when, presto! in a moment everything was changed; the question of the Rhine lost its interest, and we found ourselves intent upon other designs. Never was change more sudden, and in this change we signalize three great events. In the first place, Napoleon raised so much opposition, that he discovered his Rhenish designs to be for the moment impracticable. We had in this country rendered our Volunteer force so strong as to defy invasion, and to be almost able to dispense with the regular troops if they should be called to the Continent. The German sovereigns felt the necessity of union, and approximated to each other at the Baden conference, where Napoleon got nothing for his pains. Besides this, the coolness and jealousy which existed between the Courts of Berlin and Vienna, and upon which the French Emperor to a large extent reckoned, gave way to more friendly feelings, and Europe had the satisfaction of seeing Francis Joseph and the Prince Regent embrace each other at Töplitz. To crown all, the Belgians made a grand demonstration in favour of their nationality and their independence, which fairly gave the lie to all the boasts of the Parisian journals. The situation was too much for Napoleon. He must evidently wait for a more favourable opportunity. Precisely at the moment when affairs begin to look brighter on the Rhine, a mine is sprung in the East, the Christians are massacred, and the French Emperor as the eldest son of the Church, is so transported with indignation, that he orders an army to Syria. It is like the flank march that won the battle of Magenta. The French legions are massed in the south, as if meditating an attack upon Piacenza, and, thoroughly deceived, the Austrian army is concentrated upon this point. Before the Austrians have time to think, the French army is whirled off by means of the railway a hundred miles to the north, and crosses the Ticino by the bridge of Buffalora, where the Austrians are weakest. So here, all interest is concentrated upon the Rhine. We are certain it is the Rhine that is threatened. Europe makes its dispositions for the defence of the German river, and congratulates itself on its success, when in a moment the enemy is off on a flank march to the East, to the famous tune of *Partant pour la Syrie.* We have not yet got to the bottom of the Syrian affair, but, from all that can be ascertained, it is daily more and more evident that French intrigue and French assistance have had not a little to do with it. Certainly nothing could be more opportune, and the Great Powers, only too delighted to feel reassured as to the safety of the Rhine, gave their consent to a French occupation of Syria, which will one day prove as great an embarrassment in the East, as the French occupation of Rome has proved in the West. It is a grand resource in Napoleon's hands, which he will take care to employ with a full remembrance of all that England has done at Acre and elsewhere throughout the East in the teeth of France. Checkmated on the Rhine, Napoleon, we have said, opened a new game in the East—a game, however, which might require some little time for its development. Meanwhile a third great event had taken

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place, which led him effectually to turn from all thought of conquest upon the Rhenish frontier, to objects of more immediate interest. Garibaldi had made the Sicilian move, and it proved to be a success. Property in the south of Europe was about to change hands. One thing at a time. Napoleon was content to let the Rhine flow bloodless to the Low Countries, and to let his army in the East smoke all the tobacco in Latakia, while he had the chance of doing a good stroke of business in the Italian peninsula. Belgium is a nice morsel for another day. But, in the meantime, what a triumph of skill if the Emperor could secure Genoa and Sardinia, in which his emissaries are at work stirring up the inhabitants to cry for annexation! How glorious for France if she could thus be made mistress of the Mediterranean! Or should the Emperor fail of this design—how necessary is it to put a drag upon Victor Emmanuel! How important it is for the sake of international morality, that he should not obtain the kingdom of Naples! And should it be advisable at last for the Holy Father and the French eagles to quit Rome together, how very convenient it would be, if, by carrying out the much mooted design of transporting the Pope to Jerusalem, an excuse would be found for the eldest son of the Church sending additional French bayonets and rifled cannon to Syria!

Thus it is that perplexes European diplomacy. Strange events are occurring in the south of Italy, which are of themselves perplexing enough; and how much more so when they inevitably lead the way or clear the ground for further events of still greater moment! It would be hazardous to say that Napoleon will succeed in increasing French power in the Mediterranean to the extent he wishes, although it is not impossible that Europe may find itself powerless to stop him in his career of acquisition. Of this we may be certain, however, that French influence will suffer no diminution on the great Midland Sea; and we will suppose that France comes out of the present entanglement, if no better, yet not worse than she was before. She may win, and she cannot lose. For, at the very worst, if Italy should become too strong and troublesome, or should affect the right of meeting on equal terms with the Great Powers, it is possible for France to play off Spain against her; Spain, which has latterly been awaking to a sense of her responsibilities, and which has indeed seriously contemplated admission to any conference of the European powers. This being the case, we stand front to front with two probable complications.

That which is more obvious and more immediate begins in Venice. Count Cavour has announced in unmistakeable terms that Italy must have Venetia, and that Italy is able to obtain it by wrestling with Austria in single combat. There appears at first sight to be nothing very dangerous in this programme. We may doubt whether Victor Emmanuel will be able to conquer unaided; but if he can only convince us that he is equal to the contest, we should be glad to hear of his going forth to the fight and entering the palace of the Doges in triumph. But when we look more narrowly into the means at Count Cavour's disposal, we discover that, in talking of an attack upon Austria single-handed, he is not perfectly sincere. Single-handed, it would be utterly impossible for him to effect his purpose against the Austrian legions; and it is manifest that he calculates on a Hungarian insurrection, just as the Hungarians who are now fighting his battle in the Sicilies assuredly calculate on him. "As for our brave Hungarian comrades," said Garibaldi the other day, "we owe them a large debt of gratitude. Their cause is ours, and to help them in their turn is our most sacred duty, which we will accomplish." Cavour, therefore, in announcing his intention of attacking Austria single-handed, keeps the word of promise to the ear, but breaks it to the sense. It is the knowledge of the fact that Victor Emmanuel cannot attack Austria without either the assistance of France or the co-operation of the Hungarians, that makes Lord John Russell so anxious to dissuade Count Cavour from all attempts upon Venetia; for the object of the attempt is not merely the liberation of Venice, but nothing less than the disruption of the Austrian Empire. "I will not speak of Austria and of the Ottoman Empire," says Garibaldi, in a curious document on the state of Europe. "They are doomed to perish for the welfare of the unfortunate populations which they have oppressed for centuries." Whether, after the large concessions of Francis Joseph, Hungary would rise, may now be regarded as more than doubtful; but if the policy of the Italian chiefs has a chance of being successful, we must point out the difficulty of the situation, as far as England is concerned. England would be placed in a fearful dilemma. She can neither keep the peace nor go to war without a dereliction of principle and a loss of prestige. A Hungarian insurrection stimulated from Turin implies a European war. Not certainly, but most probably,

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both Russia and Prussia will defend Austria. They may regard the Hungarian rebellion as likely to be the precedent of a Polish one; and at all events—however they may allow changes in the South of Italy to pass—they are unwilling to sanction for a moment any change in Central Europe, and they insist upon preserving the balance of power as it exists. But if Prussia flies to the assistance of Austria, Napoleon has at once an excuse for interfering on the Rhine, and demanding territorial compensation for the fatigues and expenses of the campaign. What, in these circumstances, can Great Britain do? Can she venture to throw her weight into the scale of the European despots? Can she venture to range her forces against the Italian and Hungarian patriots? Would the people of this country permit such a thing? and, if they did permit it, what position would Great Britain henceforth occupy in the eyes of European Liberals, who have looked to us as the guardians of popular rights and of the sacred flame of freedom? On the other hand, how can we refuse assistance to those powers who, in the cause of order, stand forth to resent the insidious encroachments of France? Can we tamely witness an extension of the French frontier to the Rhine? Can we suffer the absorption of Belgium? Have we nothing but idle words to offer in order to prevent that design? Shall we cast to the winds all our alliances, in order to make common cause with France? Are we willing to become the scorn and the mockery of every Court in Europe, which, when our time comes, as come it may, will laugh at our calamity, and refuse us not only aid, but even sympathy? This horn of the dilemma is as little to our liking as the other, and we seem ready to be fixed between two impossibilities. Where is the Minister that can contemplate undismayed the necessity of steering the vessel of the State between such a Scylla and such a Charybdis?

The other complication to which we referred is to be found in the East. And here France reckons upon the co-operation of the Muscovite—reckons upon that co-operation, indeed, so safely, that the hope is entertained of being able to detach Russia from any European coalition for the defence of the Rhine by meeting her views in the East. Many things may intervene in the next twelve months to break up the coalition which now threatens to stop Napoleon upon his career; but the card upon which he chiefly relies is that king of clubs, the Grand Turk. The Eastern question is one of immense difficulty to England. Russia could very quickly solve it according to her ideas; so could France; but Great Britain is almost helpless in presence of a dilemma from which she sees no escape. On the one hand, there can be little doubt that the Emperor Nicholas truly described Turkey as the sick man. Turkey is doomed. We have done all we could to secure the integrity of the Sultan's dominions; we have striven hard to prop up Turkish credit in the money market; we have exerted all our influence to procure reforms in the Turkish laws and administration. But to no purpose. The whole Turkish system is so rickety, owing to years of misrule and the spread of corruption, that foreign states have in numberless underhand ways the power of sadly interfering with the action of the machine. It is the interest of France and of Russia to interfere, and they do not give the sick man fair play. One or the other is continually creating disturbances: and the result of the disturbances which have been fomented in Syria, and of the heavy expense which their repression has entailed upon the Porte, is, that at the present moment the Government is on the brink of a new financial crisis, and the State is threatened with bankruptcy. This, of course, will furnish a very good excuse for leaving the defence of order in Syria entirely to the French; but the point to be observed is, that disturbance after disturbance, loan after loan, and crash after crash,—all lead the way to dismemberment. England cannot alone maintain the integrity and the credit of Turkey. Sooner or later the system must collapse. But while England seems powerless to avert the threatened doom, neither is she able to acquiesce in it. She desires no further increase of territory anywhere. Already the empire is overgrown, and we find it extremely difficult to provide for the defence of our numerous and much-scattered dependencies. It was only the other day that the King of the Feejee Islands offered to place his dominions under the British crown; and although they form an important station in the Pacific Sea, we thought it proper to decline a proposition the effect of which would almost have been to render our gracious sovereign the Queen of the Cannibal Islands. Additional territory in the Mediterranean would be peculiarly burdensome to us. All that we are particularly anxious for in the Mediterranean is a safe conduct for our enormous passenger and goods traffic by the overland route to India; and we prefer that the land through which we pass should be in the possession of such a neutral power as Turkey, than that it should belong to ourselves, to Russia, or to France. These latter powers, unfortunately,

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have not yet our sense of satiety in the matter of territorial acquisition, and they have set covetous eyes on various portions of the Turkish Empire. Their solution of the Eastern question is a very simple one, for they have no objection to dismemberment; and the only difficulty which they have to encounter is jealousy of each other in the division of the spoil. England, as we have said, is placed in the dilemma of being unable to sustain the Turkish Empire in its integrity, and equally unable to consent to a dismemberment; so that her only policy is that of procrastination. She puts off the evil day; hopes against hope; bolsters up a rotten system; and would fain shut her eyes to the consequences. The consequences may at any time be precipitated; and the financial crisis which threatens to overtake the Turkish Government is of such vast import, that the Grand Vizier talks of a visit to London, in order to see what can be done to avert it. The Prime Minister of Turkey to leave the country which he governs, to travel across Europe, and to throw himself at the feet of the English Ministry! So it has been reported in all seriousness; and whether the report prove to be well-founded or not, yet the fact that it has been made sufficiently indicates the gravity of the occasion.

That the Emperor Napoleon, who, for his own glory and the advantage of France, has seen fit to precipitate more than one crisis, should, by the restlessness of his grasping policy, have awakened the terror of his neighbours, cannot be wonderful. First, we heard Lord John Russell announce, after the annexation of Savoy, that it would be necessary for this country no longer to trust in the French alliance, but to cultivate old friendships in other courts. Then we saw the German sovereigns meet in amity at Baden-Baden, and conspire to tell Napoleon that he had better not count upon their disunion. Next we saw the Prince Regent of Prussia go forth to meet the Emperor of Austria, and effectually disperse any misunderstanding that might have arisen out of the Italian war in a frank and cordial interchange of ideas. Soon the news reached us that the Emperors of Austria and Russia had been reconciled, and that we might expect to hear of Russian and Austrian policy going hand in hand. Lastly, the rulers of Prussia, Austria, and Russia have met at Warsaw, for the purpose of more thoroughly understanding one another, and concerting measures for the general safety in the event of war. At that interview, England also was present, if not officially, yet really. Her Majesty and her Foreign Minister have but just returned from a visit to Berlin; and there can be no doubt that the father-in-law of the Princess-Royal was made fully acquainted with the views of the English Court and Government, was entrusted with messages to his brother potentates, and was informed of all that the Queen, as a constitutional sovereign dependent on the support of her Parliament, could undertake. Some fears were entertained that the meeting of the monarchs thus assembled at Warsaw might degenerate into another Holy Alliance; but they were illusory. The days of the Holy Alliance are past. The object of the sovereigns at Warsaw was simply what we have represented it to be—a coalition in the interests of Central Europe. Probably Russia has ulterior views, and in return for any assistance rendered to Austria in the present emergency, counts upon Viennese influence being exerted in her favour to procure a revision of the Treaty of Paris, or even a settlement of the whole Eastern question in conformity with Muscovite ideas. The assistance, however, which Russia would be inclined to render cannot involve active interference in Italy, and would be evoked only in case of a disturbance in Hungary, or any attempt to re-arrange the map of Central Europe. It is Central Europe, also, that Prussia regards. She is anxious for her Rhenish provinces; and jealous as she has always been of Austria, she could not in her own interest consent to see her rival deprived of the Hungarian crown. Austria herself has done that which is most likely, without the assistance of any coalition, to preserve Hungary, and to promote peace in Central Europe. On the eve of his visit to Warsaw, the Emperor restored—not wholly, but very nearly—the ancient constitution of Hungary. How it will be accepted, and what will be the effect of it, we cannot know for some time. The concession may be too late, and we may hear next spring of a Hungarian insurrection concerted with the attack on Venice. It is doubtful whether such an insurrection would be successful. It is doubtful, also, whether, supposing it to be successful, the independence of Hungary would be confirmed, or would be a benefit to the Continent; and at present the probabilities are that the geography of Central Europe will remain as it is. We believe that the great mass of our countrymen wish nothing better, and that the anxiety which Lord John Russell has expressed for the preservation of the Austrian Empire, however it may incur the invective of some of our liberals, is worthy of his position as Foreign Minister. Count Cavour said not long ago that Lord John is

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the most liberal statesman in Europe; and we are convinced that if he and Lord Palmerston are averse to a Hungarian revolution, they have reasons for it which the Liberal party in this country will find it impossible to impugn.

With regard to Italy, the cry for unity has become so strong as to be almost irresistible; and here, also, the question will probable be solved in accordance with the wishes of British statesmen. Napoleon would gladly work his will if he could; but both Italy and Europe promise to be too much for him. Every day clears away a difficulty, makes the rough places smooth and the crooked paths straight. The game is fast drawing to a close. There is a checkmate on the board, and we back Italy for the winner. The despots in Europe may fly to Warsaw and try the Varsovienne dance as much as they please; but, sooner or later, Italy must be free, and shall be one, even as her poet—her Dante—dreamed. It is only a question of time. France cannot always hold Rome and dominate in the Peninsula. Austria cannot always hold Venetia. Events indicate that before long France will find herself helpless against the popular voice of united Italy, and will be compelled to accept a settlement which she would not promote. Let us hope, also, that united Italy will be as strong as Count Cavour anticipates, and able, single-handed, like a young Lochinvar, to snatch the fair Bride of the Adriatic from the arms of the Hapsburg.

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